STUDIES

IN

INDO-MUSLIM HISTORY

A Critical Commentary on

ELLIOT AND DOWSON'S HISTORY OF INDIA

AS TOLD BY

ITS OWN HISTORIANS

WITH A FOREWORD BY

SIR RICHARD BURN, KT., C.S.I.

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BY

SHĀHPŪRSHĀH HORMASJI HODĪVĀLĀ

Principal and Professor of History (Retd.), Bahāuddīn College, Junāgaḍh.
Author of "Studies in Parsi History" and
"Historical Studies in Mughal Numismatics."

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FOREWORD.

Professor Hodivala won the gratitude of all students of Indian numismatics by his constructive 'Studies in Moghul Numismatics' based on wide reading and collation of original sources and careful reasoning from the facts. Those Memoirs have also helped historians to verify, correct or supplement the statements of the Persian writers of Indian History.

He has now undertaken the more onerous task of annotating Sir Henry Elliot's "History of India as told by its own Historians," and he brings to this the ripest fruits of life-long scholarly studies. In the sixty odd years which have elapsed since the last volume appeared, new texts or better manuscripts have been discovered and Indian, European and American writers have produced many important works. Professor Hodivala has worked through all the new material, selecting or criticising and adding his own suggestions where previous comments do not exist or appear unsuitable. Though all these may not prove acceptable, as the author himself would be the first to admit, the book is one which every student of Elliot should be glad to refer to, and its intelligent use will prevent the repetition of early errors which are still being copied in modern books and articles.

R. BURN.

Oxford,
6th June 1939.

PREFACE.

Elliot and Dowson's work was published about sixty years ago and its value has only grown with the lapse of time. It is still indispensable to every serious student of the Muḥammadan period of Indian History. It is universally quoted, and deservedly too, as an authority of the first class and even regarded by many readers as the very last word on the subject. It is true that several scholars have casually drawn attention to its errors and shortcomings, but these scattered criticisms and casual animadversions have had little or no influence on the general opinion in favour of its infallibility. It has continued to be followed in spite of them and it cannot be denied that this universal vogue and reputation has been responsible for misleading many modern authors, the dissemination of not a few inexactitudes and the circulation of some false and distorted history. It seemed, therefore, necessary in the interests of sound scholarship, to undertake a systematic and exhaustive review of its contents and rectify its errors of interpretation, as well as transliteration. The writer has ventured to undertake this laborious and difficult task and has, at the same time, availed himself of the opportunity to discuss and elucidate questions which were ambiguous or controversial. He has also devoted considerable attention to the restoration of the names of persons and the identification of toponyms which had been left in obscurity. An attempt has been also made to determine the chronology in disputed cases by the application of the week-day test, where it was available. He ventures to think that no one who glances through these pages will declare that such a critical and explanatory commentary was uncalled for and he trusts that his labours will make it possible for students to make a more intelligent and more profitable use of the original work. He lays no claim to be an historian. His object has been merely to investigate, ascertain and verify facts, to reject statements which were inaccurate or without adequate proof and to place the subject on a sounder critical footing.

It is seventy years since Blochmann remarked that our knowledge of the Muḥammadan period of the history of this country was very limited and inaccurate in regard to details. It is true that much useful work has been done since he wrote, that many original sources have been more or less carefully edited and correctly translated, but these pages should convince any one that there is still considerable room for intensive critical labour and research in this field.

Many points are still so obscure and incomprehensible that there is no prospect of arriving at an opinion in regard to them. They have had to be passed over in silence, as it was not possible to say anything useful about them.

But there are other problems which are not so hopelessly intractable and the reader will come across in this volume, several attempts to find new answers to questions which have exercised the ingenuity of previous

inquirers or have been left untouched by them. Some of these suggestions and identifications are admittedly hypothetical or tentative and the writer begs that they may not be taken for more than they are worth and that they will not be supposed to have anything definitive about them. They have been put forward only for provoking discussion or stimulating research and eliciting more satisfactory solutions. It will be seen that a few have been already modified in the Corrections, and no one will be more ready to accept more convincing explanations.

Lastly, the writer would like to say that no one could entertain greater or more sincere admiration for the stupendous labours, either of Sir Henry Elliot, who collected, with astonishing ardour and perseverance for forty years, a prodigious quantity of manuscript material, or of Professor Dowson, who worked hard for more than twenty, in arranging, sifting and translating it. Nothing could be further from his thoughts or more remote from his wishes than the intention to say anything to disparage or detract from the merit of their monumental performance. His only object has been to enhance the usefulness and value of their work and to bring it up to the standard of modern knowledge. He will think himself amply rewarded, if he is thought to have cleared some of the ground and facilitated, even in a small measure, the compilation of a more accurate and scientific history of the Muḥammadan Period than any which we possess at present.

The indulgence of the reader is craved for the long list of Errata and typographical imperfections.

S. H. HODĪVĀLĀ.

LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS.

A.A.R.	Annals and Antiquities of Rajasthan. J. Tod. Ed. W. Crooke.
A.F.	Abu-l-Faẓl.
A.G.I.	Ancient Geography of India. A. Cunningham. Edit. 1871.
A.I.M.	Army of the Indian Mughals. W. Irvine.
Āīn.	Āīn-i-Akbari. Bibliotheca Indica Text.
Āīn. Tr.	Āīn-i-Akbari. Trans. Blochmann and Jarrett.
A.N.	Akbar-Nāma. B. I. Text.
A.N. Tr.	Akbarnāma. Trans. H. Beveridge.
'A.Ṣ.	'Amal-i-Ṣāliḥ. B. I. Text.
A.S.M.I.	Agrarian System of Moslem India. W. H. Moreland.
B.	Budāuni. B. I. Text and Trans. Ranking and Lowe.
B.G.	Bombay Gazetteer.
B.G.A.	Bibliotheca Geographorum Arabicorum. Ed. De Goeje.
B.N.	Bāburnāma. Tr. A. S. Beveridge.
C.H.I.	Cambridge History of India.
C.I.	Chronology of India. C. Mabel Duff.
C.M.S.D.	Coinage and Metrology of the Sultans of Dehli. H. N. Wright.
C.P.K.D.	Chronicles of the Pathan Kings of Dehli. Edward Thomas.
D.H.N.I.	Dynastic History of Northern India. H. C. Ray.
D.P.P.	Delhi, Past and Present. H. C. Fanshawe.
E.D.	Elliot and Dowson's History of India.
E.H.I.	Early History of India. Vincent Smith. Edit. 1908.
E.I.	Encyclopaedia of Islam. Ed. T. Houtsma.
E.T.I.	Early Travels in India. Ed. [Sir] W. Foster.
F.	Tārīkh-i-Firishta. Lithograph, Nawal Kishore Press.
G.I.	Gates of India. Sir T. Holdich.
H.A.	History of Aurangzeb. [Sir] J. N. Sarkār.
H.B.H.	History of Baber and Humayun. W. Erskine.
H.I.	History of India. M. Elphinstone. Ed. Cowell. 1866.
H.J.	Hobson Jobson. Yule and Burnell, Ed. Crooke. 1903.
H.M.	History of the Mahrattas. Grant Duff. Reprint, 1873.
H.M.H.I.	History of Mediaeval Hindu India. C. V. Vaidya.
H.N.	Humāyūn Nāma. Text and Tr. A. S. Beveridge.
H.S.M.N.	Historical Studies in Mughal Numismatics. S. H. Hodivālā.
I.A.	India of Aurangzeb. [Sir] Jadu Nāth Sarkār.
I.D.C.	The Indus Delta Country. M. R. Haig.
I.G.	Imperial Gazetteer of India. Edit. 1908.
I.M.C.	Catalogue of Coins in the Indian Museum. Vincent Smith and H. N. Wright.
I.N.	Iqbālnāma-i-Jahāngīri. B. I. Text.
Iqb. Nām.	Iqbālnāma-i-Jahāngīri. B. I. Text.
Ind. Ant.	Indian Antiquary.

I.O.C.	Catalogue of Persian Manuscripts in the India Office. H. Ethé.
J.A.S.B.	Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal.
J.B.B.R.A.S.	Journal of the Bombay Branch, Royal Asiatic Society.
J.B.O.R.S.	Journal of the Bihār and Orissā Research Society.
J.H.	Introduction to the Jawāmi'au-l-Ḥikāyāt. M. Niẓāmu-d-dīn.
J.R.A.S.	Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain.
K.B.	Kilich Beg. Trans. of the Chach Nāma.
Kh. F.	Khazāinu-l-Futūḥ of Amīr Khusrav. Ed. Moinu-l-Ḥaq.
Kh. F. Tr.	Khazāinu-l-Futūḥ. Tr. Muḥammad Ḥabīb.
Kh. Kh.	Khwāfi Khān, Muntakhabu-l-Lubāb. B. I. Text.
L.E.C.	Lands of the Eastern Caliphate. Guy Le Strange.
L.H.P.	Literary History of Persia. E. G. Browne.
L.M.	Later Mughals. W. Irvine.
M.'Ā.	M'aāṣir-i-'Ālamgīrī. B. I. Text.
M.G.	Maḥmūd of Ghazna. Muḥammad Nāẓim.
Mihrān.	The Mihrān of Sind and its Tributaries. H. G. Raverty, J. A. S. B. 1892.
M.U.	Maāṣiru-l-Umarā. B. I. Text.
N.A.	Notes on Afghānistān, H. G. Raverty.
O.H.I.	Oxford History of India. Vincent Smith.
P.M.C.	Catalogue of Mughal Coins in the Punjab Museum. R. B. Whitehead.
P.O.G.	Post Office Guide (India).
P.T.	Persian Translation of the Bāburnāma. Bombay Lith. 1308 H.
Races.	Races of the North-Western Provinces. H. M. Elliot. Ed. J. Beames.
R.I.	Road Book of India. J. B. Seely. 1825.
S.	Alberūni's India. Trans. E. Sachau.
S.I.M.I.	South India and her Muhammadan Invaders. K. S. Aiyangar.
Ṭ.A.	Ṭabaqāt-i-Akbari. Nawal Kishore Press. 1292 A. H.
T.B.	Tūzuk-i-Bāburi, Bombay Lith. 1308 H.
T.C.	Tribes and Castes of the N. W. Provinces. W. Crooke.
T.F.	Tārīkh-i-Firūz Shāhi. Z. Barani. B. I. Text.
T.F.	Tārīkh-i-Firūz Shāhi. Shams-i-Sirāj. B. I. Text.
Th.	Gazetteer of the Territories of the East India Company. E. Thornton. One Volume Edit.
T.J.	Tūzuk-i-Jahāngīri. Ed. [Sir] Sayyid Ahmad, 'Alīgarh, 1864.
T.J.K.N.	Tārīkh-i-Jahān Kushāi Nādiri. Bombay Lith. 1309 H.
T.M.	Tārīkh-i-Mubārakshahi. B. I. Text.
T.N.	Ṭabaqāt-i-Nāṣiri. B. I. Text.
T.R.	Tārīkh-i-Rashīdi, Tr. Ney Elias and [Sir] E. D. Ross.
Ẓ.N.	Ẓafar Nāma. Sharafu-d-dīn Yazdi. B. I. Text.
Ẓ.W.	Ẓafar-al-Wālih. Ed. Sir E. Denison Ross.

ADDITIONS AND CORRECTIONS.

P. 5, *l.* 28. (Note on I. 5, l. 5).

Our knowledge of the extent of the ancient kingdom of Karṇa Suvarṇa is very vague. It is supposed to have lain west of the Bhagirathi and to have included the modern districts of Burdwān, Bankura, western Murshidābād and Hūgli. (I. G. XXI. 237). See my Note on II. 318, l. 3 f. f.

P. 16, *l.* 14 f. f. (Note on I. 15, l. 14).

In the *Murūju-z-ẕahab*, Mas'ūdi states that the Mihrān of Sind falls into the sea about two *days'* journey from the town of Debal, but in the *Kitābu-t-Tanbīh*, he declares that the Mihrān falls into the sea, at about two *farsakhs'* distance from the town of Debal on the coast of Sind. (Mr. C. E. A. W. Oldham in Ind. Ant. LX (1931), p. 20). He must have borrowed the latter statement from Khurdādbih, while the former assertion had been copied from some other author. Neither seems to have been based on personal knowledge or observation. In both cases, Mas'ūdi repeats only what he had heard or read. As the *Kitābu-t-Tanbīh* was written about twelve years after the *Murūj*, the correction may indicate that such was his opinion in later life, but that is hardly of any real consequence.

P. 27, *l.* 8 f. f. (Note on I. 23, l. 5 f.f.).

The name of the man who was sent by Warren Hastings in 1786 on a mission to Kābul was Saiyid Ghulām Muḥammad. Mughal Beg was the surveyor employed by Wilford.

P. 30, *l.* 11. (Note on I. 28, l. 10).

Cunningham's identification of the deity figured on the coins mentioned on this page and p. 99 with the Multān sun-god is disputed or rejected by later experts. Mr. R. B. Whitehead thinks that it is an Irānian deity (Num. Chron. XVII. (1937), pp. 448-452), Dr. Herzfeld holds that it is the *Khura* or Glory of Khurāsān, while Captain Martin supposes it to be a Western Turki god named Shuna. (Num. Supp. XLVI to the J.A.S.B., pp. 6-7). As the point has no direct bearing on the subject of the note and is only a side-issue or incidental illustration, I may leave it there. No agreement has been or seems likely to be reached also in regard to the reading of the crabbed Pahlavi legend on the coins alluded to at p. 99. It may be, therefore, as well to point out that whatever the decipherment may be, it has little or no connection with the proposal to identify 'Jībavīn' of the *Chach Nāma* with the Purāṇic 'Samba Deva.' That suggestion or conjecture rests on grounds of its own, unconnected with the Pahlavi legend.

P. 42, *l.* 10 f. f. (Note on I. 54, l. 4 f. f.).

There is an interesting point of contact here between Alberūni and Rājashekhara, in whose *Kāvyamīmānsā*, the following statement occurs:

"The country between the Ganges and the Jumna and from Vinashana [Govishana] to Prayāga is called Antarvedi. The old *Āchāryas* state that directions should be laid down in relation to this country. But I,

[who am known also as] Yāyāvarīya, think that all directions should be stated and measured from Mahodaya (Kanauj)." (Edit. Dalāl and Shāstri in the Gāikawāḍ Sanskrit Series, *Saptadashodadhyāya*, p. 94, l. 23). Rājashekhara was the poet-laureate and Guru of Mahīpāla, the Pratihāra king of Kanauj, who reigned from about 910 to 940 A.C., and that is probably the reason for his desire to have the capital of his patron accepted as the centre of Jambūdwīpa. But the fact that Alberūni follows his peculiar system, in preference to all others, and makes Qanauj the starting-point of his itineraries shows that he was acquainted with the *Kāvyamīmānsā*, and probably also with its now lost portion, the *Bhuvanakosha*, to which Rājashekhara refers his readers for further information in regard to the details of Indian geography. (*Ibid*, p. 98, ll. 8-9). It is just possible that some, at least, of Alberūni's Itineraries of the Third Class, that is, those relating to ancient landmarks of Hindu geography, are copied from the *Bhuvanakosha*. The only difference is that the *Yojanā* of the Hindu author, whether short or long, is uniformly translated as and equated with the *Farsakh*. This may account for some of the manifest errors in the Table of distances. Unfortunately, this explanation cannot be tested, as the *Bhuvanakosha* is not extant.

P. 44, *l.* **12 f. f.** (Note on I. 54, l. 4 f. f.).

Dr. Fleet who has more recently examined this vexed question in the light of all the available evidence, has proved that there were two kinds of *Yojanā* and comes to the conclusion that the Short *Yojanā*=4 *Kroshas*=$4\frac{83}{196}$ miles and the Long *Yojanā*=8 Kroshas: =$8\frac{166}{198}$ miles. The *Krosha*, however, was uniform and always measured $1\frac{3}{22}$ miles. (J.R.A.S. 1912, pp. 236-7).

P. 45, *l.* **11 f. f.** (Note on I. 55, l. 6).

'Argha-tirtha' is mentioned as a typical or renowned holy site, and bracketed with Vārānasi, Prayāga, Kurukshetra or Shrīparvata in an inscription dated about 1200 A.C., which has been found at Ablūr in Dhārwār (Epig. Ind. V. 258) and several other epigraphs. In the Gohorwa grant of Karṇadeva Chedi, 'Argha-tirtha' is said to have been situated in *Koshambapattalā*, or the Kosāmbi division. Kosāmbi has been now proved to be identical with Kosam, which lies about 30 miles south-west of Prayāg. (Ind. Ant. XVIII. 137; D. H. N. I. 538, 610 notes). I venture to suggest that Alberūni's 'Araktirath' is this 'Argha-tirtha' and that it was at Piāwan, where an inscription of Gāngeya Chedi, the father of Karṇa, has been found. The idea has occurred to me very recently after the perusal of a passage in one of Cunningham's Arch. Surv. Reports. "The Tons river," he writes, "is known for the number of its waterfalls. .....They are found from 20 to 30 miles north and north-east of Rewā, where the river rushes down the Vindhyā Hills to join the Ganges near Panāsa All the principal waterfalls are considered holy by the Hindus and pilgrimages are still made to them by devout people. One of these holy spots lies in a small valley called Piāwan, 6 miles south-east of Kathaula

and 25 miles north-north-east of Rewā.....At the western end [of the valley], a stream falls over the cliff and *the rock below on which the water falls has been formed into an Argha for the reception of a lingam.*.....On the upper face of the *Argha*, there is an inscription ..... It is a valuable one, as it is the only record yet found of the Kalachuri King, Gāngeya Deva. It is especially valuable as showing that the dominions of the Kalachuri Kings of Chedi extended.....*to within fifty miles of Allahābād.*" The date of the record is 789 of the Chedi Era, *i. e.* 1038 A. C. (Arch. Surv. Rep. XXI. 112-13). As Piāwan is about 25 miles N. N. E. of Rewā, which is about 90 miles south-west of Allahābād and Alberūni's *Araktirath* was 12 *farsakhs* (about sixty miles) south of Prayāg, it seems to be just the place intended. It becomes easy also to understand why Gāngeya's son Karṇa performed his sacrificial ablutions at Piāwan—the place where his father also had probably purified himself in the same way—before making the grant. As the location of the *Argha-tirtha* mentioned in the Gohorwa and other Inscriptions has hitherto baffled our archaeologists, this humble suggestion may perhaps be worthy of consideration.

P. 93, *l.* **29.** (Note on I. 172, l. 16).

'Mangonels and *Ghazraks*' are said to have been used and "stones and arrows thrown from the walls of the fort" of Multān in another passage of the *Chachnāma* also. The *Gharwa* was, like the mangonel, a balista, stone-sling or catapult. Dowson says in the note there (I. 204) that 'Ghazrak' means 'breast-plate, or dagger,' but this is obviously inapplicable to the context. May not the right reading there also be غرو and not 'Ghazrak'?

P. 101, *l.* **15.** (Note on I. 222, l. 3 f. f.).

This *Jāma-i-Ghūk* ['Frog's Robe'] has been identified with *Lemna* or *Herba Lentis Palustris* and the 'Phakós' of Dioscorides. (E. G. Browne, Lectures on Arabian Medicine, 74 Note). He relates five other equally quaint or grotesque stories of "abnormal parasitic invasion" and states that such cures are quite common in what is known as the Literature of *Nawādir*—Tales of Wonder or Marvels. (*Ibid.* 75-79). The fabricator of the passage may have got the idea from some old collection of such yarns.

P. 107, *l.* **9.** (Note on I. 235, l. 12).

The Mullā Firūz Library in Bombay possesses a good Ms. of M'asūm's *Tārīkh-i-Sind*, which is stated in the kolophon to have been transcribed on 25th Shawwāl 1085 H. This obscure passage is thus worded in it: و مسودهٔ آن در کتب خانهٔ مسود این اوراق هست و بر اکثر کتب متداوله حواشی نوشته اند (Folio 49 b, l. 2 f. f.). "And the original draft (or autograph) of that work [the Commentary on the Mishkāt] exists in the library of the writer of these pages and he [the Maulānā] had [also] written marginal notes on many other well-known (or standard) works." There can be no doubt that this is the real meaning. The library did not belong to an individual

named 'Masūd,' but to Mīr M'aṣūm, the '*Musawwad*,' (مسود) *i. e.* Writer or Author of the *Tārīkh-i-Sind*.

P. 112, *l.* **16 f. f.** (Note on I. 248, l. 6).

Here again, this manuscript enables us to solve the difficulty. The right reading is not یاباب or یاشیب, but *Sābāt* سابات. The sentence is written thus: بهمین قرار داد از آب گذشته گرد سپوان مرحلها قسمت نموده درمقام ساختن سابات شدند در این اثنا خبر رسید (Folio 148 b, l. 5). They were preparing to lay a siege and سابات (covered approaches) is just the word required and which would be wrongly read or written as یاباب in the Semitic script.

P. 115, *l.* **13 f. f.** (Note on I. 256, *l.* 4 f. f.).

This earthquake theory may receive some support from a fact which has been unearthed from the *Kāmilu-t-Tawārīkh* by Dr. Thomas Oldham (Memoirs of the Geological Survey of India. XIX, Pt iii. p. 3). Ibn-al-Athīr has left it on record that in Shāwwāl 280 H. (December, 893 A.C.) a town called 'Dabīl' [Daibal?] was totally demolished by a terrible seismic disturbance, (زلزله) and one hundred and fifty thousand people were killed. (Ed. Tornberg, VII. 323; Bulāk Ed. VII. 154, ll. 8-11). This catastrophe may have been connected with the destruction of Aror also and the change in the course of the Indus. Unfortunately, there is no clue to the situation of the town, the name of which is not quite certain and the year does not tally with any of the conjectural dates put forward by Cunningham, Raverty, Haig or other authors who have speculated on the subject. (I am indebted to Mr. C.E.A.W. Oldham for the information).

P. 123, *l.* **9 f. f.** (Note on I. 306, l. 12 f. f.).

The correct Turki form is, according to M. Blochet, ویرمیش, *Virmīsh*, which signifies *Dieu donné* or 'God-given,' and is a participial form of *Vīrmak*, the root of which is found in *Virdi* or *Birdi*, *e. g.* Allahvirdi. (*Histoire des Mongols*, Gibb Series, XVII. Pt. 2, Appendix, pp. 61-2). The name thus belongs to the Allahdād, Khudādād, Devadatta or Ishwardatta class.

P. 128, *l.* **22.** (Note on I. 326, l. 11).

The year of Muḥammad Bāqi Tarkhān's death, which is given in Malet's Translation of M'aṣūm's History as 979 H., is undoubtedly wrong and must be due to some oversight or error, as it is written as نه صد و نود و سه 'nine hundred and ninety-three,' in words, in the Mullā Firūz Library Ms. (Folio 131 b, l. 2 f. f.).

P. 143, *l.* **1.** (Note on II. 34, l. 5).

Hiuen Tsiang [Yuān Chwāng] must be referring here to Bhīmāsthāna, otherwise called Takht-i-Bahāi, which is 28 miles north-east of Peshāwar and about 10 north-east of Pushkalāvati or Hashtnagar. Nagarkot had been sacred to Devi or Bhīmā, from very early times, because when her body was dismembered, the lower part was said to have fallen there; and the head or tongue at Jwālāmukhi, according to the Purāṇas. (*Āīn*, Tr. II. 313 and Note; Tieffenthaler, I. 107).

P. 146, *l.* 12. (Note to II. 34, l. 5).

In this connection, it may be worth while to invite attention to a passage in a Chandella inscription in which Kokalla Chedi II is spoken of as the *Kalachuri Chandra*, 'The Moon of the Kalachuris.' The sentence is translated thus: "From him (Gaṇḍa), there sprang that King Vidyādhara.....Bhojadeva, together with *Kalachuri Chandra* worshipped, full of fear, like a pupil, this master of warfare ..... who was lying on a couch". Dr. Hultzsch, who has edited the record, says that this 'Moon of the Kalachuris', must be Kokalla Chedi II. (*Epig. Ind.* I. 219). Dr. H. C. Ray agrees with Dr. Hultzsch (D. H. N. I. 689), and notes that "the silence of the later *prashastikāras* [about him] clearly shows that his [Kokalla II's] reign did not form a brilliant chapter in the history of the Kalachuris." (*Loc. cit.* 771). Is not this silence about an inglorious reign satisfactorily accounted for by Kokalla's disastrous defeat in the trial of strength with the *Turushka*? The *prashastikāras* habitually preserve a discreet silence about all reverses sustained by their heroes or their ancestors. It may be permissible to note that when Gardezi (Z. A. 75, l. 9) calls him 'Kul*chandar*,' he may have in mind his Hindu title, '*Moon* of the *Kala*churis.'

This important epigraph *may* also show that Kokalla and Vidyādhara Chandella had become allies or confederates *at this time*. We have little or no precise knowledge of the extent and boundaries of either the Chandella or the Chedi territories. They were probably more or less interlaced with each other, and even if the Chandella possessions intervened between the Chedi kingdom and Mahāban, this 'equal or subordinate alliance' between the two rulers may provide a sufficient answer to the difficulty and also explain why the task of encountering the invader was undertaken or assigned by mutual consent to Kokalla II.

An alternative suggestion is that the reference must be to Kokalla's father, Yuvarāja II., but this does not really affect the argument, as the real point is that 'Kulchand' or 'Kulchandar' of 'Utbi and Gardezi represents the *Chedi ruler of the day*.

P. 169, *l.* 8. (Note on II. 149, last line).

A village called Mināra or Manāra still exists about six miles east of Hund (Ohind or Waihind) on the western bank of the Indus. Shāhbazgiri or Kapur-da-giri, which has been identified with 'Kīri,' is about twenty-five miles north-west of this 'Manāra'. I am indebted to Mr. H. C. Srīvastava, Superintendent, Archaeological Survey, Frontier Circle, for the information.

P. 175, *l.* 10 f. f. (Note on II. 176, l. 18).

The immediately preceding tale of the 'Self-possession of an Indian Minister' occurs in the *Qābūs Nāma* (Bombay Lith., 1325 A.H., pp. 154-5), but it is told there of the Khalīf Māmūn and a Qāẓi named 'Abdu-l-Malik 'Aqīri.

P. 192, *l.* 10. (Note on II. 270, l. 6).

Steingass states that من یزید literally means "Who increases the offer, or bids more'; hence, auction, auctioneering-room, market." It is explained in just the same way in the *Mūyyadu-l-Fuẓala*, an old Persian Dictionary compiled by Muḥammad Lād in the 15th century. According to this authority, *Manyazīd* means, "'Is there any one who increases the price?' It is used in selling goods. Brokers say, 'Here is one who offers ten. Is there any body who will augment it?' When any one bids more, they sell the goods to him." (Mullā Firūz Library Ms., Folio 179 a).

P. 192, *l.* **14 f. f.** (Note on II. 270, l. 6).

The *Futūḥu-s-Salāṭīn* was written, not in the 15th, but in the 14th century about 1350 A.C. It has been published very recently by Dr. A. M. Ḥusain. This interesting passage will be found at p. 33, verses 649-652, of his Edition.

P. 210, *l.* **12.** (Note to II. 311, l. 4 f. f.).

See also Barthold, Turkestan, 389 Note. He states that 'Toyīn' is the name given to the Buddhist priesthood in Mongolia even at the present day. He cites from 'Awfī, a passage in which that author states that "a Buddhist priest was called a *Toyin* in the Khiṭāi language and *Sthavira* in India". M. Blochet assures us that *Toyin* designates the Buddhist priests of the Uighūrs and thinks that it is an alteration of the Sanskrit *Tapasvin*, Ascetic, which becomes *Tapassi* in Pāli. (*Histoire des Mongols*, Gibbs Trust Series, XVII. 2, p. 313 Note).

P. 225, *l.* **12.** (Note on II. 351, l. 18).

An alternative, if not better, suggestion *may be* that the Ajār or Ijār of Chāhaḍ Deva may be Ichwaro (Ichhchhāpuri?), which lies about twenty miles north-west of Narwar. It is shown on Constable's Plate 27, C c.

P. 232, last line. (Note on II. 370, l. 7 f. f.).

In the *Prabandha Chintāmaṇi*, Merutunga calls this man 'Vāhaḍ' (Text, p. 91, l. 2 and 128, l. 1; Tr. Tawney, 82, 120), but 'Vāgbhaṭa' on p. 127, l. f. f. and 141, l. 10. (Tawney, 120, 134). This indicates that the first is only a Prākritic form of the second and that Minhāj is quite correct in calling the Rājā *Bāhar* and that his *Bāhar* is identical with *Vāgbhaṭa* of the *Hammīra Mahākāvya*. 'Bāhaḍ' appears to have been a common name in those times and a physician of that name is also mentioned by Merutunga. (Text, 200, l. 7; Tr. Tawney, 199).

P. 244, *l.* **4.** (Note on III. 49, l. 6).

But as he is repeatedly called 'Nānak Hindi, Ākhurbak-i-Maisara,' in the *Futūḥu-s-Salāṭīn* also (pp. 294-5; verses 5649, 5659, 5669), Nānak seems to be correct and *may* have been his old Hindu name.

P. 246, *l.* **12.** (Note to III. 69, l. 14).

As the week-days of both these events are specified in exactly the same way in an old Ms. of the *Khazāinu-l-Futūḥ*, written in 1147 H., which is in the Mullā Firūz Library, Bombay, (Folio 5 b, l. 5 and 6 a, l. 3), and work out correctly, the dates may be taken as reliable.

P. 249, *l.* **25.** (Note on III. 76, l. 2).

I now think that the first 'Bāhir Deo' stands for the name of the god Bhairav [بهرو] and the second for that of the King. The meaning may be that the temple was *of*, *i.e.* dedicated to Bhairav Deva and the King Bāhir Deva (Bāhaḍ Deva or Vāgbhaṭa) was a devout worshipper of the idol and accustomed to implore the god's help.

P. 250, *l.* **8.** (Note on III. 76, l. 6 f. f.).

As the year is given as 705 H. in the M. F. L. Ms. also (Folio 28 b, l. 2), the objection loses what little force it has.

P. 250, *l.* **7 f. f.** (Note on III. 78, l. 4).

The year is 708 H. in the Ms. also (Folio 33 a, l. 6) and 710 of the Translation must be due to some error.

P. 280, *l.* **15.** (Note on III. 280, l. 2).

If this explanation is correct, the 'Doaspa' of 'Alāu-d-dīn must be the *Bārgīr* of later times. Richardson and Steingass say that بارگي means 'a horse or packhorse.' In the *Āīn* also, *Bārgi* or *Bārgīr* (lit. load-taker) is used for the horse and the rider is called بارگیرسوار. (Tr. I. 139, 215, 263). This was shortened as *Bārgīr*, and came to be used for the trooper's comrade or for a trooper who did not ride his own horse. 'Alāu-d-dīn proposed to pay the *Doaspa* only one-third as much as the *Murattab*, because the 'Doaspa' did not ride his own horse and a horse was found for him, as Richardson puts it, by some one else. The rule seems to have been to give one share each for a horse and a man. The *Murattab* had three shares, one for himself and one for each of the horses which he brought. The 'Doaspa' had only one share, *viz.* that for himself.

The full pay of the *Murattab* was really 240 *tangas* per year or 20 per month. The figure is given by Barani as 234, because 6 *tangas*, or $2\frac{1}{2}$ *per cent* (*chihalyak*), were deducted in advance, for *Zakāt*, just as income-tax now is, on the salaries of all Government servants. So the *Doaspa's* $78=80-2\frac{1}{2}$ *per cent* of 80, or 2.

P. 282, last line. (Note on III. 206, l. 12).

There can be little doubt that the Malāḥida and Borahs are the persons meant. They were called 'Chirāghkush' and *accused by their enemies* of incestuous practices. Mirzā Ḥaidar Dughlāt says that the *Malāḥida* or *Chirāgh Kush* practise "the worst form of heathenism in the world" and that with them "sexual intercourse (*vaṭi*) with their own kindred is lawful, and enjoyment of it is in no respect dependent on marriage; thus, should one have a passion for some body, it is lawful to gratify it, be it with son or mother." (*Tār. Rash.* Tr. 213, 217 and 218 Note). Erskine quotes this passage and explains that the name of *Chirāghkush* was given to them from the practice *said to exist* at their religious meetings, where men and women met by night, and where, on the lamp being extinguished, indiscriminate indulgence followed". (H. B. H. Vol. I. 287 Note). The 'Borahs' were a branch of the Malāḥida and we know that they also were stigmatised as 'Chirāghkush'. Khwāfi Khān tells us that he was personally acquainted with the *Mujtahid*-and *Peshwā* of the

Chirāghkush of Aḥmadābād and that his name was *Mullā* Jīvān—a fact which clearly indicates that he must have been an Ismā'īli Borah.

'Iṣāmi also states that the men put to death by 'Alāu-d-dīn were "*Almūtiān*, [*i.e.* the people of Alamūt], who knew no difference between wife and daughter and that the people of Hindustan called them *Bodah* also in their own tongue."

بر اندازه بر فرق الموتیان که فرق از زن و دوخت کم بود شان

مر آن قوم را اهل هندوستان بخوانند بوده بهندی زبان

(*Futūḥu-s-Salāṭīn*, p. 293, verses 5617-8).

P. 292, *l.* **2.** (Note on III. 235, l. 18).

Ibn Baṭūṭa's account of the assassination-plot is borne out by the *Futūḥu-s-Salāṭīn* (p. 407, verse 7807 sq.). Though the writer does not make any mention of 'the clumsy device of the projecting beam', in the 'Kūshk' and does not enter into details, it is clear that the story was known to him and his contemporaries.

P. 295, *l.* **5 f. f.** (Note on III. 245, footnote).

But *Bīrāhān*, may, after all, be used as the name of a tribe. 'Iṣāmi states that when Raẓīyya and Lātūniya [Altūniya] recruited an army to regain the throne, many men belonging to the warlike tribes in those regions, Tonwars, Jatūs, Khokhars and *Bīrāhs* gathered around them.

بسي مرد از آن بوم و بر جمع کرد که بودند نام آور اندر نبرد

چه تو ور چه چتوئي پرخاش گر چه کهوکهر چه بیراه مردم شکر

(*Futūḥu-s-Salāṭīn*, p. 133, verses 2634-5).

The nearest phonetic approach is to *Parīhār*, but there are no Parīhār Rājputs in the Punjāb. 'Parhar' and 'Parhār' are said by Mr. H. A. Rose to be the names of certain Jat clans in the Montgomery, Dera Ghāzi Khān and Multān districts, but he also remarks that if 'Parhār' is a contraction of 'Parīhār,' the Parhār Jats are their only representatives.

P. 319, *l.* **28.** (Note on III. 317, l. 14).

In the *Futūḥu-s-Salāṭīn*, this folktale is related of Sultān Maḥmūd of Ghazna and an old woman. The drink offered is the juice of a pomegranate (pp. 51-3).

P. 340, *l.* **17.** (Note on III. 377, l. 5).

I have ventured to suggest that the *Amīri-i-Ṭarab* or *Ṭarib* was a tax on marriages, like the *Ṭūi-Begi* of Akbar's days. *Ṭūi* means 'marriage.' There was a very similar tax called *Lagna-paṭṭi* under Maḥrāṭhā rule. (S. Sen, Administrative System of the Marathas, p. 560).

A tax called *Chhāpa* also is mentioned by Dr. Sen, who states that it was a stamping duty on cloth. Imported cloth had to pay a duty of 5 per cent and locally-made fabrics one of 2½ per cent *ad valorem* (*Ibid*, 302). But the *Jhaba* [*Chhappa*] mentioned by the Sultān may have been levied for stamping weights and measures.

P. 343, *l.* **11.** (Note on III. 380, l. 6 f. f.).

Mr. Hilary Waddington, Superintendent, Archaeological Survey,

New Dehli, has kindly informed me that the temple of Kālikā near the Okhla Railway Station is in a village called *Badāpur*, (not Bahāpur), above a mile to the west of the Dehli-Muttra road, between the third and fourth *kos mināŕ* from Dehli. The village called *Malcha* lies on the Ridge, about 6½ miles from this temple of Kālikā and "there are a number of ruins there, including a hunting-box in a very fair state of preservation." This enables us to fix the spelling of the name which is written in so many different ways. The 'hunting box' must be the *Kūshk-i-Shikār* of Shams. The *Kuṇḍ* of Malcha, mentioned by the Sultān, cannot therefore be the one near the Kālikā *Mandīr*, but some other tank on the Ridge, which was also regarded as holy. Bahārpur, where Sultan Jalālu-d-dīn is said to have encamped, is called *Bhokal Pahāŕi* by 'Iṣāmi (p. 201, verse 2928) and also by the T.M. (57, l. 1).

P. 348, *l.* **16 f. f.** (Note on III. 404, l. 7).

Elsewhere, Yazdi states that the '*Tūmān* of Kapak Khān' and the '*Tūmān* of Uljā Būghā Saldūz' were ordered to form and post themselves on the bank of river to keep guard there. (Ẓ.N. Vol. I. 109, l. 6). They were evidently brigades or divisions, named after some famous heroes of the past.

P. 350, *l.* **3 f. f.** (Note on III. 415, l. 3 f. f.).

A village called 'Jāl' or 'Chāl' cannot be found now anywhere in this neighbourhood and Raverty is most probably right in taking 'Chāl' as a common noun, meaning 'lake, swamp, pool of water or *Dhāṇḍ*.' He assures us that there is such a lake still in the old bed of the Bīāh, about thirty miles south-east of Multān. (Mihrān, 281). Yazdi himself, in another passage, writes thus about it: لشکر منصور ازان کول و وهل ولای...عبور نمودند (Ẓ. N. II. 58, l. 3). See also *Ibid*, 56, last line, where he states 'that Tīmūr encamped بر کنار آن کول 'on the bank of that *lake*.' 'Kūl' and 'Chāl' are evidently synonymous terms. Shāh Nawāz is shown, not in Rennell's Atlas, but on the Map given in his Memoir, (Edit. 1792), p. 65. See also *Ibid*, pp. 118-9.

P. 351, *l.* **17 f. f.** (Note on III. 417, l. 10 f. f.).

It is recorded in the *Bādshāh-Nāma* of 'Abdu-l-Ḥamīd, that it rained so heavily and incessantly for 36 hours at Ṭhaṭṭa and in all the towns and places in the vicinity in Rab'ī I. 1047 H. (August, 1637 A.D.), that "many buildings were destroyed and great numbers of men and beasts were drowned." (Text, I. ii. 276, l. 8 f. f.; E.D. VII. 61).

P. 354, *l.* **17**. (Note on III. 444, l. 20).

Mr. R. B. Whitehead assures me that this copper coin is genuine and that Mr. John Allan of the British Museum is of the same opinion. A gold coin, weighing 210 grains, struck at Ḥiṣār in 801 H. in the name of صاحب قران (*sic*) تیمور کورکان الخاقان الاعظم الملک was published by Dr. Hoernle in the J.A.S.B. LXVI. 1897, p. 135. Sir Richard Burn, who has a duplicate in his cabinet, thinks that it *may be genuine*. Mr. Allan also is not sure that it is a forgery. All that can be said for and against its

genuineness has been very fairly and fully stated by Dr. Hoernle and the matter must be left there. Dr. Hoernle and Mr. Allan are strongly inclined to think, however, that this Ḥiṣār was not the place of that name in India, but one of the towns so-called in Central Asia.

P. 355, *l.* **1.** (Note on III. 449, l. 10 f. f.).

The other village mentioned in this paragraph, Mūdūla (l. 21), which was six *Kos* from Wazīrābād, is *Mandaula* in *pargana* Loni. It is shown on the Map (facing p. 194) in Mr. E. T. Atkinson's Statistical Account of the N.W. Provinces (1876), III. Pt. 2. It lies about 15 miles north of Dehli and eight miles south of Kātha. (*Ibid.* 321).

P. 355, *l.* **4 f. f.** (Note on III. 452, l. 13).

The village of Mansūra (l. 11), where Tīmūr halted on the day before he reached Pīrozpur, is *Mansūri* or *Masūri* on the Mīrat-Bijnor road near Inchauli, about eight miles from Mīrat. (*Ibid.* 322).

As Mr. Atkinson agrees with Elliot in holding that Pīrozpur lay north of Bahsuma, on the Buḍh Ganga in Hastināpur *taḥṣīl*, Mīrat district (*Ibid*, 588), it seems to be the better opinion.

P. 371, *l.* **15 f. f.** (Note on III. 545, l. 4).

The name of Khusrav's tribe is always written as پراو, *Parāv*, in the *Futūḥu-s-Salāṭīn* (p. 362, verse 6919; p. 363, verse 6929; p. 380, verse 7186). This can be easily read as پواو, *Pawār*, *i.e.* Parmār and *may* lend some support to the old suggestion that Khusrav was some sort of Rajput and a *Parmār*. (*Mirāt-i-Aḥmadi*, I. 42, l. 12; Bird's Translation in History of Gujarāt, 167 and Note). The T. M. (86, l. 12) and B. (I. 203; Tr. 274) state that Khusrav had been captured and enslaved during the conquest of Mālwa, the Rājās of which were Parmārs. We know also that 'Alāu-d-dīn Khalji had a corps of *Parmār* Ḥājibs (Chamberlains or Guards) in his service and Amīr Khusrav speaks of them thus in his Chapter on the conquest of Dhūr Sāmandar: "The Malik [Kāfūr] then ordered some *Hindu Parmār ḥājibs* to go along with the two or three ambassadors of the Rāi [Ladar Deo]. The imperial messengers [*i.e.* the *Parmār* Ḥājibs] ... then attacked the Rāi with their tongues." (Text, 148, l. 4; Tr. 92).

P. 372, last line. (Note on III. 551, l. 3 f. f.).

'Iṣāmi also calls him 'Bhīlam', not 'Bhīm' (*Futūḥu-s-Salāṭīn*, 226, verse 4417; 274, verse 5288) and this is undoubtedly the correct form.

P. 380, *l.* **7 f. f.** (Note on III. 598, l. 13 f. f.).

A more satisfactory explanation is perhaps this: Ibn Baṭūṭa says elsewhere that there were three cities in Daulatābād. "It is divided," he writes, "into three sections; one is Dawlatābād proper, and is reserved for the Sultan and his troops; the second is called *Kataka*, and the third is the citadel [قصبه], which is unequalled for its strength and is called *Duwaygīr* [Deogiri]." (Gibb. 227).

Kaṭaka seems to have been the old Hindu city of the Yādava Kings and was so called because it was their 'camp' (Sansk. *Kaṭaka*). 'Iṣāmi also repeatedly speaks of the city as کتک (Kahtaka) and the fort or

citadel as 'Deogīr', (p. 226, verse 4416; 227, verse 4425; 480, verse 9250). Ibn Baṭūṭa must therefore mean that 'Duwaygīr' was the name of the *Qaṣba*, (*i.e. citadel*, not 'country'), and 'Kaṭaka' that of the old Hindu town.

P. 381, *l.* **20.** (Note on III. 616, l. 1).

These barbarities are mentioned by 'Iṣāmi also, who declares that Bahāu-d-dīn Girshāsp's skin was stuffed with straw and his flesh cooked and given to the elephants. (*Futūḥ*, p. 417, verses 7923-6).

P. 400, *l.* **23.** (Note on IV. 45, Footnote 2).

In the *Tārīkh-i-Muḥammadi*, compiled by Muḥammad Bihāmad Khān in 842 H., it is explicitly stated that "Mirzā Shāhrukh was still sitting on the throne, which he had occupied for nearly forty years and *was recognised by the Kings of India as their suzerain.*" (Rieu, I. 85).

P. 437, *l.* **15 f. f.** (Note on IV. 247, l. 17).

'Kinkūta' must be 'Gangtha' near Nūrpur (Post Office Guide).

P. 442, *l.* **11.** (Note on IV. 282, l. 4).

'Dakdāki' is 'Dugdugee', 22 miles east of Fathpur. (Th. 291).

P. 443, *l.* **21.** (Note on IV. 285, l. 3).

Read 'Arra' for 'Kharīd.' Arrah (283, l. 27) lies in Shāhabād district. Kharīd is *now* in Bālliā district and lies on the right bank of the Ghogra, but the Kharīd of the days of Bābur included the country *on both banks of the* river near Sikandarpur and thence on that river's left bank down to the Ganges. (B.N. 664, 637 Notes). Ballīā itself, of which Kharīd now forms a part is stated to have been formerly in Shāhābād district. (I. G. VI. 255). It was afterwards transferred to Benares and then to Ghāzipur district. (*Ibid.* 252). It is now a district by itself.

P. 449, *l.* **22.** (Note on IV. 342, l. 9).

Mr. C. E. A. W. Oldham who knows the area very well is sure that the battle took place near Sūrajgarh, probably about 5 miles south-west of the town. The "earthen embankments" of which 'Abbās speaks (339, l. 18), he says, "still stand, though much weatherworn." See his Edition of the Journal of Francis Buchanan (District Bhāgalpur), p. 296, Note 759.

P. 450, *l.* **13.** (Note on IV. 349, l. 14).

Sir Richard Burn informs me that the correct name is not 'Deunru,' but 'Daunrūā.' It is shown on the Map attached to C. H. I. IV.

P. 450, *l.* **15.** (Note on IV. 350, l. 9 f. f.).

This 'Nahrkunda,' or 'Bharkunda,' (p. 419) is not so easily fixed. Blochmann's description of the boundaries is neither clear nor free from difficulties. There is a place called 'Bhurkunda' in Hazārībāgh district. It is a station on the Gomoh-Sone East Bank Railway Line.

P. 486, *l.* **8.** (Note on V. 18, l. 16).

This 'Jūnd' may be the same as Chūnd or 'Chaund,' (Chainpur in Shāhābād), mentioned, on IV. 323, l. 5 f. f. *q.v.* note. Mr. Oldham who holds that opinion, points out that "a main route constantly used by armies went across through Shāhābād from Chunār and Benares towards

South Bihār." He reinforces the argument by stating that we have no evidence of Chirand being of strategic importance in those days.

P. 488, *l.* **17 f. f.** (Note on V. 41, l. 13 f. f.).

This word is frequently used in the Journal of Peter Mundy also in the form 'Gawares,' for 'villagers, rustics, thievish Hindus, robbers or rebels'. (Journal, II. 73, and Sir Richard Temple's Note, 92, 111, 120, 170, 172, 173).

P. 493, *l.* **7 f. f.** (Note on V. 89, l. 11).

Sir Richard Burn points out that the name of the place is spelt as 'Baksar' and not 'Bagesar' in the U. P. Gazetteer (1903), (Unão), p. 154. It is there said to have been so called after the shrine of *Bakeshwar* Mahādeva, which was founded by Tilokchand's tenth ancestor, Rājā Abhaya Chand. *Bāgheshwar* means the 'God of Tigers,' and is an epithet of Mahādeva. There is a town called 'Bāgeshwar' in Almora district also. (I. G. VI. 182).

P. 497, *l.* **30.** (Note on V. 101, l. 23).

Firishta uses the word کنایس *Kanāis*, in connection with the destruction of *Hindu temples* in the Vijayanagar territories, by Aḥmad Shāh Bahmani. بتخانها را می شکست و کنایس را ویران میکرد (I. 321, l. 4). Elsewhere, he states that 'Ālāu-d-dīn Shāh Bahmani raised mosques in the place of old idol temples, بتخانها و کنایس, which he had destroyed. (I. 333, l. 3 f.f.). کنشت *Kanisht*, which is another form or doublet of *Kanīsa*, is used by 'Iṣāmi also for a *Hindu temple* (p. 498, verse 9705; p. 536, verse 10517).

P. 511, *l.* **2.** (Note on V. 217, l. 19).

The name of the place is written as سوراق in the *Aḥsanu-t-Tawārīkh* of Ḥasan Shāmlū, a History of the early Ṣafavis, written in 1080-1085 A.H. (Ed. N. C. Seddon, p. 369, l. 8 f.f.).

P. 512, *l.* **11 f. f.** (Note on V. 227, l. 2).

The B. I. text of the Ṭ.A. (II. 69, l. 5 f. f.) inserts a negative in the sentence. If it is right, the meaning would be 'I have *not* killed your father (done you any irreparable injury). Why then do you pursue me?'

P. 519, *l.* **1.** (Note on V. 266, l. 9).

I learn from a local authority that Gunāchaur is just 31 miles south-east of 'Jullunder' city *via* Phagwāra and Banga or Bunga.

'Dihakdār' is mentioned again at A. N. III. Tr. 706. Akbar is there said to have crossed the Sutlej at Māchīwāra, halted his army at 'Dihakdār' and gone on to Ambāla by way of Hādiābād, Jālandhar and Sulṭānpur. Dakdār, Dahakdār or Dārdak is really a compound of the names of two villages which formerly lay in close proximity to each other, *viz.* one called 'Dakha' and another named 'Dār' or 'Dhār.' 'Dakha' still exists and has a Branch Post Office, but 'Dār' or 'Dhār' is now only a mound of ruins, a 'Tibba' or 'Khera'.

P. 528, *l.* **18.** (Note on V. 318, l. 16).

Abu-l-Fazl states that these bellicose Sannyāsis were 'Kurs and Pūris' and Mr. Beveridge's explanation is that these "names apparently repre-

sent the Kurus and Pāndūs". (A. N. Tr. II. 423 note). Sir Wolseley Haig supposes that these devotees were "accustomed to celebrate the anniversary of the great battle between the heroes of the *Mahābhārat* by a mock combat, but that they had arranged that the combat should be fought in earnest on this occasion." (C. H. I. IV. 95).

I venture to say that neither of these explanations will bear examination. These 'Kurs (or Gurs) and Pūris' belonged to two rival orders of the *Dashnāmi* Sannyāsis who were at war with each other in connection with their *Dakshina* and who have been often known to engage in similarly bloody contests. "Shankarācharya had four disciples, each of whom had two or more *Chelās* of his own, whose total number was ten. Their names were, Tirtha, Āshrama, Vana, Araṇya, Sarasvati, *Puri*, Bhārati, *Giri* [also *Gur* or *Gir*], Parvata and Sāgara. When a Brāhman enters into any class, he attaches to his own denomination that of the class of which he becomes a member, as Tirtha, Pūri, Gir, etc." (H. H. Wilson, Religious Sects of the Hindus, Select Works, Ed. Rost, I. 202 and note). In a similar fight between Gosāins, and Bairāgis which took place at Hardwār in 1760, eighteen hundred persons are said to have been killed. (I.G. XIII. 53). An older incident of 1640 A.C. of which the scene was Dwārkā is recorded in the *Dabistān*. (Tr. Shea and Troyer, II. 197).

For Tieffenthaler's sarcastic remark, see Bernoulli, I. 137.

P. 537, *l.* **12 f. f.** (Note on V. 369, l. 5 f. f.).

'Newta' or 'Neoṭa' is correct. I am informed that it is a village about seven miles from Sāngāner Railway Station.

P. 537, *l.* **1 f. f.** (Note on V. 370, l. 11).

The town which is called Bajūna and said to have been 12 *kos* from Fatḥpur (p. 370, l. 11) is *Bajna*. It is now in Bhartpur State and shown in Constable, 27 C b.

P. 543, last line. (Note on V. 407, l. 4).

There is a town called Lūnkaran-nagar in the State of Bīkāner (P. O. G.). This should demonstrate the unsoundness of Mr. Beveridge's derivation of the name of the Rājā.

P. 544, *l.* **17.** (Note to V. 407, l. 7).

Speaking of Tānsen, it may be worth while to note that Mr. Vincent Smith's statements about "the date of his death having not been recorded and of his having continued to serve in the court of Jahāngīr" (Akbar, 423) are erroneous. The death of the Master on 15th Ardībihisht of the 34th year, [26th April 1589], is registered in the *Akbar Nāma* (III. 537, Tr. 816). The portrait "of Jahāngīr's reign, depicting a court group, which is in the possession of the Royal Asiatic Society" may be "well executed" and of great artistic interest, but it cannot disprove the fact of his death having preceded Akbar's by sixteen years.

P. 555, *l.* **6 f. f.** (Note on IV. 451, l. 13).

As there are at least five different recensions in Sanskrit of the *Vetālapanchavinshati*, it may be necessary to state that this story is the

fourth (not the third) in Dr. Emenau's recently published text and translation of Jambhalabhaṭṭa's recension (pp. 42-46) and is entitled 'How *Vīravara* saved his Lord's life.'

P. 580, *l.* **9.** (Note on VI. 91, l. 17).

I now think that it must be Shaikhūpur in Kapurthalā State. Akbar is stated to have gone out for hunting, and arrived at Sulṭānpur on the bank of the Biāh. The Khān-i-Khānān was summoned from Sirhind, where he had gone to pay his respects to Prince Dāniyāl. (*Maāṣir-i-Raḥīmi*, E.D. VI. 240). Shaikhūpur is about three miles west of Kapurthalā, which is about twelve miles north-east of Sulṭānpur.

P. 581, *l.* **2 f. f.** (Note on VI. 101, l. 6 f. f.).

He is called Vanangpāl Nāik Nimbālkar and Jagpatrāo (not Jagpālrāo as in Grant Duff) by Kincaid (I. 114). But perhaps both these forms are factitious creations of local panegyrists.

P. 590, *l.* **16.** (Note on VI. 151, l. 13).

The origin of this strange and much-misunderstood designation is said to have been that Akbar was accustomed to take his bath in a suite of rooms, which lay between the Ḥarem and the Dīwānkhāna. At first, a few only of his most confidential attendants were permitted to see him here. The Dīwān and the Bakhshi were then granted admission on urgent State business and lastly the greater nobles were granted the same privilege, so that many important State affairs came to be discussed and settled there. As Shāh Jahān did not like the name, 'Ghusalkhāna,' he ordered it to be called 'Daulat Khāna-i-Khāṣ.' (*Bādshāhnāma*, I.i. 148, l. 3). See also 'A.Ṣ. (I. 247), where the same explanation is given and it is said to have been called *Khilvat Khāna* also.

P. 602. (Note on VI. 311, l. 12).

"The verse of Mīr Khusrau", which the Imperial diarist quotes, will be found in the *Qirānu-s-S'adain.*

در تہ آبش ز صفا ریگ خورد ـ کور تواند بہ دل شب شمرد

('Alīgarh Lith. p. 32, l. 7).

P. 613, *l.* **8.** (Note on VI. 368, l. 12).

This third opinion is held by Mr. J. L. Dames also.

"The Karlugh Turks were associated with the Shāhs of Khwārizm and established a principality in Bannu and Kurram and were known as the Karlugh Ming or *Hazāra.*" (Houtsma, E.I. Vol. II. 298).

P. 656, *l.* **12.** (Note on VII. 289, l. 7).

Nārāyan Shenvi, an English agent who had been sent to negotiate a treaty of peace between the East India Company and the ruler of Janjira, speaks in a letter written from Rāigarh on 4th April 1674, of the '*Siddi* Fath Khān'. Sir Jadu Nāth Sarkār, who has unearthed the letter, remarks that "Khāfi Khān is thus proved by contemporary records to be unreliable, as Fatḥ Khān was not an Afghān". (Shivaji, 263 note). See also D. R. Banāji, Bombay and the Sidis, pp. 11, 15.

P. 675, *l.* **3 f. f.** (Note on VII. 503, l. 3 f. f).

In John Burnell's recently published 'Account of Bombay in the Days of Queen Anne,' the writer speaks of "four brass pettcraroes and *ramtackers*, fixt with swivels, which carry an eight-ounce shot" (p. 59). The Editor cites three other examples of the use of the word, and notes the suggestion that it may have some connection with Hindi *takkar*, 'striking, impact, knock.' But may it not be 'Ramjackers', or 'Ramjackees' —a corruption of *Rāmchangi* or *Rāmjanki*?

P. 676, *l.* (Note on VII. 512, l. 14).

Ḥusainpur is a village in *pargana* Palwal, about 24 miles north-west of Āgra, on the right bank of the Jumna. Bilūchpur, where Muḥammad Shāh had his camp, lies about six miles north of it. It is, most probably, identical with the Bilūchpur which is mentioned on VI. 386, l. 17. Shāhpūr (511, l. 27) lies about ten miles south of Bilūchpur. (L.M. II. 80, 82).

P. 694, *l.* **3 f. f.** (Note on VIII. 196, l. 14 f. f.).

The 'Dīwān-i-Tan' and the 'Dīwān-i-Khāliṣa' are mentioned by Khwāfi Khān also. (E. D. VII. 426). As Dowson has translated the first phrase there as 'Dīwān of the person', it seems necessary to stress the fact that 'Tan' is really the short form of 'Tankhwāh', *i.e.* Cash salaries. (Irvine, A. I. M. 59). Manucci tells us that "the second highest official in the Empire, (the Wazīr being the first), is the Dīwān of the Salaries. His duties are the receiving of all the revenues of the Empire, the realising of the property of deceased persons, and the resuming of the property of all those who are removed from the service. He also carries out any alterations in offices or allowances". (Storia. II. 419). Dr. Ibn Ḥasan says that as "all papers relating to the *Tankhwāh* passed through the hands of this minister, he had to keep a list of Manṣabdārs, a record of revenues collected and of sureties taken from officials, a Register of branding and verification, and the accounts of salaries of all Manṣabdārs." (Central Structure of the Mughal Empire, 208).

STUDIES IN INDO-MUSLIM HISTORY,

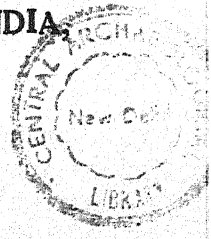
BEING

NOTES ON

ELLIOT AND DOWSON'S HISTORY OF INDIA,

AS TOLD BY

ITS OWN HISTORIANS.



EARLY ARAB GEOGRAPHERS.

I. 1. *l.* **7.** *Abū Zaidu-l-Ḥasan of Sīrāf.*

Sīrāf has disappeared from all modern maps and its place knows it no more. It was situated midway between Bushire on the N.W. and Kīsh on the S.E. "It was the most important and flourishing port in the Persian Gulf in the early days of Arab rule. Its prosperity appears to have lasted from the seventh Christian century to the twelfth." (Dames, Tr. Barbosa. I. 80 note). Qazvīni compares it to Shīrāz and Muqaddisi to Baghdād (Le Strange, Lands of the Eastern Caliphate, 257-9). It is now represented by Tahiri, Lat. 27°-40′ N., Long. 52°-12′ E. which is shown in the Times of India New Pictorial Atlas of the World, Pl. 63.

I. 3. *l.* **8 from foot.** *The Balharā is the most eminent of the princes of India.*

Elliot's note on the Balharā (354 *infra*) is now out of date. The power of the Rājās of Valabhi, with whom he seeks to identify them, had been demolished before the end of the eighth Christian century. The Balharās of Sulaimān and Mas'ūdi were the Rāshṭrakūṭas, who styled themselves 'Vallabha' in imitation of their predecessors, the Chālukyas. Govinda III Rāshṭrakūṭā calls himself *Vallabha, Vallabha-Narendra,* or *Prithivi Vallabha.* Vallabha-Narendra is identical in meaning with *Vallabha-Rājā,* the Prākrit form of which would be Vallaha-Rāya or Ballaha-Rāya. This was corrupted into Balharāy or Balharā by the Arabs. Dr. Bhāu Dāji was the first to advance the conjecture and it was endorsed by Bühler in Ind. Ant. VI. 64, but the question was really settled only when [Sir] R. G. Bhandārkar explained the true origin in his History of the Dekkan (First edit. 1884, p. 50. *Vide* also Bombay Gazetteer. I. ii. 209; Fleet, *Ibid.*, 388 note; V. Smith, Early History of India, Ed. 1908, pp. 388-9).

I. 3. *l.* **3 from foot.** *He gives regular pay to his troops, as the practice is among the Arabs.*

This is differently rendered in the Old English Translation which was made from Renaudot's French version in 1733. "This king makes magnificent presents after the manner of the Arabs" (p. 15).

Mons. Gabriel Ferrand also in the more recent translation of the writings of Sulaimān and Abū Zaid Ḥasan interprets the words in the same way. "Le Balharā fait des dons généreux comme les Arabes." (*Voyage du Marchand Sulaimān*, 1922, p. 47). Thus there is really no contradiction between this statement and that to which Dowson draws attention in his footnote to p. 7 *post*.

I. 3. last line. *The coins which pass in his country are the Tātariya dirhams.*

Cunningham identifies the Ṭāṭariya dirhams with "the rude silver pieces generally known as Indo-Sāssānian, because they combine Indian letters with Sāssānian types. They would appear to have been first introduced by the *Scythian* or *Tātār* princes who ruled in Kābul and North-western India, as they are now found throughout the Kābul Valley and the Panjāb, as well as in Sind, Rājputānā and Gujarāt..... In weight, they vary from 50 to 68 grs. and in age, they range from the fifth or sixth century down to the period of Maḥmūd of Ghazni. They are frequently found with the silver pieces of the Brāhman kings of Kābul, which agrees with the statement of Mas'ūdi that the Tātariya dirhams were current along with other pieces which were stamped at Gandhārā. The latter I take to be the silver drachmas of the Brāhman kings of Kābul whose dynasty began to reign about 850 A.D." (Ancient Geography of India, Ed. 1871. pp. 313-14).

Cunningham's explanation is certainly more satisfactory than Thomas's fanciful derivations of 'Ṭāṭariya'—from the Ṭāhirides or the still more remote Greek 'Stater'. The only difficulty is that both Sulaimān and Mas'ūdi state that the Ṭāṭariya dirhams exhibited on their surface the year of the reign of the king in whose name they were struck. But these Indo-Sāssānian or Gadhiya coins bear no inscription whatever, neither name of ruler, nor date. They do not even exhibit an easily "intelligible device" and it was only after the study of an extensive series of specimens that modern numismatists were able to recognise in "the apparently meaningless marks, extreme degradations of the king's bust and the fire-altar with attendants, which are the characteristic features of the Sāssānian coinage." (Vincent Smith, Catalogue of Coins in the Indian Museum, I. 233. Pl. xxv). The derivation of the synonymous designation, *Gadhiya*, is uncertain. One suggestion is that the worn fire-altar was supposed to be an ass's head and gave rise to the appellation of 'Gadhiya Paisa' or 'Ass-money'. (B.G. I. i. 469 n.). Another connects it with the Gadhwāl [Gāhaḍwāl, or Gardabhila] dynasty of Qanauj.

I. 4. *l.* 2. *They are dated from the year in which the dynasty acquired the throne.*

But Mas'ūdi who has copied the passage from Sulaimān says: "The coins are impressed with the date when their *king* succeeded to the throne" (El-Masudi's Historical Encyclopaedia, Tr. Sprenger,

389). Meynard's rendering is similar: "they bear the date from the accession of the reigning prince" (Tr. in *Prairies d' Or.* I. 383). In the old English version, the passage is translated thus: "They bear the year of his [the king's] reign, from the last of the reign of his predecessor" (p. 15). The words used by Mas'ūdi are بدء تاريخ ملكتهم The fact that Sulaimān himself follows up this averment with another to the effect that the Balharās "dated their eras from the beginning of their kings' reigns," shows that this is the right meaning of the words used by him. Many of the Rāshṭrākūṭa inscriptions are dated in the regnal years of the king occupying the throne at the time, though the Shaka era is also used in others.

I. 4, *l.* 15. *And their* [*Balharā*] *kings live long, frequently reigning for fifty years.*

This happens to be actually true of the Balharā or Rāshṭrakūṭa kings of the period in which Sulaimān and Mas'ūdi lived and wrote. Amoghavarsha I reigned from 814 to 877, and his son and successor, Krishna II, from 877 to 915 A.C. (Duff, Chronology of India, 300; Smith, E. H. I. 387; Bhandārkar in B. G. I. ii. 199-203; Fleet, *Ibid.* 401-415).

I. 5. *l.* 1. *The women* [*of the kingdom of Tāfak*] *are white and the most beautiful in India.*

Mas'ūdi who has copied the passage into his own work adds these words: "They are praised for their beauty in books *De Coitu* [كتب الباه, *Ars Amatoria*] and sailors are exceedingly anxious to buy them. They are known under the name of *Tāqinians.*" (Sprenger, *loc. cit.* 390, *Prairies.* I. 383). Yule understood the allusion as applicable to the "race now called Kāfirs, the beauty of whose women is still so much extolled." (Cathay and the Way Thither, Ed. Cordier, I. 242 note). Cunningham was disposed to think that the women of the lower hills in the Punjāb were meant (A.G. I. 152). But Sulaimān's Ṭāfak [or Ṭāqan] was a small kingdom which covered the modern districts of Siālkot and Gujrānwāla (Imperial Gazetteer ot India, Ed. 1908, XII. 353) and the allusion may be to the women of the Gakkhars, who are found in these districts and are "famed for their beauty." (Erskine, History of Babar and Humayun, II. 425).

The old kingdom of Tāqi which Hiuen Tsiang calls Tseh-kia, had "embraced the whole of the Punjāb plains from the Indus to the Beas", (Tr. Beal, Buddhist Records of the Western World, I. 165 note; Cunningham, A. G. I. 148; Smith, E. H. I. 327), but it was greatly reduced at this time and we know that Sankarvarman, the Rājā of Kashmir, had compelled Alakhana, the Gurjjara king, to cede to him Takkadesha, which was a part of his dominions, at some time between 883 and 901 A.C. (*Rājataraṅgiṇi*, V. 150; Duff, C. I. 80). The Takkas were "a powerful tribe who were once undisputed lords of the Punjāb and who still exist as a numerous agricultural race in the hills between the Jhelum and the

Rāvi" (A. G. I. 152).

I. 5. *l.* **5.** *These three states border on a kingdom called Ruhmi.*

Most authorities are agreed that this kingdom of Ruhmi was in Bengal. The elephants, the exceedingly fine muslins, the rhinoceros, the *Kaudis* used as money, all leave no doubt on that head. But the origin of the name has not been satisfactorily elucidated. Yule was at one time inclined to trace Ruhmi to Rahmaniya, "the name by which Pegū is mentioned in Burmese literature". (Cathay and the Way Thither, Ed. Cordier. I. 243). Afterwards, "he derived it from Rāmu, which lies half-way between Chittāgong and Akyāb, a few miles east of Cox's Bazar in Ārākān", because "during the dispute which led to the First Burmese War in 1823-4, the governor of Ārākān demanded from the British the cession of Murshidābād and all the provinces to the east of it, as they were all natural parts of his own kingdom." (Travels of Marco Polo. Tr. II. 100). The great Arabist Lane thought that Ruhmi was Sumātra (Trans. *Alf Laila*, Notes, III. 80). Other authors connect it with 'Mrohaung' or 'Myohaung' (now in Akyāb district), one of the old capitals of Ārākān.

But Ārākān is rarely, if ever, mentioned in Hindu literature or history. It was a remote tract inhabited by savages who were beyond the pale of civilization. It is also improbable that a kingdom of the fame and magnitude which the Arab travellers ascribe to Ruhmi should have been named after an obscure place like Rāmu or even after Mrohaung. Moreover, it appears clearly from the annals of Ārākān itself, that the capital of the province in the ninth century was not at Mrohaung, but at Dwāravady near the modern Sandoway. It was removed to Mrohaung, further north, only in the tenth century, many years after Sulaimān wrote. (Imp. Gaz. v. 391-2; Phayre, History of Ārākān.)

Mas'ūdi also mentions the kingdom of Rahma and expressly states that "Rahma is the title for their kings, and generally at the same time, their name." (25 *infra*). The significance of this cannot be over-emphasised. It seems to me to furnish the clue to the solution of the riddle. We know from the evidence of contemporary inscriptions that Bengal was at this time ruled by the Pāla dynasty. A chieftain named Gopāla, who was a devout Buddhist, became king about 740 A.C. He is said to have reigned for forty-five years and to have been succeeded by *Dharmapāla* who is certainly known from epigraphic evidence to have reigned for, at least, thirty-two years. "The Tibetan historian, Tārānāth, states that his kingdom extended from the Bay of Bengal to Jālandhar in the north and the Vindhyan range in the south." The chronology of the dynasty has not been exactly determined, but Dharmapāla is held by a consensus of competent scholars to have been reigning about 810 A.C. (Smith, E. H. I. 367-8; Duff, C. I. 75, 298). A more recent writer, Mr. R. C. Majmūdār, holds that he reigned from 780 to 812 A.C. (Art. on the Chronology of

the Pāla Kings in J. A. S. B. 1921, p. 5). Mr. C. V. Vaidya thinks he was in power from 800 to 825 (Mediaeval Hindu India, II. 140).

It seems to me that 'Rahma' which is said by Mas'ūdi to have been the title or name of the king as well as of his kingdom, is to be explained by the fact that the kingdom was described in the original writing to which Sulaimān and Mas'ūdi were indebted for their knowledge, as ملك الدهمى. This phrase is equivocal and may mean, 'the kingdom of Dharma' and also 'the king Dharma'. The 'dāl' was subsequently supposed to be a 're' and the 're' a 'wāv'. The phrase was thus misread as ملك الروهمى or الرُهمى 'kingdom of Ruhmi'.

Sulaimān's account of the Indian kingdoms is, as Yule puts it, "a medley of disjointed notes put together at random and the information is extremely vague." His knowledge of India was both "slight and inaccurate and he had no distinct conception of the magnitude of the country" (Cathay, I. Introd. ciii). He does not appear to have personally known anything of Bengal and he is repeating only what he had heard or read in some previous author. This is clear from the expressions, 'It is said' and 'It is stated,' which he prefixes to his averments. It seems almost certain that he found the name of the kingdom or the king only in some manuscript and read it wrongly as *Al-Ruhmi* instead of 'Al-Dharmi' or 'Al-Dharma'.

Another possible elucidation may be 'Rangamati', which would be written as رجمتى by Arabs, and might have been wrongly read as رجمى (Rajmi) and then رحمى (Raḥmi). Rangamati (Constable, Pl. 29 Cc) was the old capital of Karṇa Suvarṇa and lies 12 miles north of Murshidābād in Bengal, on the site of an old city called Kurusona-ka-gaḍh, which is a local corruption of Karṇa Suvarṇa (J. A. S. B. xxii, 281 ff; lxii. 315-28; Ind. Ant. vii. 197; E. H. I. 311 note). The kingdom comprised the modern districts of Bhāgalpur, etc. and is said by Hiuen Tsiang to have been ruled by Śaśānka in the 7th century (Beal, *loc. cit.* I. 201, II. 210, 212). But this explanation is negatived by the fact that Rahmi is written by Sulaimān as well as Mas'ūdi (*Prairies.* I. 384; Sprenger, 390) not as رحمى with the Arabic 'Ḥā' but رهمى with the Persian.

In any case, it is clear that if Mas'ūdi's statement about 'Rahma' having been the *name* of the king, has any meaning or significance, the derivations from Rahmaniya, Rāmu and Mrohaung must be untenable and badly off the mark.

I. 5. *l.* **7.** *He [the king of Ruhmi] is at war with the Balharā, as he is with the king of Jurz.*

This also is historically correct. The Pālas of Bengal, the Rāshṭrakūṭās and the Pratihāras of Qanauj were frequently at war with one another. Dharmapāla of Bengal is known to have conquered Indrarājā of Mahodaya [*i. e.* Qanauj—Sulaimān's kingdom of Jurz] and to have given the sovereignty to Chakrāyudha about 800 A.C. (Duff. C I. 75; Smith, E. H. I. 349 and 367). Chakrāyudha is then said to have been

deprived of his throne by Nāgbhaṭṭa, the Gurjjara king of Qanauj. "During the reign of Nāgbhaṭṭa, the chronic warfare between the Gurjjaras and Rāshṭrakūṭas continued, and Govinda III claims to have obtained a victory over his northern rival". (E.H.I. 350; *op.* Vaidya, *cit.* II. 140, 146). In 916 A.C. "Indra III Rāshṭrakūṭa captured Qanauj, but Mahipāla, the Gurjjara king, afterwards recovered his capital with the aid of the Chandel ruler." (E.H.I. 351-2).

It may be worth while to stress here the fact that no ruler of Pegu or Ārākān is known to have ever gone to war either with the Rāshṭrakūṭas or the Gurjjaras of Qanauj or *vice versa*.

I. 5. *l.* 5 from foot. *After this kingdom* [*Ruhmi*] *there is another in the interior of the country, away from the sea. It is called Kāshbīn.*

The reading in the corresponding passage of Mas'ūdi is كامن Kāman (25 *infra*, and *Prairies.* I. 388). M. Ferrand proposes to transform 'Kāshbīn' into 'Lakshmipur' and to identify it with Lakhimpur in Āssām. But this is a violent and uncalled-for alteration and Mas'ūdi's lection indicates that the country referred to is كامت Kāmaṭa. The addition of a single dot is all that is required. Kāmaṭāpur, the capital, lay on the eastern bank of the Darla river, which flows south-west of the modern town of Kūch-Bihār and joins the Brahmaputra near Bagwah. (Blochmann, J. A. S. B. 1873, Pt. i. 240). The ruins of the old city still strike all beholders with astonishment and are said, by Buchanan, to be 19 miles in circumference. (Gait, History of Āssām, 42). The place is marked in Constable's Atlas, Pl. 29 C b and is about thirty miles north of Rangpur. (I. G. XXI. 225). Kāmaṭa was the western division of ancient Kāmarūpa, which was itself the western part of the Brahmaputra Valley, Āssām proper being its middle part and Sadiya the eastern. (Cunningham, A. G. I. 500).

The chief point noted about the people of the country by Sulaimān, as well as by Mas'ūdi, is that the inhabitants were fair and handsome. The beauty and charm of the women of Kāmarūpa is the subject of frequent allusion and admiration in Sanskrit literature. Abul Faẓl states that the people of Kāmarūpa, (which he notes is also called Kāmṭa), are a good-looking race. (*Āīn.* Tr. Jarrett. II. 117). Shihābu-d-din Tālish, who took part in Mīr Jumla's illusory conquest of Āssām, and wrote a contemporary account of it, observes that "the women of Āssām are remarkable for the beauty and delicacy of their features, softness of body, fairness of complexion, and the loveliness of their hands and feet". (*Fatḥiyya i 'Ibriya.* Tr. by Sir Jadu Nāth Sarkār in Journal, Bihār and Orissa Research Society, I. 1915, p. 190).

The identity of this Kāshbīn or Kāman with Kāmṭa in Kāmarūpa is also shown by the fact that Khurdādbih specifically mentions the king of Qāmrūn, "which is contiguous to China", as the seventh of the great sovereigns of India, the other six being the Balharā, the rulers of Ṭāfan, Jāba, Juzr, Āna and Rahmi. (13 and 14 *infra*).

I. 5, last line. *He [the king of Kiranj] collects large quantities of amber.*

What Sulaimān means, is not 'amber', but 'ambergris.' Amber is a fossilised vegetable production, or resin. It is, as Tavernier puts it," the congelation of a species of gum". (Travels, Tr. Ball. II. 137). Ambergris consists of the "faeces of the Cachalot or sperm-whale which inhabits the Indian Ocean". (*Ibid.* 138 note).

The confusion between 'amber' and 'ambergris' is of long standing. Mr. Dames notes that in Barbosa and other Portuguese writers of the 16th and 17th centuries, *ambre* means 'ambergris' and not 'amber' and he deplores the fact that Sir Clements Markham should have disseminated an ancient error by rendering *ambre* by 'amber' and not 'ambergris', in his Translation of Garcia d'Orta's work on the 'Drugs and Simples of India'. Garcia states that this *ambre* is of three sorts, white, grey and black, and that it is found in the Maldive Islands. The old English factor, Ralph Fitch, also speaks of this substance as 'ambre', but means ambergris. (Foster, Early English Travels in India, 47).

The word used in the original Arabic text is عنبر and it is correctly rendered by 'ambergreese' in the old English translation of 1733. Sulaimān explicitly states there that 'ambergreese' is obtained in the Maldive Islands and is found there in "lumps of extraordinary bigness" at the "bottom of the sea." (*loc. cit.* 2). Abu Zaid also speaks of a variety of 'Ambar or ambergris, which is "found in the belly of a fish of the whale kind." (*Ib.* 94; see also Mas'ūdi, Sprenger, 349; *Prairies.* I. 334).

Qiranj may be Kalinga, the old name of "the region once known as the 'Northern Circars' on the coast of the Bay of Bengal, extending from the Krishna to the Mahānadi." (Yule, Hobson Jobson, s. v. Kling). Thornton says (Gazetteer, s. n.) that the 'Circars' correspond to the modern districts of Guntūr, Masulipatam, Rājmundry, Vizāgāpatam and Ganjam. But the form 'Qiranj' bears a greater phonetic resemblance to Coringa, an ancient seaport in the Coconāda tāluk of Godāvari district, which his 32 miles south-east of Rājmundry. The East India Company had a factory here. (I.G. X. 398; H. J. s. v. Coringa). The king of Qīranj is here said to have been also "well-provided with elephants' teeth," and Mas'ūdi, too, states (25 *infra*) that the country "produced large numbers of elephants." Hiuen-Tsiang had observed about three hundred years before, that Kalinga was noted for its breed of "tawny wild elephants which are much prized by neighbouring provinces". (Tr. Beal, II. 207).

I. 6, *l.* **2.** *They eat pepper green in this country because it is scarce.*

The meaning of this paradoxical averment seems to be that the quantity grown in the surrounding parts was not so plentiful that the surplus could be dried for purposes of export. Barbosa makes a very similar remark about the island of San Lourenço, (Madagascar). "There is," he writes, "ginger in the island, of which they make no use,

save to eat it green." (Travels, Tr. Dames. I. 25).

I. 6, *l.* 4. *When the king of Sarandīb dies, his corpse is carried on a low carriage very near the ground, etc.*

I do not know if this strange custom really existed at any time in Ceylon, though it is just what might be expected from the Buddhist doctrines of the vanity of all earthly things. The nearest approach to a parallel that I can recall is in the Sixth Voyage of Sindbād. It is there said of the king of Sarandīb that "while he is on a march, an officer who sits before him on an elephant, from time to time, cries out with a loud voice, 'This is the great Monarch, the powerful and tremendous Sultan of the Indies.....This is the crowned Monarch, greater than even was Solomon or the great Mahrāj.' After he has pronounced these words, another officer who is behind the throne, cries in his turn, 'This monarch who is so great and powerful must die, must die, must die.' The first officer then replies, 'Hail to Him who lives and dies not!'"

I. 6. *l.* 8 from foot. *What astonished me was that he was not melted by the heat of the sun.*

But in the Old English Translation, the sentence is rendered thus: "I was astonished he had not lost his eyesight by the heat of the sun." (p. 32). And M. Ferrand's much more recent French version is in exact agreement with it: "Je fus etonné que son œil n'ait pas été detruit par le chaleur du soleil." (*loc. cit.* 66). The man who stood naked with his face turned towards the sun was one of the sect of *Ākāshamukhis* whom Hiuen-Tsiang saw at Prayāg. "They keep themselves," he writes, "stretched out in the air from the top of a pillar, with their eyes fixed on the sun, and their heads turning with it to the right as it sets." (Beal. *loc. cit.* I. 234). Mr. Crooke tells us that the sect still exists. "They are followers of Shiva and are so called because they keep their face turned toward the sky until the neck muscles become rigid, and the head remains fixed in that position." (Tribes and Castes of the North-Western Provinces, I. 78).

I. 8, *l.* 1. *There is a story concerning a king of Kumār.*

Qumār is neither the country about Cape Comorin, as Dowson imagined, nor Kāmarūpa, as others have suggested. It is Khmer, the old name of Cambodia or Annām. "The various indications given by the Arab geographers leave," states Yule, "no doubt on that head. It was, they say, (1) on the continent and facing the direction of Arabia, i.e. West. (2) It produced the most valuable kind of aloe-wood. (3) It was three days' voyage west of Ṣanf (Champa or Cochin China) and 10 or 20 days' sail from Zābaj" *i.e.* Sumātrā or Jāvā." (Cathay, First Ed. 519, 569; H. J. s. v. Comar). Khurdādbih explicitly states that the Qumāri aloe wood was so called because it came from Qumār, a country three days' journey from Ṣanf *i. e.* Champa. (Text in *Journal Asiatique*, (1865), p. 291.=Goeje's Ed. in the *Bibliotheca Geographorum Arabicorum*, VI. 68, l. 13; Tr. 49).

I. 8. *l.* 6. *The inhabitants [of Comār] abstain from all sorts of wine.*

Here is another parallel from the Arabian Nights. "From thence we made for the island of Comari, where the best species of the aloe grows, and whose inhabitants submit themselves to a law not to drink wine." (Sindbād's Fifth Voyage).

I. 8. *l.* 7 from foot. *The king [of Zābaj] and his warriors all carried tooth brushes and cleaned their teeth several times a day.*

This incidental reference to a characteristic trait of Hindu manners is noteworthy. Contrasting Chinese manners with those of the people of India, Sulaimān notes that "the Indians wash and clean, not only their mouths with tooth brushes and water, but the whole body, before they eat, while the Chinese have neither of these customs." (Old English Trans. 36). Hiuen-Tsiang also was struck by the novelty of the practice, as he had not witnessed it in his own country, and writes, "After eating, they [the people of India] cleanse their teeth with a willow-stick and wash their hands and mouth." (Beal, I. 77). The people of Zābaj (Sumātrā) had Indian affinities and appear, in fact, to have been colonists from India. Those of Qumār [Khmer] were offshoots of the Yellow Race. The two peoples had carried their national customs to the country of their adoption.

M. Gabriel Ferrand has recently suggested, in the light of certain inscriptions, that this Mahārāj was the king of Sumātrā, and not of Jāvā, and that this invasion of Khmer actually took place, at some time in the 8th century in the reign of Jayavarman II, r. 724-791 A.C., or that of his predecessor. (*Journal Asiatique*, 1932, p. 275 and note).

I. 9. *l.* 8 from foot. *All those who eat the rice are obliged, when the king dies or is slain, to burn themselves to the very last man.*

This custom seems to have prevailed all over India and was not confined, as Reinaud asserts, to the Nairs. Mas'ūdi, who has copied the statement, adds that the men who thus killed themselves immediately after the death of their king were called الابلا نجريه, the singular of which is بلا نجر, and that this word signifies "Sincere friends of the deceased, who die with his death and live with his life." (*Prairies*, II. 87). He does not, however, mention the rice-eating ceremony. There are several curious references to this strange institution in Hindu as well as Muḥammadan literature.

Bāṇa informs us that when Prabhākar Vardhana, the father of Harsha of Qanauj died (c. 605 A.C.), his physician and several of his ministers and servants burnt themselves with him (*Harsha Charita*, Tr. Thomas and Cowell, 161). The usage is mentioned also in Daṇḍin's *Dasha Kumār Charita* (*Pūrva Pīṭhikā, Ucchvās 4. sub initio*). When Vīradhavala Vāghela died (1238 A.C.), "one hundred and eighty-two of his servants passed with their lord to the flames and Tejahpal, his minister, had to interpose a military force to prevent further sacrifices". (Forbes, Rās Mālā, Oxford University Press Reprint.

I. 251; B. G. I. Pt. i. 203).

The voluntary immolation of the intimate associates of Indian kings is also mentioned in the *Kitāb al Fihrist* of Abul Faraj Muḥammad bin Isḥāq (written in 377 H. 987 A.C). He states that "there is in India a sect called Al-Rāḥmaryna (الراهمرية). They are the partisans of kings, and it is a part of their law in their religion to aid kings. They say God the Creator.....has made them kings and if we are slain in their service, we go to Paradise". (Tr. by Rehatsek in J.B.B.R.A.S. XIV. 50). Rehatsek suggested, following Brokhaüs and Reinaud, that the name must be *Rājputrīyah*, 'sons of kings', but my submission is that the correct restoration is *Rājamaitraihā*, 'friends of the king', "sincere friends who died with his death, and lived with his life," as Mas'ūdi puts it. The author of the عجايب الهند (*c.* 1013 A. C.) 'Book of the Marvels of Hind', (*Livre des Merveilles de l'Inde*, Ed. Van der Lith and Marcel Devic, 115 and 118) also refers to the practice. Amīr Khusrau also, has left it on record that when Harpāla Deva, the son-in-law of Rāma Deva of Devgiri, was flayed alive by the orders of Quṭbuddīn Mubārak, "the Hellites who had accompanied him out of regard and fought by his side, also afforded food for the flames of the infernal regions." (*Nuh Sipihr* in E. D. III. 564). At a still later date, Barbosa observes that "when the king of Narsynga [Vijayanagar] dies, not only four or five hundred women, but many men who are his intimates are also burnt with him." (Tr. Dames, I. 217). Lastly, Abul Faẓl says in the *Āīn-i-Akbari* that when the king of Āssām dies, his principal attendants of both sexes voluntarily bury themselves in his grave. (Tr. Jarrett. II. 118).

I. 10. *l.* 15 from foot. *There is a numerous colony of Jews in Sarandib and people of other religions, especially Manichaeans.*

There is no specific reference to Manichaeans here. The word used is ثنوية (Old English Trans. p. 84), which is applied very loosely to Dualists in general, *i.e.* to all persons who believe in Two Principles or Personalities and not to Manichaeans only. Mas'ūdi reckons among the 'Ṣanawīya' the followers of Manes, Marcion, Bardesanes, Mazdak, etc. (Sprenger, 228 and note = *Prairies*, I. 200). An identical statement occurs in the *Fihrist* of Isḥāq-al-nadīm (Nicholson, History of Arabic Literature, 364).

Cosmas, an Egyptian monk, who wrote about 547 A.C. a geographical treatise, entitled the 'Christian Topography,' says of the island of Taprobane or Siedliba [Sinhaldvipa] that it was "a great mart for the people of those parts and that it had a church of Persian Christians who had settled there, a Presbyter who was appointed from Persia and a Deacon and a complete ecclesiastical ritual." (Tr. McCrindle, Hakluyt Society, 365). The men referred to by Cosmas were not Manichaeans but Nestorian Christians from Persia. The Nestorians are included in the *Ṣanawīya* or Dualists, by Shahrastāni and other Arab writers, because though they "believed in the divinity and humanity of Christ, they

denied their union in a single self-conscious personality. As the personality was thus broken up by them into a duality, they were called Dualists." There can be little doubt that Abu Zaid's *Ṣanawīya* were Persian or Syrian Christians of the Nestorian persuasion, not Manichaeans. The old Christian communities which had settled at Quilon, Kottayam, St. Thomas's Mount and other places in Southern India, so early as the sixth century, all belonged to this Syrian or Nestorian Church (Smith, E. H. I. 221-2. Rae, the Syrian Church in India, *passim*; Houtsma, Encyclopaedia of Islam. III, 903.) Their descendants still constitute a progressive and influential community in Travancore.

I. 10, *l.* **13 from foot.** *Great licentiousness prevails in this country* [*Sarandīb*] *among the women as well as the men.*

This is most probably an old voyagers' canard. Yule tells us that the custom of getting wives and daughters prostituted by strangers is attributed by old European travellers to various peoples. Marco Polo ascribes it to a province of Tibet. (Travels, Tr. Yule, I 210; 212; II. 530), Varthema to the people of Tenāsserim (Tr. Badger, 202), Richard to the inhabitants of Ārākān (Pinkerton's Collection of Voyages and Travels, IX. 760-1), Linschoten to those of Pegu and Tenāsserim (Ed. Burnell and Tiele. I. 98), Bernier to certain remote districts in the Himālayas, and Captain Wood and others to the Hazārās. (Journey to the Source of the Oxus, 129). Yule remarks (Tr. Marco Polo, II, 56-7 notes) that some at least of these asseverations are mere travellers' tales and totally unworthy of credit.

However that may be, this scandalous imputation of lubricity to Ceylon's womankind is found in Manucci also. He states that it was "the custom of the country and that they held it a great honour to entertain Portuguese soldiers and even friars in this way". (Storia, Tr. Irvine, IV. 152). And Robert Knox had, some years before, preferred the same charge against the people of the island. "When intimate friends or great men chance to lodge at their houses, they will send their wives or daughters to bear them company in their chamber....They do not matter or regard, whether their wives, at the first marriage, be maids or not; and for a small reward, the mother will bring her daughter, being a maiden, unto those that do desire her." (Historical Relation of the Island of Ceylon, Ed. 1681, p. 92; Ed. of 1817, pp. 186-7).

I. 11. *l.* **5.** *The Indian aloes called* al Kāmrūni *from Kāmrūn, the name of the country in which it grows.*

It is not easy to say whether this 'Kāmrūni' relates to Khmer, [Cambodia] or Kāmarūpa [Āssām]. "The fine eagle-wood of Champā" [Cochin-China] and Khmer [Cambodia]," writes Yule, "is the result of disease in a leguminous tree, the *Aloexylon Agallochum*, while an inferior kind, though of the same aromatic properties, is derived from an entirely different order [*Aquilariaceæ*], Aquilaria Agallochum, and is found as far north as Sylhet." (Trans. Marco Polo, Ed. Cordier, II,

272). The first is the variety called *Qumāri* (p. 8 *ante*), from Khmer, the old name of Cambodia, the second, is the *Kāmrūni* of Idrīsi. But the two varieties are often confounded by Oriental writers on account of the phonetic resemblance between Qumāri, Qāmrūi, Kāmrūni and 'Kāmrūpi.' The Kāmarūpi aloe-wood is that which Abul Faẓl refers to, when he says that the *darakht-i-'ūd* exists in the hills of Sylhet. (*Aīn*, Text. I. 391, Tr. Jarrett, II. 125).

Abu Zaid's 'Kāmrūni' aloe-wood may be the product from Khmer, as Mas'ūdi who has borrowed the passage speaks of it as 'Qumāri.' (Sprenger, 384; *Prairies*. I, 376), and both these authors lay stress upon its having been of the 'finest' and most expensive variety. But Abu Zaid's spelling may point to the Āssām variety.

Qazvīni quotes, from the spurious work attributed to Mis'ar bin Muhalhil, a passage in which Saimūri aloes or aloe-wood from Saimūr is mentioned, but 'Saimūri' must be an error of transcription for Qumāri.

I. 13, *l.* **7.** *The other sovereigns of this country are those of Jābā, Tāfan, Juzr, Ghānah..... The king of Zābaj is called Alfikat.*

The fourth name is written as غابه, عنه and عناب (l. 17 *infra*). Goeje in his edition of Khurdādbih reads غابه Ghāba (Text, 16, l. 11, Tr. 13; 67, l. 7. Tr. 47). I have shown in another note that Khurdādbih is referring to the king of the اغباب *i.e.* the Pāndya ruler of Madura, M'abar or the Coromandel coast. Goeje reads the name of the king of Jāvā as فتجب and explains it, on the authority of Kern, as *Pati-jab*, or *Jāvāpati*, Lord of Jāvā (Tr. 13 note).

I. 13. *l.* **11.** *The kings and people of Hind regard fornication as lawful and wine as unlawful.*

The word in the text is زنا which means illicit sexual intercourse of any kind, *i.e.* fornication and adultery, but also *prostitution*. It is in this last sense that it is used here. Ma'sūdi notes with surprise that زنا was recognised and regulated by law in China and that the State derived a revenue from the women who lived such disorderly lives. Both Sprenger (*l.c.* 317) and Meynard (I. 296) render زنا here by "prostitution."

As regards the punishment of adultery by the Hindus, the older traveller, Sulaimān notes that "if any man in the Indies runs away with a woman and abuses her body, they kill both him and the woman, unless it can be proved that she was forced, when the man only is punished." (Old Eng. Trans 34). On the other hand, Abu Zaid, remarks in his 'Supplement', that "in the *Cans* or Inns, which the Indians build for the accommodation of travellers, they settle *public women*.....who expose themselves to travellers and the Indians number this among their meritorious deeds." (*Ib.* 87-8).

But Alberūni puts the matter in truer perspective thus: "People think with regard to *harlotry* that it is allowed with them [the Hindus]....In reality, the matter is not as people think, but it is rather this that the

Hindus are not very severe *in punishing whoredom.* The fault, however, in this lies with the kings and not the nation..... The kings make them [the women who sing, dance and play in the temples] an attraction for their cities, a bait of pleasure for their subjects, for no other than financial reasons. By the revenues which they derive from the business, ...they want to recover the expenses which their treasury has to spend on the army". (India, Tr. Sachau. II. 157). Other Arab authors too, refer to this 'sacred prostitution'—the custom of maintaining troops of dancing-girls dedicated to the worship of the Hindu deities, which still prevails in Southern India. Hiuen Tsiang also was struck by it. (Beal, *op. cit.* II. 274).

I. 13. *l.* **17.** *The elephants are generally about nine cubits high, except those of 'Anāb, which are ten and eleven cubits.*

The word for 'cubits' is ذرع which is generally taken to be equivalent to 24 fingers, *i.e.* about 18 inches. (Cunningham, A.G.I. 575).

Nine cubits would therefore work out at about thirteen feet and a half —which is a gross overstatement. Sir J. E. Tennent animadverts upon the extravagant estimates of elephants' heights which were current in Ceylon in his own day (*c.* 1860) and declares that out of eleven hundred measured by him, not one reached eleven feet. (Wild Elephant and the Method of Capturing it in Ceylon, 30. See also his Account of Ceylon, II. 290-1). Some older European travellers also, *e. g.* Coryat and Terry, speak of elephants thirteen and fifteen feet high. (E. T. I. 247 and 304). Manucci characteristically goes one better and states that the captain of Shāh Jahān's elephants was 12 cubits, *i.e.* 18 feet (!) in height. (Storia do Mogor. Tr. Irvine. II, 10,127). But Jahāngīr nails the fib to the counter. He tells us, that the two tallest elephants in his stables measured 4⅛ and 4 7/32 Ilāhi *gâz* (*Tūzuk*, Text. 234, l. 12 ff = Rogers' Tr. II. 18), *i.e.* eleven feet or a little more at 31 inches to the *gaz.* See also *Bāburnāma*, Tr. A. Beveridge, Tr. 488-9. The Enclyclopaedia Britannica also states that "African elephants somewhat exceed in height the Asiatic species, but even they never stand more than eleven feet high at the shoulders." The largest African elephant in modern times—Barnum's Jumbo the Great—stood ten feet nine inches, the largest Ceylon elephant Wal-aliya ten feet, ten and a half inches. (Ninth Edit. VIII, 124).

'Anāb' is undoubtedly wrong and Meynard has 'Aghbāb.' Goeje also reads اغباب (67. l. 3; Tr. 47). Mas'ūdi calls them خلجانات الاغباب (*Prairies.* I. 208), but the right reading must be اغباب, the plural of غب Estuary. Alberūni says there is a great غب عظيم near Dravara (66 *infra*) and explains that "a غب is not formed, as a gulf (خور) is, by the ocean's penetrating into the continent, but by an expanse of flowing water, which is changed there into standing water and is connected with the ocean." (India, Tr. Sachau, I. 208, Text, 102, l. 13). Mas'ūdi also states that the *Aghāb* extend towards the island of Serendīb (22 *infra*). These estuaries must have been

what the Portuguese writers called the *Costa da Ensiada*, that is, "the Indian coast line beginning from Point Calimere and reaching as far as Tuticorin." (Manucci, Storia, Tr. Irvine. III. 237 note). The Dutch also applied this term to "the southern boundary of Rāmnād and the coast line of Palk's Gulf or the Gulf of Manaar or to both." (*Ib.* IV. 149 note). The elephants of the *Aghbāb* were probably the same as those of M'abar (the Coromandel Coast), which were noted for their extraordinary height and bulk and are described as the largest in India by Amīr Khusrau (E. D. III. 86).

I. 14, *l.* **8.** *From Zāranj, capital of Sijistān, to Multān, two months' journey.*

Zāranj or Shahr-i-Sīstān is now represented by the ruins at Zahidān. Lat. 30°-55′ N. Long. 61°-32′ E. (G. P. Tate, Frontiers of Baluchistān, 229, 246). The ruins cover an enormous area to the east of Naṣratābād—the present capital, which is itself a short distance south-west of the old town which was destroyed by Tīmūr. (Holdich, G. I. 203). The ancient town lay along the old bed of one of the chief canals from the Helmand, which has now become dry. (Le Strange, L. E. C., 335 note). Zāranj is, most probably, the name from which 'Drangiana,' the Greek designation of the province, afterwards called Sīstān, was derived.

I. 14, *l.* **17.** *Vandān, Mandal, Salmān, Sairasb, Karaj, Rūmla. Kūli, Kanauj, Barūh.*

In the new edition of Khurdādbih, Goeje reads several of the names differently. His MS. has *Sāwandra* instead of Vandān, *Bailamān* [Bhīlmāl] for Salmān, *Sarasht* for Sairasb, [Saurāshṭra] *Marmad*, for 'Rūmla' and *Dahnaj* for 'Kanauj' (57, l. 2; Tr. 38). There is a Dhinoj, nine miles from Mehsānā in North Gujarāt, but Dahnaj is most probably correct. It is mentioned by Bilāduri also, (126 *infra*; Murgotten's Trans. 227) and seems to be identical with the Dahanjūr or Rahanjūr of Alberūni (61 *infra*), *i.e.* Rānder near Sūrat. See my note on 61, l. 9 *infra*).

I. 14, *l.* **4 from foot.** *The island of Khārak lies fifty parasangs from Obolla.*

Obolla occupied the present site of Baṣra (Gibb, Ibn Baṭūṭa, Notes 348). Khārak was a port of call for ships sailing from Baṣra to Kīsh and India. Yāqūt says its soil was very fertile. It lies 30 miles N. W. of Būshire. (L. E. C. 266; Curzon, Persia. II. 403-4). It is in Lat. 29° N.; Long. 50° E.

I. 14. *l*, **3 from foot.** *It [Khārak] produces wheat, palm trees and vines.*

Throughout this paragraph, the word which is translated as 'wheat' is حبّ (*blé* in the French version), which signifies corn or cereals in general and not wheat in particular. The Arabic word for 'wheat' is قمح, *froment*, in Meynard's rendering. In this part of his work, قمح is used by Khurdādbih only on one occasion and that is in connection with the

products of Kilakāyān and Kanja. (*Journal Asiatique*, 1865, text, 61-2; Tr. 283-4 = Goeje, 63, l. 7).

I. 14, *l.* 2 from foot. *The island of Lāfat is at a distance of eighty parasangs from Khārak.*

The name is spelt variously as Lafet, Lāban, Lābīn, Lābet and Lāwān. Yāqūt (Meynard, *Dict. Geogr. de la Perse.* s. v. Lafet) and Mas'ūdi (Sprenger, 268,=*Prairies*. I. 240) state that Lāfat was known also as the island of Bani Kāwān, but this must admit of doubt, as Khurdādbih distinguishes between the two. He speaks of Ibn Kāwān separately (p. 15, l. 8 *infra*) and locates it at thirty-nine [7 + 7 + 7 + 18] *parasangs'* distance from this Lāfat. Le Strange thinks that Lāfat or Lāwān must be the island of Shaikh Shu'ayb which lies to the west of Kays or Kīsh. He declares that Bani Kāwān is "the great island lying at the narrows of the Gulf, which is now known as 'Kishm' and also as the 'Long Island' and is the largest island in the Gulf." (L. E. C. 261; see also Dames, Tr. Barbosa. I. 81-2. Yule, Hobson Jobson. s. v. Kishm). Quatremére's identification of this Lāfat with the Isle of Kenn is untenable, because Morier assures us that the 'Isle of Kenn' is called 'Gheis' or 'Kīsh' by the natives. (Second Journey to Persia, 31). Kenn [or Kīsh] and Ibn Kāwān [or Kishm] are quite distinct. They have been confused with each other only on account of the similarity of the names in sound. Kīsh is separately mentioned by Khurdādbih (p. 15, l. 5). According to Lord Curzon, one of the largest of the seventy villages in the great island of Kishm [or Ibn Kāwān] is called Lāft. (Persia, II. 410). Unfortunately, the reading لافت is not at all certain. Goeje reads 'Lāwān' or 'Lāban' (Text, 61, l. 16; Tr. 42). Now لاوان and لابن may be errors for كاوان or كاون and we thus return to [Ibn] Kāwān. It seems that Mas'ūdi and Yāqūt are right and that Khurdādbih has made some mistake either in regard to the name of Lāfat, Lâbat or Lābin or to its situation.

I. 15, *l.* 1. *From Lāfat to the island of Abrūn are seven parasangs.*

Le Strange supposes Abrūn to be the modern Hindarabi, which with Chin or Khyn [Khīn], lies near Qays or Kīsh (L. E. C. 261), but Dames thinks that it must be Gamrūn or Gombroon, *i.e.* Bandar 'Abbās. Both are agreed that Armūn (l. 11) is the island of Jerūn and Goeje reads it as ارموز (62, l. 5). Old Ormuz was on the mainland, but *New* Ormuz was founded on the island of [Armūn or] Jerūn about 715 H. 1315 A.C. on account of the constant incursions of the Tātār hordes (L. E. C. 319). Jerūn island is only 12 miles west-ward of Old Ormuz and about 5 miles from the shore. (Yule, Hobson Jobson, s. v. Ormus).

I. 15, *l.* 9. *The inhabitants [of Ibn Kāwān] are heretics of the sect of the Ibāzites.*

The Ibāẓites اباضيه are "the remnants of an important Puritanical sect of the first Islamic century, known as the Khawārij or Dissenters. Their only existing communities are now found in Omān, Zanzibar and the M'zab district in Southern Algeria." (Gibb, Ibn Baṭūṭā, 379).

" They derive their name from 'Abdulla bin Ibādh who flourished about 744-749 A. C. These sectaries rejected the Khilāfat of 'Usmān and 'Ali and asserted the right of True Believers, to elect and depose Imāms. The sect is still powerful in Omān, and the Imāms of the Ibādites have been usually temporal rulers also of Omān." (E. C. Ross, art. On the Imāms of Omān in J. A. S. B. XLIII. (1874), Pt. i. 189-90). They also " profess some extraordinary doctrines, one of which is, that if a man commits a *Kabīra* or great sin, he is an infidel and not a believer at all". (Hughes, Dictionary of Islam, s. v. Ibāziya; Houtsma, Encyclopaedia of Islam, II. 266, s. v. Ibādiya).

I. 15, *l.* **11.** *From Armūn to Nārmasīra is seven days' journey. From Nārmasīra to Debal is eight days' journey.*

Goeje reads this very differently. His MS. has تارا 'Thārā' instead of 'Nārmasira' and he suggests that Thārā must be meant for Tīz in Makrān. (Tr. 42 and note). In his Edition, (*Bibliotheca Geographorum Arabicorum*, Vol. VI), the sentence is written thus:

(62, *l.* 6) ثمه الى تارا مسيرة سبعه ايام * * و من تارا الى الديبل مسيرة ثمانيه ايام

Clearly, مسيرة is not part of the name, Nārmasīra, but a common noun signifying 'journey' and 'Narmasira' must be rejected. Moreover, Nārmasīra could not have been only eight days' journey from Debal. Debal is in Lat. 24°-30′ N. Long. 67°-50′ E. Nurmanshīr is in Lat. 28°-30′ N. Long. 56°-30′ E. It is shown in the New Pictorial Atlas, Pl. 63. The two places are four degrees of Latitude and eleven of Longitude apart from each other and the distance between them must be at least 850 miles. Goeje's proposed identification, Tīz, also seems hardly tenable. Tīz is in Lat. 25°-0 N. Long. 60°-40′ E, at a distance of, at least, five hundred miles from Debal, which could not have been traversed in only eight days.

I. 15, *l.* **14.** *From Debal to the junction of the river Mihrān with the sea is two parasangs.*

Mas'ūdi puts the distance as two *days*, (24 *infra*), but Idrīsi follows Khurdādbih and Jaubert makes it six miles in his French version, as he reckons the *farsakh* at three miles. (p. 78 *infra*). General M. R. Haig prefers Mas'ūdi's statement on the ground that a great city like Debal " could not possibly exist on the open delta coast, where it would be exposed to destruction during the stormy season and where fresh water would have to be brought from long distances". (Indus Delta Country, 43).

I. 15, *l.* **16.** *From Sind are brought the costus, canes and bamboos.*

There is no specific reference here to bamboos. The words used by Khurdādbih himself are قسط و قنا و خيزران. Now قنا which is rendered here as 'canes', is really a generic term for various species of reeds and grasses, while خيزران does not necessarily mean 'bamboo.' It was some sort of rattan or 'ruscus,' as Sprenger renders it. (Mas'ūdi, Tr. 269, 353 note). Steingass also says that it means cane, reed or rattan. When Idrīsi

speaks of *Qanā* and '*Khaizurān*,' Dowson, following Jaubert's French version of that author, translates the words as 'Kanā and *rattan*,' (p. 85 and 91 *infra*) not 'bamboo.' 'Khaizurān' or 'Ḥaizurān' is described in an old Arabic work quoted by Sprenger, as "a species of ruscus imported from China; it has the form of ropes, a finger thick,...which are particularly useful for hanging cloth on them, for they do not make marks. Some say they are the branches of some shrub, others believe that they are roots." (*l.c.* 353 n). This description points to some sort of rattan, and it seems that the Arabs did not really know what 'Khaizurān' was. It is true that some modern Arabists translate the word loosely as 'bomboo,' but there are substantial reasons for questioning the correctness of the rendering in *all* cases. Such a rendering may be appropriate when the word is used in connection with Sindān, or Thāṇa, but not with Sind or other places where the bamboo can not and does not grow.

Neither rattans nor bamboos are indigenous in Sind. They can flourish only in regions of heavy rainfall and there are no natural bamboo forests anywhere in the province. Dr. Watt tells us (Commercial Products of India, 98) that "*canes, reeds and bamboos are often confounded together*, as many of the purposes for which bamboos are utilised are met also by canes (*Calamus*) and by the reeds...and willows...The canes proper are climbing palms, and the reeds are species of grasses. From the industrial point of view, they are very nearly identical with the smaller bamboos, but botanically or scientifically, each belongs to a class or order of its own." Capt. Wood also tells us that 'Canā' is the Sindhi name for "a gigantic grass which attains the height of 12 or even 18 feet, the stalk of which is jointed like the bamboo, but one-third of its whole length is continuous. It is used just like the bamboo for making baskets and mats." (Journey to the Source of the Oxus, Ed. Yule, p. 4 note).

I. 15, *l.* 16. *From the Mihrān to Bakar, which is the first place on the borders of Hind, four days' journey; they are wanderers and robbers. From this place to the Meds are two parasangs; they also are robbers.*

Dowson admits that the second name is illegible in the Paris text. Goeje reads it as 'Outakyn' اوتكين (62, l. 10. Tr. 42) or اوتكبن and Idrīsi who has copied the passage has 'Aubkīn' (84, 85 *infra*). 'Outkyn' or 'Aubkīn' can be read also as اوهكبت 'Ovakhbat' and may stand for Okha or "Okhā-Bet." The mention of the robbers called Meds and their near neighbours, the Kols (or Kolis), indicates that the reference is to the pirates on the Kachh and Kāṭhiāwād coast and the thieves and brigands of Koliwāra, *i.e.* Viramgām, Mahikāṇṭhā etc. in North Gujarāt.

The rest of the paragraph is a confused medley of names which can only mystify the reader, and many of them are spelt very differently in Goeje's manuscript. Bās (16, l. 1) is written there as *Bābattan*, 'Saji' as *Sinjali*, 'Askan' as *Kabaschkān* [Kaikasār in Idrīsi, 90 *infra*] and

'Kūrā' as '*Koudāfaryd.*' Goeje supposes 'Bābattan' to be Budipattan, 'Koudāfryd' to be the Godāvari and taking his cue from a suggestion of Yule's, he seeks to identify 'Sanji' or Sinjali with Shinkali or Shingali, the old name of Cranganore (Text 63 Notes). But Khurdādbih did not possess any personal acquaintance with Southern India and he seems to have lifted the names from some other writer who had picked them up at haphazard and made a somewhat liberal use of his imagination in filling up the descriptions. The real distances of the places are so absurdly whittled down and the other statements are so trite, vague or obscure that it is difficult to relate them to any localities with which identification is possible.

I. 16, *l.* 16. *There are seven classes of Hindus, 1st Sābkufria, among whom are men of high caste and from among whom kings are chosen.*

This 'Sābkufriya' [سابكفريه in the original] is a puzzle and no such denomination is found in the *Hortus siccus* of Indian caste. I venture to suggest that the right reading may be ساكيفتريه 'Sākabfutriya', Sansk. *Sākya-putra*, 'sons of Sākya'. This was the honorific appellation assumed by Buddhist priests. 'Furia' or 'futriya' must be a corruption of *putriya.*

Thus, فغفور the Arabic title of the Emperor of China is derived from the Avestaic *Bagha-puthra* 'son of God' (Yule, H J. 49). "In agreement with early custom," Beal explains, "the mendicant priests who adopted the Buddhist faith changed their names at the time of leaving their homes and assumed the title of 'Sākyaputra' "Sons or mendicants of Sākya." (*loc. cit.* Intr. I. xi). The Chinese pilgrim Fa Hiān observes that "the kings who are firm believers in the Law of Buddha *remove their caps of state when they make offerings to the priests...They dare not sit on couches in the presence of the priests.*" (*Ibid.* I. xxxvii). We know also from the *Chachnāma* and Bilāduri's Chronicle that Buddhist priests were governors of towns and districts in the beginning of the 8th century and they had to be maintained in power and authority by Muḥammad bin Qāsim even after the Arab conquest, in consequence of the respect and veneration in which they were held by the inhabitants. We also read that when Chach went to visit the Sāmāni priest of Budh-Vihār, the latter took no notice at all of him for some time, kept him standing till he had finished his devotional exercises and that the king sat down only when he was permitted to do so by the priest; (149 *infra.* Kalich Beg's Translation, 35). The title 'Sākyaputra' was probably coined on the model of 'Swāmiputra,' 'Son of the Lord.', which was an epithet of Brāhmans.

Goeje reads شاكثريه (71, l. 9), *Shākthariya* and explains it as a reduplication of 'Kshatriya.' Khurdādbih, he suggests, wrongly supposed the Kshatriyas to be divided into two classes, one of kings and nobles, and another of soldiers. (Tr. 52 Note). But this surmise is hardly convincing. If the right reading is تاكثريه, Thākthariya, a possible and not unplausible

elucidation may be that it is another form of *Takākira* which is used by Bilāduri (121 *infra*) and is rendered by Reinaud as' generals' and construed by Dr. Murgotten as the Arabic plural of the Sanskrit 'Thakkura,' (Tr. 220 and note). But Takākira' has little or no resemblance to either of the readings سايكفريه or شاكثريه found in the two oldest MSS. Goeje's شاكثريه aeems really meant for and may also be read us شاكبتريه ' Shākbatriya,' ' Sākaputra.' Idrīsi has Sākariya.

I. 16, *l.* 18. *The people of the other six classes do the men of this class homage and them only.*

This is wrongly rendered. Khurdādbih's words are:—

وفيهم اشراقهم وفيهم الملك تسجد لهم الاجناس كلها ولا يسجدون لاحد

(*Journal Asiatique*, 1865, p. 68; Goeje, 71, l. 8). " All the other castes bow to them, but they do not render homage to any." (See Tr. in J. A. 295; Goeje, Tr. 52). The sentence is copied by Idrīsi and Dowson himself translates it there more correctly thus: " All the other castes pay homage to them, but they render homage to no one." (76 *infra*).

I. 16, last line. *7th Lahūd. The women are found of adorning themselves and the men are fond of amusements and games of skill.*

This لحود Laḥūd (or Lḥūd) appears, at first sight, to be another form of the local ' Lodh ' [لوده] of the *Tuḥfat-ul-Kirām* (337 *infra*). Growse says ' Lodha ' is the Prākrit form of the Sansk. ' Lubdhaka' and is almost equivalent in meaning to ' Nishāda,' ' Man of low caste', hunter, fowler. (J.A.S.B. LIV. 1885, Pt. i. 155). The Paris text has *Zanya* زنيه [ذنيه?].

Idrīsi who has copied the passage substitutes ' Zakya ' for ' Laḥūd ' [لحود] He describes them as " jugglers, tumblers, and players of musical instruments." (76 *post*). Idrīsi's ' Zakya ' is, perhaps, connected with ' Zingari ', which is applied in various countries of Europe to the Gypsies, and which is derived by Goeje from the Persian 'Changi,' harper. A plural form of this, ' Changān,' occurs in Lane's Arabian Nights. (III, 730, Note 22). These ' Changis ' or ' Changān ' are the ' Aljink,' male dancers, of Burton's version of the *Alf Laila*. (VIII. 18. See also H. J. 984, s. v. Zingari). It may be that ' Idrīsi's ' Zakya ' is a variant form of this ' Jink.' Vambery says that in Central Asia, dancing girls, singing girls and prostitutes belong to the tribe of Lūlis or Gypsies and that in Turkey also, *Tchenghi* means ' musician or dancing girl' and *Tchingāne*, ' Gipsy.' (Travels and Adventures of Sīdi 'Ali Reis, Tr. 64 Note).

But here also, Goeje's MS. differs materially from the Paris text. He reads the name of this class of people, not as زنيه or لحود but as الذنبيه *Al-dhonbeyya* (71, l. 13, Tr. 52 and note). He suggests that they must be the same as the بدهتو ' Badhatau ' of Alberūni. But this name ' Dhonbyya ' seems to bear greater resemblance to the ' *Ḍoma*' or Ḍhom of whom Alberūni speaks thus: " The people called Hāḍi, Ḍoma [Sans. Ḍomba], Chaṇḍāla and Badhatau (*sic*), are not reckoned amongst any caste

or guild." (Tr. Sachau, I. 101). Sachau leaves 'Badhatau' unexplained and there is no such word in Sanskrit. It may be a mistranscription of لدهيو, *Laddhiu*, which sounds more like Lhodh or Lodha. Goeje supposes بدهنو to be a perversion of بهنڈ or بهانڈ, *Bhanḍ* or *Bhāṇḍ* (q. v. *Merveilles de l'Inde*, p. 117), buffoons, but if Khurdādbih wrote الذنبيه, he must have had in mind the Ḍom or Ḍonba, not the Bhāṇḍs. Yule states that the Ḍome or Ḍhome are commonly called Ḍombaree or Ḍombar, that they are scavengers, sweepers or village musicians and that the word 'Romany' for 'Gypsies' is derived by many scholars from this Ḍome. (H. J. 322).

I. 17, *l.* **3.** *Some believe in a Creator and Prophet (the Blessing of God be upon them); part deny the mission of a Prophet.*

The Arabic word in both places is in the plural الرسل, Prophets, not الرسول (J. A. 69). The reference must be to the inspired Rishis who are said to have written the *Sruti* and the *Smritis* and perhaps also to the Ten Avatārs of Vishnu. Idrīsi also speaks of the forty-two sects of India but what he says is that "some of them recognize the existence of a Creator, but *not of Prophets*, while others deny the existence of both." (76 *post*). Musalmān theologians assert that the Supreme Being has, at different times, sent 124,000 prophets to our world. (*Tārikh-i-Guzīda*, I. 18; Tr. II. 8; see also the story in the *Mirāt-i-Sikandari*, Text 42-3; Tr. Faẓlullah, 32).

I. 18. *Murūju-l- Zahab of Al Mas'ūdi.*

These extracts from Mas'ūdi about matters relating to India are far from being exhaustive or even fairly full. There are several other references of at least equal importance and interest. For example, this Arab Herodotus, as he has been justly called, informs us that when he was at Cambay in 303 A. H., he witnessed the 'Bore' in the Gulf there. "The ebb is so marked in this estuary," he writes, "that the sand lies quite bare, and only in the middle of the bed, lies a little water. I saw a dog on this sand, which was left dry in the water, like the sand of a desert; the tide coming in from the sea caught him, although he ran as fast as he could to the land to escape, and the poor animal was drowned notwithstanding his swiftness."

He also records that the city was then governed by a Brāhman named Bābna بابنا on behalf of the Balharā, and that this governor treated with great favour Musalmāns and other foreigners who visited the province. (Sprenger, 278; *Prairies*, I. 254). There are two ways in which this name can be restored. It may be a miswriting of بامنا Bhāṇā, a very common name in Gujarāt. But it is at least equally probable that *Bābnā* was not the personal name of this official, but the designation of his caste. He was a Bāniya بانيا the Gujarāti *Vāṇiā*. We know from the histories of the Chāvḍās and Chālukyas that many of their ministers and even military commanders were 'Bāniyas'.

In another place, Mas'ūdi notes that when he was at Saimūr [Chaūl] in 304 A.H., the ruling prince was Djāndja جانج and that ten thousand Arabs had married and settled in the locality who were known as 'Beiāsirch' (*Prairies*, II. 85). Modern researches have proved that Djāndja was the North Konkan Śilahāra ruler Jhanjha. (B. G. I. ii. 17, 23, 232, 233, 539; Duff, C. I. 303) and this has proved to be a most useful sychronism for determining the history of the dynasty.

But more notable still is the reference to the city of Madura and the Pāndya rulers of the district. Mas'ūdi tells us that the country of مندورين بتى ,مندورى (Sprenger) or مندورفين (Meynard) lies opposite to the island of Serendīb just as Qumār [Khmer or Cambodia] is opposite to the islands of the Maharāj, to whom Ez-zābij [Jāvā or Sumātra] belongs. He also states that every king of the country of Mandūra is called el-Qāyidi القايدى (Sprenger, 397-8, *Prairies*, I. 394). It seems to me that the right reading is مندورى بتن or مندورفتن Manduribatan or Mandurfatan. We know that the town of Madura is mentioned as Manduraipattan in old Hindu inscriptions.

This is fairly easy. القايدى is a harder nut to crack. I suggest that a transposition of the *nuqṭas* will restore it to الفاندى—Al Fāndi—the *Fāndi* —the form which 'Pāndya' would assume in Arabic. This هندورفين is mentioned also by Qazvīni, but Gildemeister (*Scriptorum Arabum de Rebus Indicis*, Text, 71, Tr. 214) could make nothing of it.

Among other matters of minor interest in what Sprenger calls this 'Historical Encyclopaedia,' there is a graphic description of that 'wonder of creation,' the 'Bar' tree—*Ficus Indica*. (*Prairies*, II. 81), a curious account of the digestive, tonic and aphrodisiac properties of the betel-leaf (*Ib.* II. 84), stories illustrative of the astonishing sagacity and pudicity of two elephants belonging to the ruler of Manṣūra in Sind, (Sprenger, 386-7, *Prairies* I. 379) and an allusion to the Caves or temple of Ellora (الاورى or الادرى in the Text) near Deogīr or Daulatābād (*Prairies*, IV. 95). Qazvīni has copied this last passage also and writes the name بلاذرى or بلادذرى (Gildemeister, *l.c.* Text, 79; Tr. 221). In another place, still, Mas'ūdi states that an inferior kind of emerald was exported from Cambay and Saimūr to Broach. (III. 47-48). As there are no emerald mines anywhere in India or even in Asia, he would appear to be referring to the famous agate, carnelian or *Bābāghūri* mines at Ratanpur in Nāndod State, near Broach. He has probably mixed up agates with emeralds.

I. 19, *l.* 20. *He [Brahmā the Great] was succeeded by his eldest son Bahbūd.*

Sprenger (p. 170) and Meynard (*Prairies*, I. 157) read باهبود Bāhbūd, but if the 'wāv' is pronounced as a consonant, the name would be 'Bāhbavad' and bear some resemblance to Bhāgbavad, Bhagvada' or 'Bhagvata,' *i.e.* Vishnū. But in Shahrastāni's كتاب الملل و النحل, there is the

following description of a Hindu sect called *Bahuvadyah.* "They believe their apostle to be a spiritual angel in human form and his name is *Bahuvadh.* He came riding on a bull, having on his head a crown made of human skulls and wearing a necklace of the same material. In one of his hands, he holds a human cranium and in the other, a trident.' (Tr. by Rehatsek in J. B. B. R. A. S. XIV. 61). This 'Bahuvadh' can be no other than 'Mahādeva' and it is possible that Mas'ūdi's 'Bāhbūd' or 'Bāhbavad' also is a perversion of the same name.

Balhīt who is said to have reigned 80 or 130 years before the accession of Koresh [Harsha of Kanauj, *Reg.* 618-648 A. C.] may be meant for Baldit, *i.e.* Bālāditya or Narasimhagupta of Magadha, who reigned about 528 A. C. and whose defeat of Mihirkula is mentioned by Hiuen-Tsiang. (Beal, *op. cit.* I. 119, 120, notes, 167 ff.; see also Duff, C. I. 38, 40; I. G. IX. 336).

I. 20, *l.* **17.** *Nor does their sovereign ever appear before the public, except at certain intervals ..... In their opinion, the kings lose their dignity, etc.*

Mas'ūdi has somehow transferred and ascribed to the rulers of India ideas and customs which, according to Sulaimān, were entertained and observed only by the sovereigns of China. "*The Emperor of China,*" the earlier traveller declares, "appears but once in ten months, saying that if he showed himself oftener to the people, they would lose the veneration they have for him. For he holds it as a maxim that principalities cannot be maintained but by force ... and that constraint must be used to maintain among the people the majesty of Empire." (Old English Trans. 24). The resemblance between the two statements is so close that the later author must be held to have borrowed the passage from the earlier, but the disparity is also glaring and it would appear to be due either to some lacuna or dislocation in the manuscript which Mas'udi had before him or to some misapprehension on his part of the meaning of his predecessor. Mas'ūdi's error is evinced also by the fact that the statement *is* true of the rulers of China, Siām and other kingdoms of the Far East, as we know from Fitch (E. T. I. 42), Tavernier (Tr. Ball. II. 290), and other travellers. The alleged practice of wrapping themselves up in majestic unapproachability has never had any vogue among Indian princes and it is opposed to Hindu ideals of regal duty and behaviour.

I. 21, *l.* **8.** *The capital of the Balharā is eighty Sindi parasangs from the sea and the parasang is equal to eight miles.*

The distance is grossly over-estimated. Mānkīr, *i.e.* Mālkhed, is about sixty miles south-east of Sholāpur, and only about two hundred and ninety miles from Ratnāgiri, which lies exactly opposite to it on the sea coast. Eighty Sindian parasangs or 640 miles from the sea would carry Mānkīr, as Fleet points out, more than across the breadth of India. (Dynasties of the Kanarese Districts, in B. G. I. ii. 388, 396). Mas'ūdi or his informant appears to have equated the parasang of Sind with the

double Yojanā which was between 8 and 9 miles (Cunningham, A. G. I. 571). His distances will be found to be correct, if the imaginary and fallacious distinction between the Sindian parasang and the ordinary parasang is ignored and the former also reckoned, just like the latter, at about four miles. 75 × 4 = 300, which is as near 290 as can be expected. The genesis of the error lies, perhaps, in the fact that there was a Yojanā of 1000 *Krośas* = about 4½ miles and another of 2000 *Krośas* = about 9 miles (*Ibid.*). Mas'ūdi would appers to have understood distances which were expressed in terms of the smaller Yojanā to have been stated in those of the larger.

I. 21, last line. *There are many crocodiles in the bay of Sindābūr in the kingdom of Bāghara in India.*

The exact site of Sindābūr has been the subject of much controversy and is still uncertain. Yule was inclined to identify it with or place it in very close proximity to modern Goa. His arguments are thus stated : (1) "Ibn Batūta (Defrémery, iv. 61-2) states that Sindābūr was a delta island and Goa is the only one partaking of that character on this coast. (2) Ibn Batūta notes that Sindābūr contained thirty-six villages and De Barros assures us that Goa island was known as 'Tīsvādi,' which signifies 'thirty villages'. (3) The order in which Rashīdu-d-dīn places Sindābūr, Faknūr, Manjarūr and Hīli is perfectly correct, if for Sindābūr we substitute Goa. (4) Sidi 'Ali in the 'Muḥīt' (J. A. S. B. V. (1836), p. 564) speaks of Goa as 'Guva-Sindābūr. (5) Ibn Batūta observes that there was a small island in the vicinity of Sindābūr near the mainland. This island must be Angediva." (Hobson Jobson, s. v. Sindābūr; Cathay. 1st Edit. I. ccli and 444).

Dr. Badger was of a different opinion. He was sure that Sindābūr was the 'Chintācora' of the Portuguese writers and he located it at Ankola in North Canara, because Varthema speaks of having reached 'Chintācora' in one day from Angediva, and Ankola is just five miles south of that island. (Tr. Travels of Ludovico Varthema, 120 n).

But it is stated in the Imperial Gazetteer (Ed. 1908) that Sindābūr which is mentioned as Chintābora or Chintācora by the Portuguese is Chitākul, which lies on the other side of the river to old Cārwār, and four miles to the east of the modern town of that name. The writer of the article points out that the fame of the pepper of Sunda, had induced Sir W. Courten to open a factory at Cārwār in 1660 A. C. This Chitākul is now called Sadāshivgaṛh, from a fort built in 1715 A. C. by the Sonda chief Basava Ling in the name of his father. (I. G. X. 289 and XV. 65). The same view had been adopted more than thirty years before by Sir James Campbell, the Editor of the Gazetteer of Kanāra district. He rejected Yule's identification on the ground that "there is nothing in the name which can be identified with Goa and such details as are given are as suitable to Chitākul as they are to Goa". The double-barrelled name Kuwāi-Sindābūr, which is used by Sīdi 'Ali Raīs

Capudan, does not mean, he contended, that they are the same. Goa and Chintākul "are close enough to be grouped together, in laying down seasons for the voyage from Western India to Aden". They are only fifty miles distant from each other. It may be also urged in favour of Chitākul that "Kārwār is the only first-rate harbour on the western coast between Bombay and Colombo. It offers every convenience to shipping at all times of the year". (B. G. XV. Pt. ii. (Kanāra), 318). Sindābūr was undoubtedly a very well-known port, as it is mentioned by Idrīsi (89 *infra*), Rashīdu-d-dīn, (68 *ibid.*), Abul Fedā (in Gildemeister, Text. 40, 46; Tr. 184, 188), and also in the *Livre des Merveilles de L'Inde*, (157-158). But Chitākul does not bear the close phonetic resemblance to Sindābūr that is required.

Sindābūr must be derived from some such name in Sanskrit as Chandrapura, which would assume in the vernaculars, the forms Chandāpur, Chāndpur, Chandrāwar, Chandāwar, etc. This has led to a fourth suggestion, *viz.*, that Sindābūr was Chandrapura, the old capital of the Kadambas of Goa. Mayānalladevi, the daughter of Jayakeshi I, married Karṇa I Chālukya of Gujarāt who reigned from 1063 to 1093 A. C. Mayānalladevi was the mother of the renowned Siddharāja Jayasinha. This Chandrapura has been identified with Chandāwar, six miles south of Gokarn and five miles north-west of Kumṭa. Gokarn is in Honāwar taluka and lies south- east of Goa in Lat. 14° 32', N.; Long. 74° 22' E. It is a place of great sanctity on account of an image of Mahābleshwar, *i.e.* Shiva, which is said to have been brought here by Rāvaṇa. The capital of this dynasty was at Chandrapura in 916 A. C, when Mas'ūdi wrote. It was removed to Goa only in the middle of the 11th century. (B. G. I. i. 171.; Fleet, J. B. B. R. A. S. IX. 283; G. M. Moraes, The Kadamba Kula, 178, 182, 185, 333; B. G., Canara, XV, Part ii. 277).

In any case, it seems certain that Sindābūr was somewhere near the coast between Goa and Kumṭa.

The name Bāghara, which is written باغر and also باعر in Sprenger's MSS. (*loc. cit.* 234) has also baffled the commentators, probably because it has been supposed to be the designation of a place instead of a person. I venture to suggest that it is the latter. Mas'ūdi has the commendable habit of mentioning the name of the king or governor along with that of the country. Thus he meticulously records the names of the rulers of Cambay, Saimūr, Multān, Manṣūra and Qanauj in his day. It seems to me that the true reading is ناغو Nāghū or Nāgū, the short form of Nāgavarman.

A reference to the dynastic list of the Kadamba rulers of Hāngal in Dhārwār district, shows that there were two kings called Nāgavarman, the second of whom may be the Bāghara or Nāghū of Mas'ūdi. (Fleet in B.G.I. ii. 550; Duff, C.I. 292; Moraes, Kadamba Kula, p. 167-8). It is perhaps necessary to state that Dr. Fleet and others were disposed, in the last century, to question the existence of this Nāgavarman and

the genuineness of the old dynastic lists. But the recent discovery of the Marcella Copper-plates of his great-great-grandson, Shashtha Deva II, who is also called Chaṭṭa or Chaṭṭāya, must dispel all doubts and settle the matter. See Moraes, Kadamba Kula, 387-393, for the original text and translation of the epigraph.

The Arabs frequently changed the hard 'g' of a foreign tongue into غ, as in (Pythagoras) فيثاغورث, (Bulgaria) بلغار, (Magian) مغ, (Isagogue of Porphyry) ايثاغوجى, (Geography) جغرافيه, (Magnet) مغناطيس.

I. 22, *l.* **8.** *The king of Kanauj, who is one of the kings of Sind, is Bauüra. This is a title common to all kings of Kanauj. There is also a city called Bauüra, which is a dependency of Multān.*

This name is another of our unsolved conundrums. Meynard's spelling is بوره (I. 372), but it cannot be depended on, as he never gives any variants. Sprenger says that the MSS. he consulted had بوزه, نوره and بوذه (*loc. cit.* 380). The copies belonging to Raverty showed نوره بؤوده and بروزه (Mihrān, 206). Here again, as in the case of Ruhmi, the clue to the solution may be found in the dynastic list of the Gurjjara-Pratihāra rulers of Qanauj. The right reading seems to be بوذه, بوزه or بودزه: Bozah, Bozoh or Bodzah, *i.e. Bhoja.*

Bhoja the Great ruled at Qanauj from *c.* 840-890 A.C. "His dominions were very extensive; his power was acknowledged upto the Vindhyās from sea to sea and he is also known to have conquered his formidable foe, the king of Bengal." He was succeeded by Mahendrapāla (890-910) and he, by *another Bhoja* who died after a short reign and was succeeded by his half-brother, Mahipāla, who ruled from about 910 to 940 A.C. (V. Smith in J. R. A. S. 1909, p. 269; E. H. I. 350-1; Duff, C. I. 77, 79, 296). Mas'ūdi's statement that the title was common to all the kings of Qanauj is probably due to the fact that Bhoja the Great was succeeded, after some years, by another prince of the same name who had been ruling shortly before the time of Mas'ūdi's arrival in India.

The reference to a city which was also "called Bauüra after its princes" and "was a dependency of Multān" under Islamic sway, must be to the district called Būdha by Iṣṭakhri and Ibn Ḥauqal (29, 38, 39 *post*). It may be worth while to note that if this toponym were written with a ذ or ض (as بوذه or بوضه), it would be pronounced as "Būdhah" by Arabs but as 'Bozah' or 'Būzah' by Persians. Bozah is not unlike 'Bhoja' in sound and بووزه (Boözah) is one of the variants actually found in Manuscripts.

I. 23, *l.* **9.** *The kingdom of the Bauüra, king of Kanauj, extends about one hundred and twenty square parasangs of Sind, each parasang being equal to eight miles of this country.*

Mas'ūdi's Sindian *parasang* has again led him into a pitfall. 120 Sindian *parasangs* would be more than 960 statute miles, as the

Arabian mile was a fraction longer than the English. The square area of the kingdom would be then more than 9,21,600 miles—which is obviously inadmissible. The total area of the Indian peninsula is about 1¾ million miles. Here again, the statement would be less incredible if the Sindian *parasang* was reckoned at only four miles.

I. 23, *l.* 20. *Around it (Multān) there are one hundred and twenty thousand towns and villages.*

This also must evoke "an elevation of critical eyebrows." The words in the original are ضياع و قرى (*Prairies, I.* 375). The kingdom of Multān comprised only some parts of modern Punjāb and Northern Sind. The total number of villages in all British India is about 5,00,000 and in the whole of the subcontinent about 7,00,000. Mas'ūdi does not mean 'towns and villages' but "farms and hamlets", that is, farms, estates or holdings given on military tenure to Musalmān soldiers and villages occupied and cultivated by the indigenes. The total number of towns and villages in the whole Province of Sind now is officially stated to be only 4429. (I. G. XXII. 403).

I. 23, *l.* 5 from foot. *When all the rivers which we have enumerated [Jhelum, Biyās, Rāvi, etc.] have passed..... Multān, they unite at about three days' journey below this city.. at a place called Dūshāb into one stream which proceeds to the town of Al Rūr.*

Raverty hazarded the opinion that the name of this place was derived from the Persian 'Dosh' "meeting," and 'Āb' "water," and that it was so called because the waters of six great rivers met here. (Mihrān, 209). In the first place, 'Dūsh' does not mean 'meeting' but 'milking' and 'Dūshāb' signifies "syrup of dates or grapes," according to Richardson's Dictionary. In the second, it is extremely unlikely that such a conspicuous landmark as that where several of the greatest rivers of the country assembled in confluence, should have had no indigenous name and been known to the people by a meaning-making designation of foreign manufacture, so early as the first quarter of the tenth century.

I venture to suggest that what Mas'ūdi wrote was ووشاب Wūshāb, and that what he meant was Wūshā, *i.e.* Uchchā.

It is perfectly true that the five rivers now fall into the Indus at Mithankot, about forty-eight miles south of Uchcha, and not at Uchcha itself. But these old writers were not scientific geographers, recording the results of careful surveys or of even their own observations. Their information about the physical features of the country was, for the most part, derived from chance acquaintances who had themselves obtained theirs from not very reliable sources. Their assertions are often only vague expressions of nebulous ideas and restricted knowledge. They frequently repeat only the common view of their times, mere hearsay or popular rumour and sometimes render also an uncouth and outlandish name by one more familiar or intelligible to

themselves or to their readers.

Now we, ourselves, do not now know where the six rivers actually met a thousand years ago. But it is fairly clear, from the passages which I shall presently quote, that the junction of the five rivers with the Indus *was popularly believed*, at this time and long afterwards, to take place at Uchcha itself. It may have been a wrong belief, or vulgar error; it may not have been in exact correspondence with fact, but we have nothing to do with that. All that we are concerned with is to show that the idea was widespread and generally held even by fairly well-informed persons.

I will first cite an old Sanskrit inscription of V. S. 1333, *i.e.* 1276 A.C. which was found in a Bāoli or step-well at Pālam, about twelve miles south-west of Delhi. It is recorded there that the step-well was excavated by the orders of one Udhdhara, the son of Haripāla, who came originally from Uchchapura, "where the Vitastā (Behat or Jhelum), Vipāśa (Beās) and Shatadru (Sutlej) join in front.....with the swelling waves of the Chandrabhāgā, where stands also the friendly Sindhu with its affluents and where the land is laved by the water of that Sindhu, where the town of Uchchapura laughs at Amarāvati;....., even there was the abode of his father Haripāla." (Dr. Rājendra Lāl Mitra's Tr. in J.A.S.B. XLIII, 1874, p. 106). The epigraph is mentioned in the *Āṣāru-s-Sanādīd*, as well as in Thomas's Chronicles of the Pathān Kings of Delhi, (p. 136-7) and clearly reflects the general opinion that *the rivers named met the Indus near Uchcha.*

We have next the testimony of Sharafu-d-dīn 'Ali Yazdi who states that the Jamd [Jhelum] " joins the Chināwa above Multān.....and below it, they join the Rāvi.....Afterwards, the river Biyāh joins them and *the united streams pass by Uch and join the Sind or Indus*''. (*Ẓafarnāma*, Text, II. 179, l. 5 ff, E. D. III. 522). A parallel statement will be found also in the *Malfūẓāt-i Tīmūri* where also it is stated that " *the united rivers fall into the Sind or Indus in the neighbourhood of Uch.*" (E. D. III. 476).

There can be little doubt that the confluence of the Punjāb rivers with the Indus *was generally said and believed* to take place at or very near Uchcha. The belief or averment may not have been in accordance with fact even in those days, as it is not now. But that is beside the point. We are concerned with the popular opinion of the times and not the scientific fact. Indeed, even so late as the last decade of the 18th century, Mogul Beg, a surveyor employed by Warren Hastings, after mentioning the Five Rivers and their confluences, wrote thus: "*Near Uch, it* [the Āb-i-Sind or Indus] *unites with the Panj Āb or Panch Nad* and towards the Bandar of Lahri, it unites with the ocean.'' (Mihrān, 298).

Major Rennell, also, shows the five rivers falling into the Indus, just below 'Uch' on the Map, facing page 65, of his famous Memoir of a Map of Hindoostan, in 1793.

And Raverty himself assures us that "*in the last century, the Panch Nad existed, united with the Indus close to Uch,* on the west, and did not then exist, as it does at present, but was situated a little higher up than Uch," (Mihrān. 344 note).

Elsewhere also, he writes thus: "Uchcha stands on the east bank of the Chenāb and its tributaries now, but in former days, stood on the west bank of the Biāh..... and a little above its junction with the Sindhu or Āb-i-Sind and at the period in question, the Chenāb and the other rivers of the Punjab were tributaries of the Biāh." (Mihrān, 244 Note).

Mas'ūdī was, after all, only a casual visitor to this country, and we have no right to demand from him and his ilk anything approaching to our modern standards of scientific geography. His statements have no pretensions to precision and he is merely repeating a *popular* geographical idea. Only a few lines lower down (p. 24, l. 7 ff), he propounds the extraordinary dictum that "several great rivers on the Lārwi coast [the coast of Saimūr, Sopārā and Ṭhāna], *run from south to north,* whilst all other rivers of the world flow from north to south, excepting the Nile and the Mihrān of Sind." Every one knows that there are no such rivers anywhere in India and the Mihrān (Indus) does not flow from south to north, either. It only proves that his notions of the hydrography of this country were exceedingly jejune and it should also teach us that we have to make allowances for the low level of geographical knowledge in his day.

Indeed, Yule, than whom few were more learned in the History of Geographical Science, was so exasperated by the topographical errors of another Arab traveller, Ibn Baṭūṭā that he declared the Muḥammadan mind almost incapable of "relating accurately that which is witnessed in Nature and Geography." (Cathay, I. 402). General Haig also complains of the "utter lack of precision" in the early Arab geographers. (I. D. C. 71).

I. 24, *l.* **6.** *Mūltān is seventy-five parasangs from Mansūra. Each parasang is eight miles. The estates and villages dependent on Mansūra amount to three hundred thousand.*

The real distance is between 350 and 400 miles only—just a little more than half as much as 600 (75 x 8)—according to Elliot (373 *infra*) and Raverty (Mihrān, 190 note). Here again, the inflated estimate of the length of the Sindian *parasang* has misled Mas'ūdi and his statement would be in fair accord with fact if the *parasang* was equated with 4 or 4½ miles. Note that the word ضياع (*Prairies*, I. 378) is here rendered as 'estates', by Dowson himself.

I. 24, *l.* **13 from foot.** *The inhabitants of Mānkir, which is the capital of the Balharā, speak the Kīrīya language, which has its name from Kīra, the place where it is spoken.*

A slight alteration of the diacritical points would restore the names

to 'Kanariya' and "Kanara." Alberūni, while mentioning the varieties of alphabets or dialects current in India in his day, enumerates nine, *viz.*, "Nāgari, Ardhanāgari, Mālwari, Andhri, Drāviḍi, Lāri, Gauri, Bhaikshuki and Karnāṭa, which is used in Karṇāṭadesha, whence those troops come which in the armies are known as *Kannara.*" (Tr. Sachau. I. 173). Mas'ūdi's *Kīra* [Kanara] and *Kīrīya* [Kanariya] are evidently identical with this language of Kannara or Kannaḍa, *i.e.*, Karṇāṭaka. He himself tells us a few lines lower down, that the country of the Balharā is "also called Kamkar" (p. 25, l. c.) *i.e.* Kannar. Kannara is derived from the Drav. '*Kar*', 'black' and *nāḍu* country. Karṇāṭak has reference to 'Nāṭi,' the adjectival form of 'Nāḍu'. (Caldwell, Dravidian Grammar, Introd. 34-5).

I. 25, *l.* **6 from foot.** *It [Firanj or Qiranj] is situated on a tongue of land which stretches into the sea, from whence large quantities of amber are obtained.*

The word used here also is عنبر (Text in *Prairies.* I. 388) and Sprenger's rendering is "The sea throws ambergris on the shore". (*l. c.* 393). Waṣṣāf notes that "White amber [called also Grey amber, Grisamber or Ambergris] is the dregs of the Sea of Hind". (E. D. III. 29). Tavernier speaks of two large pieces of ambergris weighing 33 and 42 pounds (French *livres*) having been found in the Indian Ocean (Travels, II. 141-2). Mas'ūdi (Sprenger, 353), Rashīdu-d-dīn (71 *post*) and Duarte Barbosa (Tr. II. 181) also speak of ambergris being found in the Indian Ocean.

I. 28, *l.* **10.** *Its [that of the Multān idol] whole body is covered with a red skin like Morocco leather and nothing but its eyes are visible.*

Alberūni tells us that, "a famous idol of the Hindus was that at Multān, which was dedicated to the Sun and therefore called Āditya. It was of wood and *covered with Cordovan leather*; in its two eyes were two red rubies." (India, Tr. Sachau. I. 116). He cites also the rules laid down for the construction of the image of Āditya by Varāha Mihira. "The idol of the sun, must have," that author states, "a red face like the pith of the red lotus.....and wear a crown of several compartments and be clad in the dress of the Northerners, which reaches down to the knees." (*Ib.* I. 119). The original passage will be found in the *Brihat Samhitā*, Ch. LVIII, sections 30-48, 56-7 and Kern's Trans. in J. R. A. S. 1871.

A much older description is found in Hiuen Tsiang, who says that there was in Multān an "idol dedicated to the Sun which was very magnificent and profusely decorated, to which the kings and high families of the five Indies never failed to make their offerings and to which men from all countries came to offer up their prayers." (Beal's Tr. II. 274). A more modern account can be read in Thevenot. The notice indicates that the temple of the Sun at Multān continued to attract worshippers and was frequented in the 17th century just as much as it used to do in

the 7th, 9th and 11th. He states that the "Banyans and Catrys have in Multan an idol of great consideration, because of the affluence of people that come there to perform their devotions after their way.....I know not the name of the idol that is worshipped there; the face of it is black and *it is clothed in red leather*; it has two pearls in place of eyes and the Emir or Governor of the country takes the offerings that are presented to it." (Travels into the Levant, Eng. Tr. of 1687, Part III (Indies), p. 55). The shrine was demolished, some years after Thevenot wrote, by Aurangzeb in one of his periodical paroxysms of iconoclastic rage and a mosque was erected on the site. (A. G. I. 235).

The Multān Sun-god is pictured on several coins also of the sixth century. Cunningham thus describes three which he had found in the city itself. "The reverse of one of them," he writes, "shows the bust of a god, which Prinsep refers to as the Mithra of the Persians, but which I believe to be the Multān Sun-god Āditya. The bust is surrounded by rays after the Indian fashion and is quite different from the head-dress of the Persian Mithra. A second coin bears the same head and the name of Khusru Parvīz of Persia. The third bears the same Sun-god's head. On the obverse is a legend with the words 'King of Multān' at the end and on the reverse the rayed head of the Sun with the name in Nāgari of 'Shri Vasudeva' and 'Panchan (?) Zābulistān." (Arch. Surv. Reports, Vol. V. 122-3; see also Cunningham, Coins of the Later Indo-Scythians, 122-125).

I. 29, *l.* 12. *Distances.*

These much-heralded Itineraries have not fulfilled the hopes entertained at their first publication, of shedding welcome light on the historical geography of Sind and Baluchistān. They have served rather to obscure the subject than to illuminate it. They are bare catalogues of toponyms transcribed by one writer from another with scant regard for precision and tables of distances not infrequently set down at random. Not a word is said about the nature of the roads, the physical features of the country traversed, its degree of altitude, or the mode of travel and transport. We are not told, even when the lie of the land requires it, whether the journey was performed by land or by water.

The distances themselves are propounded in terms either of the *farsakh*, the day's journey or the *Marhala*. Unfortunately, the true value of any of these measures of length is a matter of great uncertainty and very difficult to determine. The *farsakh* is reckoned in various districts and by different authors at 2½, 3, 3¾, 4 and even 5 miles. (Elliot, 400 *post* and note). Some modern writers make it three miles at one time and four at another, according as the one or the other estimate suits some pet hypothesis. We are also told that in Afghānistān to-day, the *Farsakh* is ordinarily reckoned at 4 miles, but varies in different parts of the country, being 6 miles in Sīstān and 5⅓ in Afghān Turkestān (I. G. V. 62). The Arab geographers themselves speak in two voices on the point. Khurdādbih makes it 12000 cubits, each of 24 fingers (about 18 inches), that is,

about 18000 feet or 3 9/22 miles (*Journal Asiatique*, 1865, p. 228 note; Goeje's Ed. Text. 4, Tr. 2), but Mas'ūdi (Sprenger, *l.c.* 201, 203; *Prairies*, I. 186) and Alberūni reckon it at 16000 cubits = 24000 feet = 4 6/11 miles.

The precise length of the day's journey is equally uncertain, as it must necessarily and constantly vary according to the nature and conditions of travel. Rennell in his 'Memoir of a Map of Hindustan,' (Ed. 1793, p. 317) reckons it ordinarily at 22 miles but 30 or 33 and even more for a courier. General M. R. Haig, basing his calculations on certain statements picked out from these Itineraries, declares himself in favour of an average of 22 or 23 miles. (I. D. C. 66, 138). Mr. Guy Le Strange equates six days' journey with 50 *farsakhs* (L. E. C. 389) and one day's journey with 8⅓ *farsakhs* or 30 miles (*Ibid.*, 338). Alberūni makes one day's journey equal to only 3⅓ *farsakhs*, that is, 15 or 16 miles, (54, 56 *infra*). Sprenger reckons it at 6⅔ *farsakhs*, or about 21 or 22 miles (*Die Post und Reiserouten*, xxvi). Sir Thomas Holdich differs from all these authors and contends that "the routes described by the Arab geographers are camel-routes and their day's journey was as far as a camel could go in a day, which was far in the more waterless spaces of desert or uninhabited country and very much shorter, when convenient halting places occurred." (Gates of India, 227). He contends that "taking an average from all known distances, it was about 40 and 50 miles in a well-populated district, but might be 80 across an open desert" (*Ib.* 298). However correct this opinion may be about Makrān and Kermān, it is almost certainly inapplicable to Sind.

Again, the day's journey or *marḥala* is said by the Arabs to have been of three degrees, short, average and long. Iṣṭakhri and Ibn Ḥauqal speak of a مرحلة خفيفة and a مرحلة كبيرة, a short stage and a long stage. (Goeje, 168, 169; Gildemeister, 34, l. 21). Idrīsi reckons an *ordinary* 'stage' at thirty miles (Climate V, Sect. I), but states that a *long* day's journey was 40 miles (79 *infra*). The fact is that the stage or halting place for each day was fixed, not according to distance only, but in conformity with the conveniences available at each stage, *i. e.* its capacity to satisfy the needs of the traveller and even the general necessities of life. The abundance or scarcity of convenient halting places thus shortened or increased the length of the *Marḥala*.

When all these facts are borne in mind, it is not difficult to understand why these apparently meticulous Tables have proved to be only wandering fires which have served more to darken counsel than to enlighten it. Instead of enabling us to put our finger on the Map and spot the obscurer place-names, they have only engendered interminable disputes, surmises, and speculations or given modern authors opportunities for playing, so to say, the unprofitable game of knocking down one another's topographical nine-pins. They have, besides, been frequently convicted of error, by the results of modern travel and explora-

tion, in regard to toponyms of which the situation is certain or nearly so. It is true that many of the errors are due to the deterioration of manuscripts and the defects of the Semitic script which lends itself with fatal facility to the corruption and even perversion of proper names, but some of them at least must be laid at the door of the authors themselves.

Lastly, we have to remember that all speculations relating to the historical geography of Sind are rendered more or less futile by the fact that the Indus is the most fickle and changeable of rivers. "It is," (as Captain John Wood despairingly remarked just a hundred years ago), "utterly vain and unprofitable to identify localities in the delta of such a river". Its lower valley is "a mud basin undergoing continual change, its banks are perpetually falling and the total absence of any tangible localities constantly involves the investigator in a maze of doubt." (Journey to the Source of the Oxus, Ed. Yule, 1872, pp. 20, 3). In other words, there are few or no fixed landmarks in the valley of the Indus and everything is at the cross roads of uncertainty. Discussion and speculation often means only "blundering up and down blind turnings."

I. 29, *l.* 14. *Darak, Rāsak, the city of Schismatics, Bih, etc.*

"Darak, Beh, Band, Kasrakand, Asfaka and Fahlafahra are represented in modern geography by Dizak, Geh, Binth, Kasrkand, Asfaka and Bahu Kalāt." (G.I. 311-2). The situation of Rāsak is doubtful. Holdich thinks it was somewhere near Sarbaz which lies about half way between Dizak and Bahu Kalāt, but he is not sure about the identification. "There is a place called Rāsak in Makrān even now, but it does not fit the position assigned to it by the Arab writers. It is a small village where there is no room for a city of such fame as Rāsak is said to have been. There are also no ruins or other vestiges of former greatness round about it." (*Ibid.* 312-4; see also Le Strange, L.E.C. 330).

Most of the distances given here are not in accord with modern geographical knowledge. The real distance between Tīz and Kīz or Kej (near Turbat) is at least 160 miles—about eight days' journey, not five. The distance of Kīz from Kannazbūr (Panjgūr) is put down here as only two days, but the two places are actually more than 110 miles apart—a very long two days' journey. The other statements which follow either diverge considerably from fact or yield discordant and mutually conflicting averages for the length of the day's journey. Witness the following:—

Fahlafahra to Aṣfaqa	160 miles	Two days.
Aṣfaqa to Band	45 miles	One day.
Aṣfaqa to Darak (Dizak)	160 miles	Three days.
Band to Qaṣraqand	70 miles	Two days.
Qaṣraqand to Kīz	140 miles	Four days. G. I. 314.

No wonder Le Strange complains that "the earlier Arab geographers know little about Makrān and that the later ones add nothing worth mentioning," (L. E. C. 330 note).

I. 29, *l.* 17. *From Kīz to Armābīl six days, etc.*

As Kīz is in Lat. 25°-40′, Long. 63°-20′ and Las Beyla [Armābīl] in Lat. 26°-10′; Long, 66°-45′, Haig must be right in remarking that there is some error here. The real distance is 230 miles and he observes that, at the present day, at least twelve days would be required to travel from Kīz (Kej) to Armābīl [Las Beyla]. The actual distance from Armābīl to Kambalī, which is put by Iṣṭakhri at two days is, for once, correct, as it is forty-six miles. The real distance of Debal from Nīrūn [Ḥaidarābād] is 87 miles. (I. D. C. 66 and 138). Iṣṭakhri makes it four days, but Idrīsi only three (78 *post*). The *Chachnāma*, on the other hand, makes it a six days' journey and the distance 25 *farsakhs* (158 *post*).

I. 29, *l.* 18. *From Armābīl to Kambalī two days. From thence to Debal four days.*

Qambali was on the high road from Armābīl (or Armāīl) to Debal and has been located near Khairkot, about 20 miles to the *North-west* of Lyāri and commanding the Hālā Pass, by Holdich (G. I. 150) as well as Le Strange (L.E. C. 329, 330). Khairkot is "an ancient site, an undoubted relic of mediaeval Arab supremacy," and there is ample evidence that this corner of the Bela district was once "flourishing and populous." (G. I. 308). General Haig also places Qambali near Khairkot, but thinks it was somewhere about ten miles to the *South-east* of Lyāri and about 46 miles from Armābīl. (I. D. C. 137). Lyāri is shown in Constable, Pl. 26 Ac. Qambali is probably the 'Kambal' (Bilāduri, 119 *infra*), where Muḥammad the son of Hārūn died.

I. 29, *l.* 5 from foot. *From Mansūra to the nearest frontier of Budha five days.*

Budha is the Būdhiya of the *Chachnāma* (159, 160 *post*) and Mas'ūdi also speaks of a dependency of Multān called Bauūra [Baūdha] at 22 *ante*, but Ibn Ḥauqal and Idrīsi write Nodha or Nadha. Dames was inclined to favour the latter reading, because there is a Balūch tribe called 'Nodhaki', who have been in possession of Gwādar in Makrān for centuries and are mentioned by Albuquerque as 'Notakani' in his Commentaries (Tr. Barbosa, I. 87 note). I may point out that Hājji Dabīr also says that in 877 A. H, "forty thousand wild piratical bowmen called *Notaks*, who had invaded the territories of the King of Sind, were attacked and routed by Sultān Maḥmūd Begaḍa of Gujarāt, who was the grandson of the King of Sind." (*Zafar-al-Wālih*, Ed. Sir E. D. Ross, 22, last line).

The distance between Manṣūra and the nearest, *i. e. southernmost*, frontier of Budha is stated by Iṣṭakhrī here (Goeje's Ed. 179, l. 1) as five days, but Ibn Ḥauqal makes it fifteen and Idrīsi six days (39, 83 *infra*). 'Fifteen' is probably an error of transcription and Iṣṭakhrī's estimate of five days is accepted by Haig. He holds that the extreme southern limit of Budha must have been about forty miles north of

Sehwān, and coincided with the southern limit of the present Kākar pargana of the Shikārpur division, west of the Indus. (I. D. C. 57 note). As Qandābil is said to have been its chief town or capital, Budha must correspond to the Kachh-Gandāva province and Elliot points out that there is still a town called Budha, on the Nāri river, in the very centre of Kachh-Gandāva. (388 *infra*).

I. 29, *l.* 3 from foot. *From Multān to the nearest border of the tongue of land, known as Biyālas, about ten days.*

Byālas is Bālis or Wālistān or Wālishtān. It was, Le Strange says, a district to the north of Ṭūrān and included Sībi and Mastang. (L. E. C. 332, 347). Gardezi says Maḥmūd of Ghazna marched to Bhātiya by the Wālishtān route. (*Zain-al-Akhbār*, Ed. Nāẓim, 66, last line). It is also mentioned by Baihaqi, who speaks of Bust, Wālistān and Quṣdār as if they were near one another. (*Tārikh-i-Mas'ūdi*, Bibl. Ind, Text, 72, l. 9).

The passage is not correctly rendered here and there is no reference to any 'tongue of land' in the original text of Iṣṭakhri. What that author says is, "And from Multān to the nearest boundary of Alāstān, commonly known as Bālis, ten stages."

ومن الملتان الي اوّل حدود الاستان المعروف ببالس نحو ١٠ مراحل. (Goeje, 179, l. 4).

Dowson seems to have read لسان 'tongue', instead of الاستان. In another passage, Iṣṭakhri says that the number of stages from Qandābil to Mastanj, the city of Bālis, is four. (*Ib.* l. 6). Mastanj is our Mastūng—which lies south of Quetta and west of Sībi. Constable 24 B c. 'Kasdān' (on the same line) is meant for Quṣdār. It is قصدار in Goeje (179, l. 3).

I. 30, *l.* 7. *Between Multān and Basmand about two days. From Basmand to Al Rūz three—Annari, four—Kallari, two—Mansūra, one.*

The position of Basmand cannot be determined but this statement implies that Manṣūra was only twelve (2+3+4+2+1) days' journey from Multān, which is very wide of the mark, even if a day's journey is reckoned at 22 miles. The true distance is about 400 miles, according to Elliot (373 *infra*) and at least 350, according to Raverty. (Mihrān, 190 note). Alberūni (61 *infra*) makes the distance 50 *farsakhs* of about five miles each, which is also too low.

The journey between Multān and Al Rūz [Aror] is stated as only five days, though the real distance, as the crow flies, is not less than 240 miles. (Mihrān, 248 note).

I. 30, *l.* 11. *From Debal to Tīz four days, from thence to Manjābari two days.*

There is great confusion here. Goeje's text has: "From Debal to *Nīrūn* four *Marāḥil* (stages) and from *Nīrūn* to Mānḥātrā two." (179, l. 15). Idrīsi puts the distance from Debal to Nīrūn as three days' journey (78 *post*). Ibn Ḥauqal states that Manḥābāri or Manḥātāra was two days' distance from *Debal*, not from Nīrūn, (40 *post*; Gildemeister,

Text 36, Tr. 179). He understands 'thence' as *from Debal*, not from *Nīrūn*. Haig is sure that the right reading is not Tīz, but Nīrūn. (I. D. C. 45-6). Tīz is a port in Makrān and it could not possibly have been at a distance of only four days from Debal or of only two days from Manḥābāri. Tīz lies in Lat. 25°-0′ N., Long. 60°-40′ E. Debal (about 20 miles S. W. of Tatta) is in Lat. 24°-35′ N., Long. 67°-45′ E. A difference of seven degrees of Longitude implies a distance of about 500 miles on Latitude 25°.

I. 30, *l.* **17**. *The Mihrān passes by the borders of Samand and Al Rūr (Aror) to the neighbourhood of Multān; from thence to Manṣūra and onwards until it joins the sea.*

Raverty denounces this as nonsense and suggests that 'to' is a blunder for 'from'. His remark that the river could not possibly have flowed back from Al Rūr to Multān is just. (Mihrān, 211 n). This is what Istakhri himself says:—

فان لهم نهراً يعرف بمهران و بلغنى انّ

مخرجه من ظهر جبل يخرج منه بعض انهار جيحون فيظهر مهران بناحيه الملتان

فيجرى على حدّ بسمد و الرور ثم على المنصورة حتى يقع فى البحر شرقى الديبل

(Text 180, l. 2).

In the translation from Ibn Ḥauqal, the mistake is avoided and there is no such averment. What the latter is made to say is that "its source is in a mountain from which some of the feeders of the Jihūn also flow. *Many great rivers increase its volume and it appears like the sea in the neighbourhood of Multān. It then flows by* Basmad, Alrūz and Mansūra and falls into the sea to the east of Daibal." (40 *post*). A comparison of the text of Ibn Ḥauqal with the words of Istakhri inclines one to surmise that a line has been missed out in the text of the earlier or added in that of the later author. Ibn Ḥauqal has these additional words after the word, جيحون

(Gildemeister, 36, l. 8). [بناحيه الملتان] ويمده انهار كثيره غزيرة و يظهر فوافرة

I. 31, *l.* **2**. *The "Ashkālu-l-Bilād" or the "Kitābu-l-Masālik Wa-l Mamālik" of Ibn Ḥauqal.*

The confusion between the *Ashkāl-al-Bilād*, the *Masālik-al-Mamālik* and the *Ṣuvar-al-Buldān* of Ibn Ḥauqal, to which Elliot refers, has been cleared up by De Goeje. He has shown that the *Masālik-al-Mamālik* or *Kitābu-l-Aqālīm*, of Istakhri is only an enlarged edition of the *Ṣuvar-al-Aqālīm*, also entitled *Ashkāl-al-Bilād*, of an older author named Abu Zaid Aḥmad bin Sahl-al-Balkhi. (Art. on *Istachri-Balchi-Frage*, in Z.D.M.G., XXV, 42-58).

This enlarged edition brought out by Istakhri is found in two recensions—a smaller and a larger. The former is represented by the text in Moeller and this is also what is found in Elliot. The fuller recension is the one edited by De Goeje. (Houtsma, Encyclopaedia of Islām, IV. 560). There are several Persian translations or paraphrases of Istakhri's compilation. The so-called "Oriental Geography of Ibn Ḥauqal", published by Ouseley, is an English rendering of one such al-

ridgment. The *Ṣuvar-al-Buldān* is another and fuller recension of this Persian epitome, and two copies of still another version of the same compendium are in the British Museum. (Rieu, Catalogue of Persian Manuscripts, I. 415-417). Balkhi, the real author or progenitor of all these compilations, died in 322 A.H. = 934 A.C. The compiler of the *Ṣuvar-al-Buldān* was Muḥammad bin Asad bin 'Abdulla, and there is a copy of it in the Bodleian, which is said to be the translator's autograph. The date is not clearly inscribed, but Ethé has read it as 670 A. H. = 1272 A. C. (Sachau and Ethé, Catalogue of Persian MSS in the Bodleian Library, column 397; Ethé, Catalogue of Persian Manuscripts in the India Office, column 365).

I. 34, *l.* **3.** *Yusli (Kambali).*

Holdich challenges Dowson's identification of Yusli with Qambali. He states that Yusli is the modern Uthal or Utal, near which there are unmistakable ruins of a considerable Arab town. (G. I. 307-8). Utal is shown in Constable, 26 A c. It is about 20 miles north-east of Lyāri, while Qambali is located by him about the same distance north-west of Lyāri, and by Haig at ten miles south-east of it. Utal is now in Las Bela State.

I. 38, *l.* **8 from foot.** *The villages of Dahūk and Kalwān are contiguous to each other.*

Iṣṭakhri's spelling is 'Rāhūq' (Goeje, p. 176, l. 13) and Idrīsi's 'Rāhūn' (80 *post*). The districts meant are those now called Dashtak and Kolwah. Kolwah is a well-cultivated tract lying to the south of the river, which Ibn Ḥauqal calls Labi and is now known as the Lob. (G.I. 304). Kolwah is in Lat. 26°-0' N., Long. 64°-0' E. It is shown in the I.G. Atlas, Pl. 35 C 3.

I. 40, *l.* **2.** *From Debal to Kannazbūr, fourteen; from Debal to Manhātara (Manjābari) two, and that is on the road from Debal to Kannazbūr.*

The first of these distances is not laid down categorically or in so many words, in Iṣṭakhri, but it is implied. Cf. 29, l. 11, where he says: "Kannazbūr to Kīz, 2 days, Armābil 6, Kambāli 2, Debal 4"; total 14. Dowson makes Iṣṭakhri say that Debal was 4 days from Tīz, but Tīz is a manifest error for Nīrūn. It is also stated that it was 2 days from Nīrūn to Manjābari (Manḥābāra) and that (Manjābari) was on the road from Debal to Mānṣūra. (30 *ante*; Goeje, Text, 179, l. 15, 175, l. 15). But Ibn Ḥauqal differs from him here. He puts Manḥābari *at two days' distance from Debal—on the road to Qannazbūr*, which was 14 days from Debal. Both these statements appear to be correct.

Manjābāri or Manḥābari or Manḥātara is a place most difficult to identify. Cunningham was sure that it was Tatta (A.G.I. 289), an opinion denounced by Haig as resting on "a number of gratuitous assumptions." (I.D.C. 31). Raverty was in favour of locating it near Badīn, which is about 62 miles south-east of Ḥaidarābād. (Mihrān, 227-229 notes).

The statements of the Arab writers on its situation are so conflicting with one another and so inconsistent with their own averments, that no place can possibly answer all the descriptions found in their writings. Iṣṭakhri says it was to the west of the Mihrān and that any one going from Debal to Manṣūra would have to cross the river at Manjābāri, as the two places lay opposite to each other. (Goeje, 175, l. 15). But he also states that Manjābāri was two stages from Nīrūn which was four stages from Debal. (Text, 179, l. 15, 30 *ante*, q.v. my Note).

At page 37 *ante*, Ibn Ḥauqal mechanically copies this and puts Manḥābari at two days' distance *on the road to Manṣūra*, but *here*, he asserts that it lay *on the route to Qannāzbūr* and two stages *from Debal*, not *from Nīrūn*, as Iṣṭakhri has it.

Idrīsi further perplexes the matter by locating Manḥābari at three days from Sehwān, six days from Fīrabūz and two days from Debal on the road from Debal to Fīrabūz, *i.e.* Qannazbūr. (79-80 *post*). It is obvious that Manḥābari could not have been on the road from Debal to Nīrūn or Manṣūra and also on that from Debal to Qannazbūr. Haig and Holdich attempt to cut the knot by supposing that there were two places bearing the same name. One of them, they locate twenty miles N.E. of Karāchi, somewhere near Mugger Pīr and the other, eight miles south-east of Shāhdādpur or about forty miles north-east of Ḥaidarābād. (I. D. C. 68, 138; G. I. 309-10). But this duplication seems uncalled for, as it is founded on the supposition that every statement in Idrīsi's *Omnium gatherum* is correct and *must* be reconciled with the facts as we know them, even when it is *prima facie* impossible to do so. It seems that Nīrūn and Manṣūra are copyists' errors and that we should read "Qannazbūr" in their stead. Manjābari or Manḥābari was really a place which was two days from Debal *on the road to Qannāzbūr and* it lay *opposite to Debal*, not to Manṣūra.

I venture to suggest the identity of Manḥābari with Bhānbor. It is said by Hughes (Gaz. 120) as well as by [Sir Richard] Burton (Sind Revisited, I. 128) to have been known as Mansāwār or Manhāra. Bhānbor lies at about two days' distance from Debal on the Ghāro channel, about twelve miles north-west of Lārry Bandar. (A. G. I. 299). Lārry Bandar is about 40 miles south-west of Tatta. (*Ibid.* 289). In other words, Bhānbor is 52 miles distant from Tatta and about 32 from Debal, which is located by Haig, Raverty, Le Strange and many other writers at about 20 miles south-west of Tatta. Bhānbor is reputed to be the most ancient port in Sind (Burton, l. c. I. 125), and the site is strewn with ruins of "houses, curtains, bastions and amorphous heaps" in which coins and other antique objects are found in abundance. (Elliot, 368 *post*). It is not a very large place but Manḥābari also was not one, as it was only a place of landing or crossing on the road to Makrān. The Ghāro channel, on which it lies, is an old arm of the Indus which had to be crossed and Manḥābari must have been, just what Bhānbor was,

" an outpost guarding the creek and regulating the shipping admitted into the open waterway." (Cousens, Antiquities of Sind, 8[illegible]).

The real name of what is called Manḥābari was probably Bānhābāri or Bāhnābāri Babhanbāri, *i. e.*, Bāhmanbāri, Sanskrit Brāhmanwāra. The Sanskrit form of Brahmanābād is, most probably, Brahmanvāta or Brāhmanvāsa—" Brahman's Dwelling ". There are very similar toponyms elsewhere in India. Brāhmanbāria is a well-known place in Tippera, Bengal (I G. IX. 9). Constable 30 A d. Bāmanbore is a petty State in Kāṭhiāwād (I. G. VIi 343) and Bāmnāsa in the same province must be another vernacular form of Brāhmanvāsa. There is a Bāmanwās or Bāmaniāwās in Jaipur State, Rājputāna (I. G., *Ibid*) and about thirty other toponyms of this type are registered in the official Guide to Indian Post Offices. General Haig assures us that *bāri* is an old Sindhi suffix to place-names, *e. g.*, Ghorābāri in the Lower Delta, Hurbāri in Shāhdādpur pargana, etc. (I. D. C. 33).

I. 40, *l.* 5. *Kāmuhul from Mansūra is two days' journey.*

The forms 'Kāmuhul' and 'Fāmhal' are errors for Amhal (*Recte* Aṇhal, Aṇhil). The distance is palpably wrong. Kāmuhul (Aṇhilwād or Nahrwāla-Pāṭan in Gujarāt) could not have been only two days' journey from Mansūra in Sind. Gildemeister's Text makes it eight stages (35, l. 12 = Tr. 179) and this is also what is found in Iṣṭakhri (30 *ante*, Goeje's Text, 179, l. 9). A glance at any map must suffice to show that " eight " is correct. Idrīsi states that " from Māmhal to Manṣūra, through Bānia, is considered nine days " (84 *infra*). The error is perhaps due to ثمن having been wrongly read as اثنى.

I. 40, *l.* 15. *The river Sandarūz is about three days' distant from Multān.*

Raverty's theory is that this Sandarūz (Sind-rūd of Iṣṭakhri, *ante* 30) must be the " Biyāh and its tributaries, the Bihat, Chināb and Rāvi, which, in those days, passed north-east and afterwards east of Multān and united with the Biyāh some 28 miles to the south-ward of the last-named city." As regards the other river Jandarūz, or Jandrūd, he is positive that it must be " the Hakra, Wahinda or Sind Sāgar, of which, at the period in question, the Sutlej was a tributary." (Mihrān, 213-4). He also contends that Jandrūz or Chandrūd—the city which is said to have stood on the banks of the river—is " an impossible name for a town." (*Ibid.* 219).

It seems more natural to understand these vague and jejune references in such a manner as would be consonant with the names as they stand. These old writers had no real knowledge of the source, alignment or confluence of any of the great Indian rivers. Iṣṭakhri knew the name of the Mihrān and that of only one out of the five rivers of the Punjāb. Ibn Ḥauqal had picked up, in a blundering sort of way, those of two of them. Mas'ūdi mentions the Rāid (Rāvi), the Bahātil (Biyāh?) and what he calls the 'river of Kashmīr,' but he had never so much as heard of the

Chināb or the Sutlej. He even makes some sort of confusion, by mixing up the river of Bust, Ghazni, Rukhaj and Dāwar [the Helmand] which falls into the Hāmūn of Zarrah, with the Kabūl river and speaking of it as if it was one of the five rivers of the Punjāb. Idrīsi's knowledge did not extend beyond the crude statements of Ibn Ḥauqal and his only original contribution to the subject consists in the portentous pronouncement that Nahrwāra and Mathura stood on the banks of the Ganges (p. 91 *infra*). Two centuries later, Waṣṣāf was acquainted with the names of only four of the Punjāb rivers, and he mentions them in the *wrong* order. (E. D. III. 36). 'Unṣuri also speaks of Maḥmūd of Ghazna crossing "the Chandāha, Sihūn, Rahwāli and Behat." (*Ib.* IV. 516). Amīr Khusrau is guilty of a similar error (*Ib.* III. 70 note) and that most "erudite geographer" and author or two "Universal Histories", Ḥāfiẓ Abru, declares that the Biyāh "falls into the sea in the country of Kambāya."! (*Ib.* IV. 4).

I venture to suggest that all that is necessary to arrive at the true solution to this سند رود puzzle is to add a 'dot' to the second letter and read سندرود or سندرود Satadrūz or Satadrūd. The old Hindu name of the Sutlej was 'Shatadru' and Sayyid Muḥammad Laṭīf assures us that it is *even now "called Satadru by the lower mountaineers of the Punjāb."* (History of the Punjāb, p. 9 note). This Sandrūz or Sindrūd, as Iṣṭakhri calls it, is said to be "about three days' distant from Multān and to fall into the Mihrān above Basmad, but below Multān." Now, the Sutlej is the most eastern of the five Punjāb rivers. It is known as the Ghārā after its confluence with the Bīāh and the combined stream now joins the Trimāb—the Jhelam, Chīnāb and Rāvi—near Uccha to form the Panjnad. Uchha, in fact, "lies on the south bank of the Sutlej opposite to its confluence with the Trimāb". (I. G. XXIV, 82). Uchha is about 72 miles south of Multān or about "three days' journey below" that town.

The courses of the Punjāb rivers have changed considerably within the thousand years that have elapsed since Iṣṭakhri wrote. It has been held by more than one authority of great weight that the "Sutlej flowed about this period in the present dry bed of the Hakra, some forty miles south of its present course." (I. G. XVIII, 24). Its old bed through Bhāwalpur and Bikāner can be still traced. (I.G. XXXIII. 79).

Similarly, the Chandrūd is the Chand-āb, *i. e*, the Chin-āb. *Rūd* and *Āb* are synonymous in Persian and the Surkhrūd is also called Surkhāb, the Wakhshrūd, Wakhshāb, the Sufedrūd, Isfijāb, the Marv Rūd, Murghāb, and so on. The old name of the Chināb was Chandrabhāgā and it is, as Abul Faẓl states, made up of two streams, the Chandar (Chandrā) and the Bhāgā, which unite near Khatwār [Kishtwār] and are known as the Chināb. (*Aīn*, Tr. II. 310). In fact, 'Utbi speaks of the Chināb as the 'Chandrāhā' and he knows the Sutlej also only by its old name, ستلدور Sataldur or ستلدرو Satladru (Satlaẓru?).

(E.D. II. 41). Baihaqi also speaks of it as *Ab-i Chandrah.* (Text, 328, l. 3).

The town Chandrūz which stood on its banks is, probably, what is now known as 'Sodhra' or Sodra. Chandrūz or Chandrūr must be the vernacular form of Chandrāpura—the city on the Chandrā. Chandrāpura would become Chandrāwara, Sandrawara, Sandror Sondrā and Sodrā. It is common knowledge that the Indian 'ch' is often changed into a dental or palatal 's' or 'sh' in Arabic, *e. g.*, Chaturanga—Shatranj —Chach, Ṣassa (سسه); Chīna, Ṣīn; Chāmara (flywhisk), Ṣamara (*ante* p. 5); Chāch, Shāsh. A town called Beas stands yet on the river of that name and another called Satrod also exists. (Constable, Pl. 25 Ab, Ac).

In a word, Raverty's hypothesis is that the Sindrūd is the Beās and the Chandrūd his favourite Hakrā. My submission is that the right solution is just the reverse. The Sindrūd is the Satadrud or Sutlej which then flowed in the bed of the Hakrā, and the Chandrūd is the united Chināb or what we now call the Trimāb. This explanation has the advantage of completely satisfying the phonetic requirements and appears also to be less far-fetched.

I. 44, *l.* **6.** *Philosophers and geometricians have divided the land of Hind into nine unequal parts.....as appears from the book called Bātankal.*

The identity of this 'Bātankal' with "Patanjali" has been doubted, as there is nothing corresponding to this statement in any of the extant works of Patanjali. The discussion on the subject in Vol. II to which Dowson refers is misconceived and gets us nowhere. An examination of the original Arabic text shows that the above quotation is not from Patanjali himself but from a *Commentary* [*Ṭ'ikā*] written by an unnamed author or glossator on some book of Patanjali's. The words used are مفسّر باتنكل. This *Ṭ'ikā* is cited in several other places also by Alberūni and the excerpts from it are neither philosophic nor metaphysical. They are all of a Purāṇic character, treating of cosmographic subjects. (Sachau, Tr. II, 263-4 Notes).

I. 45, *l.* **6.** *And the mountain of Meru stands opposite to the southern pole.*

It should be pointed out in justice to Alberūni that what is here put into his mouth regarding Meru and the heavenly bodies revolving round it by Rashīdīu-d-din does not represent his own knowledge or opinion. It is merely part of an excerpt from Brahmagupta and the Chapter in which the sentences occur is entitled "Of Mount Merū, according to the authors of the Purāṇas and of others." (S. I. 243). The "others" are Brahmagupta, Balabhadra and Āryabhaṭṭa. Alberūni even warns his readers that "all that Balabhadra produces is foolish, both in words and matter." (*Ib.* 244).

I. 46, *l.* **11.** *This mountain is so high that Firdausi probably meant the following verse to apply to it.*

This also does not occur anywhere in the original Arabic. The

'verse' is only a purple patch interpolated by Rashīd or the Persian paraphrast (cf. S. I. 202).

I. 47, *l.* 5. *There are rivers and large streams, etc.*

The Persian text appears to have been very defective here and this important passage is rendered very differently in several places by Sachau. Some of the toponyms also are very differently spelt. Sachau translates it thus: "In the mountains bordering on the kingdom of Kāyabish, *i.e.*, Kābul, rises a river which is called Ghorvand on account of its many branches. It is joined by several affluents. 1. The river of the Pass of Ghūzak. 2. The river of the gorge of Panchīr below the town of Parwān. 3. 4. The river Sharwat and the river Sāwa, which latter flows through the town of Lanbagā, *i.e.* Lamghān; they join the Ghorvand at the pass of Drūta. 5. 6. The rivers Nūr and Kirā. Swelled by these affluents the Ghorvand is a great stream opposite the town of Purshāvar, being there called the *Ford*, near the village of Mahanāra, on the eastern bank of the river and it falls into the river Sindh at the Castle of Bītūr, below the capital of Al Qandahār which is Vaihand." (S. I. 259).

Now Thornton writes thus in his article on the Kābul river. "It rises about sixty miles from Kābul, at a short distance beyond which it receives the Lohgar river..... About 40 miles below Kābul, it receives the river of Panchshīr..... It then receives the Tagao river..... The united streams of the Alishang and Alingar join it about 20 miles further down. At a distance of 20 miles more, the Surkhrūd or Red River falls into it. 20 miles further east, it receives the Kāma, called also the river of Kunar..... Just below Dobandi, it is joined by the Landye or Panjkora.....and receives the river of Swāt from the north-east. After this confluence, the Kābul river falls into the Indus opposite Attock."

It is clear from this that Alberūni's river of Ghorvand is not, as Dowson says in his note, the affluent or tributary called Ghorband in our maps, but the main stream, the great Kābul river itself. It will be also seen that Alberūni has left out the names of several of its tributaries. The river of the Pass of Ghūzak must be either the Lohgar river or the Ghorband *tributary*. Panjshīr is well known and Parwān is situated about eight miles north of Chārikār, which "lies at the mouth of the Ghorband valley, 40 miles north of Kâbul." (I.G. IX. 176). Sāwa or Sheva is shown south-east of Lamghān and west of Kunar in Constable, Pl. 22, Dc. The tract called Kunar extends from Shigal to Sheva, a distance of about forty miles. (Raverty, Notes on Afghānistān, 106). The rivers Sharvat and Sāwa are most probably the Alingar and Alishang which join the Kunar or Kāma and fall into the Kābul a little above and below Darūntā. (I.G. IX. 146). Drūta or Darūntā lies 3½ *Kos* (or *Kuroh*) west of Jalālābād and about 10 *Kos* south-east of Mandrāwar. (Raverty, N. A. 71, 99; see also I.G. XIV. 2). Bābur speaks of "passing through the Darūta narrows by raft, and of going to the Bāgh-i-Wafā in Adīnā-

pur after getting off a little above Jahānnumā, *i.e.* Jalālābād." (A. Beveridge, *Bāburnāma*, Tr. 421). The Ford [M'abar] of Mahnāra is the Marminara of Baihaqi (E.D. II, 150) and may have been near what is now called Pratah Mināra—the Fallen Mināra [or Tower]. (Raverty N. A. 93). Bītūr which is said to have been below Waihind is probably the Petora of Captain Wood, who states that he passed by it on his journey by boat from Attock to Kālābāgh. (Journey to the Source of the Oxus, Ed. Yule, p. 76). Mr. H. C. Srivastava informs me that Petore still exists at about $3\frac{1}{2}$ miles south of the Attock Bridge and is locally known at Kot Pethere. The ruins of a Buddhist stupa, two rock-cut wells and of a castle can be still traced and are clearly visible. The Nūr and the Qīrā are two rivers of Kāfiristān in the north-west of Lamghān. (Raverty, N.A. 108, 135). They are shown in (Sir) C. R. Markham's 'Map of the Sulaimān Mountains on the Northern Frontier of India' in the Proceedings of the Royal Geographical Society for January, 1879. See also E. D. II. 465.

I. 48, *l.* 2. *After that there comes from the west the river of Tibet, called the Jailam.*

تبت 'Tibet' is a palpable error for بهت Behat, the ancient Vitastā and the Kashmīri Veth.

I. 49, *l.* 16. *It comes from the city of Turmuz and the eastern hills.*

ترمذ is a mistranscription of نرمد Narmad. What Alberūni really says is that "between the mouths of the rivers Sarsūti and Ganges is the mouth of the river Narmadā, which descends from the eastern mountains and takes its course in a south-western direction". (S. I. 261).

I. 50, *l.* 4. *The three eastern streams are the Balan, Lādafi and Nalin.*

Sachau reads Nālini, Hrādini and Pāvani (I. 261). All that follows upto the end of section iii at page 53 *infra* is, again, not an expression of Alberūni's own opinions or knowledge, but an exposition of the Purāṇic geography. He is merely reporting or repeating what is said about the rivers of India in the *Matsya* and *Vāyu* Purāṇas (S.I. 257, 259). The mention in the latter part of the excerpt of people whose lips are like inverted ears, whose ears hang down to their shoulders and whose faces are like those of horses, indicates that we are in the region of cosmographic myth and not of scientific geography.

I. 54, *l.* 4 from foot. *In stating these distances we will begin from Kanauj.*

Alberūni's Indian Itineraries are, speaking generally, more accurate and reliable than those of Iṣṭakhri or Ibn Ḥauqal, and he appears also to have been fully aware of the pitfalls which lie in the path of a scientific investigator, who had to depend upon the assertions of individuals of the Hindu mentality. His Tables of Distances are introduced with the following prefatory observations, the significance of which cannot be too strongly emphasised, especially as they have been lightly passed over in this version of Rashīd-ud-dīn's abstract. "It is only with the greatest

exertion and caution that we can, to some extent, correct the statements of the Hindus. But we could not make up our mind to suppress that which we knew on account of that which we did not know. We ask the reader's pardon, where there is anything wrong." (S. I. 200; see also Reinaud, *Fragments*, 82-3; Tr. 102).

The information contained in these fifteen or sixteen itineraries is derived from three different sources of very unequal value: (1) The Quarter-Master-General's Department of the Sultan, as regards the routes along which Maḥmūd's cohorts had marched, in the course of his invasions, leaving fire, famine and slaughter in their trail. Many of the places mentioned in 'Utbi's history, Bhātiya, Nandna, Narāin, Thānesar, Barhamshil, Loharin, Mathura, Bāri are noticed here also. They are the most reliable part of this lucubration. (2) The information supplied by Musalman traders, travellers and authors about the more distant parts of the country. (3) The literary and traditional statements of old Hindu writers and living pandits about towns and countries famous in Hindu literature and history, *e.g.*, Ujjain, Bhilsā, Tanjāwar, Rāmeshar, Kāmarūp, Khajurāha, Bāroi (Dwārkā), Uwarayahār, Odravishaya, etc. Respecting these, Alberūni had to rely on the assertions of persons whose knowledge he knew to be derived merely from tradition or hearsay, but he had to accept them for the nonce, for want of anything more trustworthy.

It will be observed that whereas the distances tabulated in the itineraries of the first class are expressed precisely in tens and units as 8, 9, 12, 15 or 17 *farsakhs*, those drawn from the second and third sources are expressed only in round numbers, 20, 40, 50, etc. In fact, these numbers are all but useless and rarely helpful in the identification of place-names which are doubtful or incorrectly transcribed or relate to extensive districts or provinces. These latter were, for the most part, only vague geographical expressions, the connotations of which were not fixed and must have varied from time to time in accordance with historical events which changed the political map of India.

Alberūni states here that his *farsakh* is four miles but this is the Arabian mile, which is neither the English statute mile nor the English geographical mile. He is careful to define this mile here as equal to 4000 cubits ذراع (S. I. 166-7) and at I. 200, he again declares that 1 *Farsakh* = 4 miles = 1 *Kuroh* = 16000 cubits. If the cubit is reckoned at 24 fingers or about eighteen inches (A. G. I. 571), Alberūni's mile must be valued at 6000 feet and his *Farsakh* at 24000 feet = 4 6/11 English miles. But the length of the cubit or ذراع is variously estimated and Sprenger reckons the Arabian mile as equal to 2000 metres = 2186 English yards = 6558 feet. (*Die Post und Reiserouten des Orients*, Vorrede, xxvi *apud* S. II. 316 note). Mr. Gibb equates the Arabian mile with 1921 metres (Travels of Ibn Baṭūṭa, 347-8). Now, four Arabian miles of 2186 English yards each would be = 8744 yards = 4 39/40 miles. Or if

Mr. Gibb's estimate is preferred, 4 Arabian miles = 7684 metres = 25200 feet = 4 17/22 English miles. Dr. (Sir) Aurel Stein takes Alberūni's *farsakh* to have measured a little short of five miles. (J. A. S. B. 1899, p. 25).

Elliot, Cunningham, Raverty and others who have animadverted on the undue abridgment of the distances laid down in Alberūni's itineraries, have done so on the supposition that his *farsakh* was equal to only three miles. But it will be seen that this fundamental postulate or assumption is demonstrably incorrect. It follows, not only that the animadversions are founded on their own error, but that the identifications they have proposed on the basis of that assumption must be of doubtful validity.

The following comparative table will show that Alberūni's *farsakh* works out at five miles or even more, when he speaks from his own knowledge or had trustworthy sources of information:—

Kābul to Ghazna	17 f.	88 miles	(I. G. XIV. 12).
Parshāwar to Dūnpur	15 f.	79 „	(I. G. XIV. 12).
Waihind-Parshāwar	14 f.	60 „	(Sarkār, I. A. cii).
Dūnpūr to Kābul	12 f.	90 „	(Sarkār, I. A. ciii).
Paṭna-Mūngīr	15 f.	100 „	(Seeley, Roadbook, 3).
Qanauj-Kajurāha	30 f.	180 „	(A. G. I. 481).
Qanauj-Jajmau	12 f.	58 „	(Thornton, Gaz. 542).
Mūngīr-Champā	30 f.	136½ „	(A. G. I. 572).
Qanauj-Mathura	28 f.	165¾ „	(A. G. I. 572).
Anhilwāra-Somnāth	50 f.	260 „	(Measured on the map).
Qanauj-Mīrat	40 f.	225 „	„ „
Pānipat-Kīthal	10 f.	25 *Kos*	(Yazdī in E. D. III. 494).

But this does not mean that his distances are always correctly stated. They are often undoubtedly faulty, but this is because his informants—Hindu Pandits, Muḥammadan travellers, merchants or sailors had no real knowledge of the remote districts and towns which they had heard of, read about, or casually visited. Some confusion appears to have been introduced also by the fact that Alberūni has copied some of his distances from Hindu authors who had stated them in terms of the ambiguous *Yojanā*, which had to be converted into *Farsakhs*.

The *Yojanā* has been variously estimated at from 4½ to 9 miles and its exact length has been a frequent subject of puzzlement and controversy. (A. G. I. 571-2). In fact, the *Yojanā*, like the *Kos*, would appear to have been *kachā* as well as *puccā* and it is often exceedingly difficult to say whether the *Yojanā* in a particular case is of the first class or of the second. We have just seen Alberūni stating explicitly that a *Kuroh* was equal to a *Farsakh* or 4 Arabian miles. But at I. 166, where he gives the Hindu Table of measures of length, he states as explicitly that the *Kuroh* was only 4000 Arabian yards or cubits, *i.e.* 6000 feet or one Arabian mile. Then at I. 167, he assures us that the *Yojanā* was equal to 8 Arabian miles or 32000 Arabian yards = 48,000 feet and that the *Kuroh* was ½ of a *Yojanā*, *i.e.* 4 Arabian miles.

Elsewhere he tells us that Valabha [Valā] is 30 *Yojanās* from Anhilwāra (Text. 205, l. 21 = Tr. II. 7). Here, the Yojanā must be the *short* one of about 4½ miles, as the real distance is about 150 miles. Anhilwād [Pāṭan] is in Lat. 23°-52′ N.; Long. 72°-10′ E, Valā near Bhāvnagar in Lat. 21°-46′ E.; Long. 72°-11′ E. It is evident that the *Yojanā* was of two sorts and Alberūni himself makes no secret of his own bewilderment.

I. 54, last line. *Eight parsangs from that [Jājmau] is Karwa; from Karwa to Brahmashk eight; thence to Ābhābūdi eight; thence to the Tree of Barāgi (Prāg) twelve.*

The relative situations of three of these places are reversed in the Arabic. According to Sachau and also Reinaud, (83; Tr. 103), what Alberūni says is; "Jājjamau 12 *farsakh* from Qanoj. Abhāpūri 8 f., Kuraha 8 f., Barhamshil 8 f., Tree of Prayag 12 f." (S.I. 200). If the Arabic is right, Kuraha must be Kora-Jahānābād, which lies about 29 miles west of Fatḥpur in Khajūha Tahṣīl, Fatḥpur District, and about 112 miles north-west of Prayāg by road. (Agra and Calcutta Gazetteer quoted in Sarkār, I.A. cxii). Alberūni gives the latitude of Kuraha as 26°-1′ N. The I. G. makes it 26°-7′ N. (XV. 398).

Barhamshil reminds one of "the Brahman's Fort" of 'Utbi' which was also called 'Munj'. 'Brahmashil' literally means, 'Brahman's or (Brahma's) Rock or Stone.' Munj has been supposed by Elliot to be Majhāwan or Manjhāwan, ten miles south of Kānhpur (Cawnpore). (E.D. II. 458). Dr. Nāẓim thinks it must be Munjh, which lies about thirteen miles north-east of Etāwa (Maḥmūd of Ghazna, 109). But a glance at the map will show that neither Manjhāwan nor Munjh can be identified with Alberūni's Brahmashil, as the latter is said to have been 12 *farsakhs*, about 60 miles only, north of Prayāg. Majhāwan is 10 miles south of Cawnpore which is 124 miles north-west of Prayāg (Th. 24) and Munjh, near Etāwa, is ruled out *a fortiori*, as it is even more remote.

There is a Manjhanpur about thirty miles north-west of Allahābād (Constable 28 Bc). It is approximately in Lat. 25°-32′ N., Long. 81°-30′ E. (I. G. XVII. 197) and *may be* Brahmashil.

Abhāpūri (Abhaypuri?) cannot be identified.

I. 55, *l.* 6. *Arak-tirat.....twelve parasangs from the tree of Prayāg; to the country of Urīhār, forty. Urdabishak, fifty.*

Dowson hazards the conjecture that Arak-tirat is Karantirat, now called Kantīt, in Mirzāpur, but there is no phonetic resemblance between Karan and Arak (or Arku as in Sachau). A place called *Arghya-tirtha* is frequently mentioned as a place of pilgrimage on the Ganges in old inscriptions from Northern as well as Southern India. Karṇadeva Chedi (R. 1040-80 A. C.) is said in one of his copper-plates to have performed ceremonial ablutions here before making a grant (Epigraphia Indica. XI. 175).

Uwaryahār or Ūriyahār, as it is in S. (I. 200 and II. 318), has not been

identified. I suggest that the right reading may be اودبهار Awadbihār —the Awandbihār of Minhāj (*Ṭabaqāt-i-Nāṣiri*, Text 128, l. 2), which is said to have been one of the districts conquered by M'uizz-ud-dīn Sām. Uddandapur or Uddandvihār was the old capital of Magadha and is now represented by the town of Bihār. There was a great Buddhist monastery and college here. It is mentioned in an inscription of Surapāla of the Pāla dynasty (Rākhaldās Bānerjea in J. A. S. B. 1911, p. 760). The distance given is only approximate and meant probably for the nearest boundary of the kingdom. Another phonetic approach may be ويدهه Videha. Its capital, Mithilā (Darbhangā), was in North Bihār (J. A. S. B. 1897, p. 89; I. G. XVII, 380). In a word, Uwaryahār must be either Awandbihār or Videha, *i.e.* South Bihār or North Bihār, but the former is to be preferred.

Urdabishak (Ourdabishau in R. 104) which was on the borders of the sea, fifty *farsakhs* from Awandbihār (or Bihār) must be 'Udravishaya' or 'Odravishaya', the country of the Odras, *i.e.*, Oriyas, not 'Urdhva-Vishaya' as Sachau suggests. (II. 318 Notes). His MS. read 'Ūrdabīshau', but this must be due to the copyist having transposed the د and ر. "The ancient province of Odradesha," says Cunningham, "comprised the whole of the present districts of Cuttack and Sambalpur and part of Medinipur" (Midnāpore). (A. G. I. 511). Odra is mentioned by Alberūni himself in the list of countries in the east, in juxtaposition with Magadha, Mithilā, Samatata, Paundra, Utkala, etc. (S. I. 301).

I. 55, last line. *There is a kingdom which is at present near Chūn, and the beginning of that is Dar (or Dūr), forty.*

The Arabic has it thus: 'Thence along the coast towards the east are countries which are now under the sway of Jaur: first Daraur, which is 40 f. from Ūrdabīshau, Kānji 30 f., Malaya 40 f., Kūnk which is the last of Jaur's possessions in this direction.' (S. I. 200; R. 104). 'Jaur' is the Arabic way of writing 'Chola' and the king referred to is the great Rāja Rāja Cholā [illegible] who reigned from 985 to 1011 A. C., or his son Rājendra Cholādeva I, who succeeded him and ruled upto 1052 A. C. "In the course of his reign, Rāja Rāja passed from victory to victory, conquering the eastern Chālukyan kingdom of Vengi, then Coorg and Quilon, and even the northern kingdom of Kalinga. At his death, he was the undoubted Lord Paramount of Southern India and ruled a kingdom which included nearly the whole of the Madras Presidency, Ceylon and Mysore. His son continued his father's ambitious career and his conquests extended to Orissa and even Bengal." (Smith, E. H. I. 345-6).

Daraur is Dravara, *i.e.* Dravida. Malaya must be the Pandya country comprising the modern districts of Tānjore, Madura, etc. (A. G. I. 549, 551). Kūnk is Kongu-nād, the old name of a province which comprised Coimbatore and the south-western tāluqs of the present Sālem district. "Coimbatore is even now called Kongunād. During the ninth cen-

tury, the Kongu country passed under the Cholā kings who held it for nearly 200 years. It then fell in the eleventh century into the hands of the Hoyshalas." (I.G. X. 358).

It is perhaps worth noticing in connection with Alberūni's spelling of the name 'Chola' that the oldest form is 'Chora', as in the Inscriptions of Asoka. Ptolemy has 'Chorai' and Pliny 'Sora'. (I.G. X. 326).

I. 56, *l.* **8.** *Thence [from Pātaliputra] to Mangīri, fifteen..... Champa thirty; Dūkampur fifty,.....Gangā Sāgar, thirty.*

Mangīri is Monghyr, the old name of which is said to have been Mundagiri or Modagiri (A.G.I. 476) or Madgagiri (Inscription of 12th or 13th century), "Hill of Madga". (I. G. XVII. 401-2). The actual distance of Monghyr from Patnā is about 100 miles. (Seeley, Road-book of India, Pt. 1, p. 3). It is reckoned at 37 Shāhjahāni *Kos*—each *Kos* of 500 yards = about 2 3/5 miles, *i.e.* 96 miles by Bakhtāwar Khān, the secretary of Aurangzeb, in the *Mirātu-l-'Ālam*. (E. D. VII, 163).

Champā is the old name of Bhāgalpur district. Close to Bhāgalpur, two villages named Champānagar and Champāpur still exist. (A. G. I. 477).

Dūkampur has not been located, probably because the name is spelt wrongly. The reference seems to me to be to وکرمپور Vikrampur (the old capital of the Sena kings of Bengal), eight miles south-east of Dāccā. The copyists appear to have first turned it into ودکمپور, then into ددکمپور, and lastly into this fantastic دوکمپور. Vikrampur is still the name of a *pargana* in Munshiganj division of Dāccā district. Lat. 23°-33′ N., Long. 90°-30′ E. (I. G. VIII 220; XXI. 182). Vikrampur was the favourite residence of Ballālasena, the great grandfather of Lakshmanasena (r. 1119-1192 A. C.)

Gangā Sāgar, where the Ganges fell into the sea at one time, must be Saugor island. It is said to be about thirty *farsakhs*—140 miles—from Dūkampur. As Vikrampur is in Lat. 23°-33′ N., Long. 99°-30′ E. (I. G. XXI. 182), and Saugor island, at the mouth of Hooghly, lies between Lat. 21°-30′ and 21°-36′ N. and Long. 88°-2′ and 88°-11′ E. (I.G. XXI. 366), the real distance between the two places must be nearer 240 miles than 140. The error may be due to the confusion or ambiguity about the length of the *Yojanā*. Two hundred and forty miles would be about equal to thirty *pucca Yojanās* of about eight miles each.

I. 56, last line. *Thence [i.e. from Māli Bāri, ten f., from Qanauj], to Dūkam, forty-five.*

"Dūkam" is Dogāon, on the bank of the Sarju, about four miles west of Nānpāra station on the Bengal North-Western Railway. It is 22 miles north of Bahrāich in Oudh. (I. G. XVIII, 367). Lat. 27°-55′ N., Long. 81°-35′ E. It is now in ruins, but was a prosperous town in the days of Akbar and copper coins struck here by him and Shāh Jahān are not uncommon. (Vost, The Dogāon Mint, in J. A. S. B. 1895, pp. 69-71). It is said to have been destroyed about the end of the reign of Shāh

Jahān in consequence of the curse of a saint named Shāh Sājan. (Gazetteer of Oude, Ed. 1877, I. 144).

I. 56, last line. *Thence (from Dūkam) to the kingdom of Silhet, ten; thence to the city of Bhut, twelve.*

This Silhet is, as Dowson notes, Shāhjahānpur-Silhat in Gorakhpur. It is 30 miles east of Gorakhpur town. Lat. 26°-40′ N., Long. 83°-53′ E. Bhut may be Bettiah, Lat. 26°-48′ N., Long. 84°-30′ E., which is 82 miles east of Gorakhpur, *i.e.* 52 east of this Silhet (Th.). Bettiah is the chief town of Champāran, the north-east division of the district of Sāran, and that division is often called Bettiah even now. (Th.). If Sylhet is the place of that name in Gorakhpur, Reinaud's identification of this 'Bhut' with Bhutān (*Fragments*, 105 n.) will not bear examination.

I. 57, *l.* 2. *Thence for two hundred parasangs, it is called Tilūt, where the men are very black and flat-nosed like the Turks.*

The words for "two hundred parasangs" are not in the Arabic Text, (98, l. 11), which merely says that "further on, the country to the right [of Bhut] is called Tilwat, the inhabitants Tarū, people of very black colour and flat-nosed like the Turks." (S. I. 201; R. Tr. 105). Tilwat (or Tilūt) is Tirhūt. The old Sanskrit form *Tirubhukti* is probably derived from its "flat-nosed" Mongoloid inhabitants called Tharus. The Tharus are mentioned along with the Koch and Mech by Minhāj. (T. N. in E. D. II. 310, q. v. my Note. See also Blochmann, J. A. S. B. 1873, p. 239 note).

I. 58, *l.* 1. *Thence to Dhāl, of which the capital is Bītūri, to the kingdom of Kankyū.....is twenty parasangs.*

In the Arabic, "the capital is تيوري Tiauri or Tivari" (Text 99, l. 1), of which the ruler is called "Gangeya". (S. I. 202; R. Tr. 106). Sachau says that "its position cannot be determined", but there can be little doubt that it is Tripuri, the ancient capital of Dahāla or the Chedi country. It is now called Tevar and was also known as Karanbel. The village of Tevar lies about four miles from Jabalpur (Jubbulpore). (I.G. XIV, 207). 'Tiwāri Brāhmans' are a well-known caste in the United Provinces. Kankyū (Gangyū) is Gāngeyadeva Chedi, who ruled from about 1020 to 1040 A. C. He is mentioned by Baihaqi also, who says that Banāras was in the kingdom of Gang[eya], when Aḥmad Niāltigīn sacked it in 424 A. H. 1034 A. C. (Text, 497, l. 9 f. f.; E. D. II, 123).

I. 58, *l.* 3. *Thence to Asūr, thence to Banawās, on the shore of the sea.*

Banawāsi is a place of great antiquity and is mentioned by Ptolemy. It lies sixteen miles south-west of Hāngal in the Sirsi taluka of Dhārwār district. Lat. 14°-33′ N., Long. 75°-6′ E. Alberūni is mistaken in saying that it lies on the sea coast. (Fleet in B. G. I. ii. 278-9 note).

Asūr or Apsūr, as Sachau and Reinaud read it, has not been identified. It may be the old part of Barcelore, the name of which is *Basarūru* in Canarese and is also written *Abasarūr* by Ibn Baṭūṭa

(IV. 77-8), Bāsarūr by Abulfeda (Gildemeister, 184) and Barsalur, Bassaloor, Barcalur by others. Lat. 13°-55′ N. It lies ten miles south of Bhātkal. (Yule, H. J. 45). Constable 34 B c. *s.n.* Barkalur.

I. 59, *l.* **7.** *From Mahūra [Mathura], at the distance of thirty-five f. you come to a large town called Dūdhi; thence to Bās'hūr, seven.*

Dūdhi may be Dudahi, now in *pargana* Bālbahat, Jhānsi district, nineteen miles south of Lalitpur. It contains a great number of Chandel ruins and a large Chandel tank. (Silberrad's Art. on the "History of Western Bundelkhand" in J.A.S.B. 1902, p. 125 note). Dudahi is said in the I.G. also (XI. 374) to have been a place of great importance at one time. The tank and temples are stated to be undoubtedly of the Chandel period and a colossal image, twenty feet high, of the man-lion incarnation of Vishnu, which is carved on a rock close by, is also mentioned. Dudahi is shown in Constable 27 Dc. and is in Lat. 24°-25′ N., Long. 78°-23′ E. (I.G. *loc. cit.*). It is true that this differs from that given by Alberūni himself—25°-40′ N.—in the *Qānūn-i-Mas'ūdi* (S. II. 317 Notes), but this is of little or no moment. Alberūni's results sometimes vary from those of modern surveys by 2, 3 and even 4 degrees in regard to places, the names and situations of which are absolutely certain. Compare the following:

	Alberūni	*Bartholomew's Atlas.*
Kābul	33°-47′	34°-30′
Peshāwar	34°-44′	34°-1′
Jailam	33°-20′	32°-55′
Multān	29°-40′	30°-12′
Tiauri (Jubbulpore)	23°-0′	24°-36′
Pātaliputra	22°-30′	25°-37′
Mūngir	22°-0′	25°-23′
Dahmāl (Nūrpur)	31°-10′	32°-17′
Ujjain	24°-0′	23°-9′
Tānjore	15°-0′	10°-47′
Rāmeshwar	13°-0′	9°-17′
Brahmanābād	26°-40′	25°-52′
Tīz	26°-15′	25°-0′

(Sachau, II. 341, 317).

This should teach us that in those cases in which the situation of a place admits of doubt, the Table of Latitudes given in the *Qānūn-i Mas'ūdi* is not likely to prove helpful and may be even misleading.

Reinaud and Sachau read the second name as Bāmahūr, not Bās'hūr and there is also the variant 'Māhūra'. Sachau makes the distance from Dūdhi to Bāmahūr, seventeen *farsakhs* (I. 202), but Reinaud agrees with Dowson in reading the figure as seven. All three agree, however, in placing Bās'hūr or Bāmahūr five *farsakhs* north of Bhilsā. There is a place called Bāsoda which lies about 25 miles north of Bhilsā (Constable,

27 Cc) and it may be the town meant, if the right reading is Bās'hūr.

Alberūni makes the distance between Mahābalistān (Bhilsā) and Ujjain nine (or ten) *farsakhs* only, which is wrong. Bhilsā is in Long. 77°-50′ E., Lat. 23°-30′ N., Ujjain in Long. 75°-47′ E. The two places are really about two degrees of Longitude, about 130 miles, not 45 or 50 miles only, distant from each other. Ujjain, again, is more to the north of Dhār, than to the east of it.

I. 60, *l.* 5. *From Dhār going south, you come to Mahūmahra,.....ten f.; thence to Kundaki, twenty; thence to Namāwar on the banks of the Nerbadda, ten; thence to Biswār, twenty; thence to Matdakar, on the banks of the Godāvery, sixty f.*

Almost all the toponyms are written differently in the Arabic. (Text, 99, l. 11). Sachau has "Bhūmihara, Kand, Namāvur, Alīspur and Mandagir." Reinaud reads "Mahūmahra, Kandwahū, Namāwar, Albaspur and Matdakar." All that can be said of the first of these names is that it *seems to be* a miswriting of Maheshwar and that the second may be Khandwa. The third must be meant for Nimāwar which lies on the right bank of the Narmadā, 90 miles south of Ujjain (Th.). Alīspur may stand for Ellichpur and Mandagīr, which Sachau was unable to locate, is undoubtedly Mungipaṭṭan (now called Paiṭhan), a place of great antiquity and the legendary capital of Shālivāhan. It is mentioned by Ptolemy and also in the *Periplus*. It is now in Aurangābād district and lies on the north bank of the Goḍāvery. (I. G. XIX. 317). Constable 31 Cb. Ellichpur is said to have been founded by an old-time Jaina Rājā named Il (I. G. XII. *s. n.*) and is mentioned by Barani (T. F. Text, 222, l. 9).

Khandwa also is said in the I. G. to be a place of considerable antiquity. "Owing to its position at the junction of the two roads leading from Northern and Western India to the Deccan, it must have been occupied at an early period.....It is mentioned by the geographer Alberūni. In the twelfth century, it was a great seat of Jain worship..... The town has four old tanks with stone embankments." (XV. 241).

Khandwa may be, as this writer suggests, the Kundaki (Kand or Kandawaha) of this passage, but it is at least forty miles *south* of the Narmadā and not *north* of it, as Alberūni locates it. Nimāwar *is on that river*, but it lies about 80 miles *north-east* of Khandwa and not fifty *south* of it. Again, it is said to be 49 (9 + 10 + 20 + 10) *farsakhs*, that is, about 240 miles distant from Ujjain, but this is more than double the true distance, which is 90 miles only (Th.). Alberūni has, in fact, reversed the positions of and doubled the distance between the two places.

The whole of this Mālwā itinerary is more or less full of error. The great Arab polyhistor is merely repeating what he had learnt from books or from his Pandits about all such places in the province as were "renowned in Hindu story." He is not moving due south from Dudahi, but jumping from one famous town to another and towards all points of the compass, as the names occurred to him. The ambiguity

relating to the *Yojanā* and the *Kūroh* may have been partly responsible for the disparity in the distances and his informants' ignorance of topography for the confusion in the bearings.

I. 60, *l.* 10. *Bahrūj and Dhanjūr, forty-two f. south of Anhilwāra.*

Bahrūj is, of course, Broach, but Dhanjūr is not so easily identified, Reinaud reads 'Rahanḥour' and Sachau 'Rihanjur' (Fragments, 88, Tr. 112; S. I. 205). The place meant is Rānder, a very old town near Sūrat on the other side of the Tāpti. Barbosa speaks of it about 1514 A. C. as 'Rānel' and says it was "a rich and agreeable place of the Moors, which had very large and fine ships." The Portuguese sacked it in 1530. It is mentioned also in an inscription of the time of Muḥammad Tughlaq, which is now in the mosque at Navsāri, about eighteen miles south of Sūrat. It relates to a mosque erected at 'Rānel' by Malik Maqbūl, who was then Governor of Gujarāt.

I. 61, *l.* 14. *West from Narāna is Multān at the distance of fifty parasangs; thence to Bhāti fifteen; south-east from Bhāti is Aror, fifteen. Bhāti is situated between two arms of the Indus.*

Aror was *south-west*, not south-east, of Bhāti according to Sachau. (S. I. 205). But Dr. Nāẓim translates the passage thus: "From Bazāna towards the west, Multān is 50 f. and Bhāti is 15 f. and from Bhāti towards the south-west, Aror is 15 f. *It (Aror) is a township between the two arms of the river Sind.*" (M. G. 199 note). Dr. Nāẓim's point is that it is Aror and not Bhāti which is said to lie between two arms of the Sind [Indus] and he is, most probably, right. It may be worth while to note that Sir H. Elliot had rendered the sentence exactly like Dr. Nāẓim in his First Edition (Bibliographical Index to the Historians of Muhammadan India, 1849, p. 30).

Alberūni's 'Bhāti' has been supposed by some writers to be identical with the 'Bhātiya' of 'Utbi and Gardezi, but the phonetic resemblance seems illusory. Wherever Bhātiya was—whether at Uchch, Bhera, Bhaṭinda, or Bhaṭner, it was not this Bhāti, which was 15 *farsakhs*—about seventy miles—north-east of Aror. The latter is really one hundred and sixty miles distant from Uchch, (Mihrān, 248 note) and much more remote still from all the other places mentioned—Bhera, Bhaṭinda and Bhaṭner.

Sachau tells us that Alberūni gives the Lat. of Bhāti as 28°-40′ and that of Multān as 29°-40′ in the *Qānūn-i-Mas'ūdi* (II. 341, 317), and this is in complete accordance with the statement that Bhāti was 15 *farsakhs*—about seventy miles—south of Multān.

I. 62, *l.* 2. *Thence (Jālandhar) to Balāwarda, one hundred.*

Dowson notes that other MSS. read 'ten' instead of "one hundred." S. has بلاور 'Ballāvar' and he and Reinaud (p. 88) make the distance only ten *farsakhs*. S. proposes to identify it with Phillaur (II. 319), but Phillaur is a modern town, founded only in the reign of Shāhjahān

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(I. G. s. n.). 'Balāwarda' is really Ballāvar which lies west of Chamba and south of Bhadravah. It is frequenty mentioned as 'Vallāpura' in the *Rājatarangiṇi*. It is now called Bisohli and was the capital of one of the chiefships attached to the Jammū division of the Alpine Punjab. (Stein, J.A.S.B. 1899, p. 127; A. G. I. 133, 135). Constable 25 A a. *s.n.* Belaor.

Lidda (l. 3.) is the valley of the Liddar river which is one of the principal feeders of the Jhelum. It rises in the southern slope of the mountains bounding Kashmir on the north-east, in Lat. 34°-8′ N. Long. 75°-48′, and falls into the Jhelum five miles below Islāmābād (Th.). Sir Walter Lawrence says it is also called the Limbodri and that it comes down from the everlasting snows, overhanging the head of the valley, which is famous for its beautiful scenery. (Valley of Kashmir, 18).

I. 62, *l.* **7.** *Thence (from Dyāmau) to Gāti, ten; thence to Ahār ten, thence to Mīrat ten; Pānīpat ten.*

S. reads the second name as 'Kūti' and leaves it unidentified. Dowson supposes it to be Rāj Ghāt. I venture to suggest that Kūti may be an error for کول - کویل - کولی [Koli or Koil or Kol], the old name of 'Aligarh. "The central position of Koil on the roads from Mathurā and Agra to Delhi and Rohilkhand makes it a post of great military importance. It is a very old town and is said to have been named after a demon named Kol, whom Balarām is said to have destroyed." (I. G. V. 209). It is described, in 1193 A. C., as one of the most celebrated fortresses of Hind. (*Tāju-l-Maāṣir* in E.D. 222). Mīrat is about 90 miles from Koil (Seeley, Road Book of India, Ed. 1825, p. 18). Alberūni makes it 20 *farsakhs* which is nearly the same.

I. 62, *l.* **10.** *In going south-west from [Sunām] to Arat-hūr, nine f; thence to Hajnīr, six; thence to Mandhūkūr; the capital of Lohāwar, eight f.*

R. has Adat'hūr (88). S. reads it as آدتهور (Text, 101, 1. 2). 'Ādittahaur' (I. 206). If the second letter is read as a *vāv*, and the third as a *be*, we get اوبهور Aubbahor, *i.e.* Abohar, a place of great antiquity on the *old* channel of the Sutlej. It was the frontier town of the district of Dībālpur. It is mentioned by Barani as well as Budāuni, as lying on the route from Delhi to Multān. Minhāj (E. D. II. 350) and Ibn Baṭūṭa both passed through it in going to and coming from the latter town. (Gibb, 190). It was the native town of Shams-i-Sirāj, the historian, and his grandfather was revenue officer of the dirtrict. Abohar is said to mean 'Pool of Uboh' and to have been named after Uboh, the wife of Janrā, a grandson of the legendary Bhaṭṭi king, Rājā Rasālu. (Mihrān, 263 note and 278). Alberūni's spelling seems to lend countenance to this traditional derivation and indicates that the old name was not 'Abohar' but 'Aubbahor' or 'Aubohhar'. The town is now in the Fazilka tahsīl of Ferozepore district (I.G.V. 2). Constable 24 E b.

Hajnīr or Jajjanir (S. Text, 101, 1. 2) is an equally knotty problem. It is mentioned by Waṣṣāf (E. D. III. 36) and it is probably the same as

جنجیر Janjer, which was the nativet own of a well-known family of Sayyads in the reigns of Balban and 'Alāu-d-dīn Khalji, according to Barani (*Tār. Fir*, Text, 118. l. 8; 350, l. 3 ff). But it seems that the real name was neither 'Hajnīr' nor Janjer but *Jajner* and that it is now represented by Janer village—a ruined site in the Zīra tahṣīl of Ferozepore district, Panjab. Janer is twelve miles distant from the town of Zīra and six from that of Moga, *q.v.* Constable 25 Ab. It is locally said to have been the capital of the Parihār rulers of the district in old days and a huge mound of ancient times can be still seen in the place.

The last name is written by R. as Medhūkūr (88), by S. as Mandahūkūr (206) and by Baihaqi as Mandākkūr (Text, 523, l. 6 ff.) Alberūni and Baihaqi both state that it was the specific name or designation of the strongest fortress, fortified camp or citadel (قصبه) in the town of Lāhore. Abul Faẓl mentions a 'Mankoknor' in his list of the *Dastūrs* or Revenue Divisions of the Ṣūba of Lāhore and places it in juxtaposition with Sīālkot, which is 63 miles N.N.E. of Lāhore. (*Aīn.* Tr. II. 110). But if this Mandakkūr was the citadel of Lāhore itself, it could not have been identical with or even in close proximity to Siālkot.

Medhūkūr, Mandahūkūr, 'Mandakkūr' look like corrupt or debased forms of some such Hindu name as Madrakgarh or Mand-i-Khokhar. Eastern Punjab was known in ancient times as Madra-desha, the country of the Madras or Madrakas. In the Mahābhārata (*Sabhā Parva*, XXXI. 1196-7), Shalya is called the King of Madra, the capital of which was Sākala and was situated between the rivers Chenāb and Rāvi (Archaeological Survey Reports, II, 192-6; see also Pargiter, J.A.S.B. 1895, p. 251). Dr. Fleet has almost conclusively shown that this Sākala was Siālkot (E. H. I. 68 note) and this may indicate that the name is connected with Madra or Madrakas and with their capital, Siālkot. But Alberūni himself gives the latitude of Siālkot as 32°-58′, of Mandahūkūr as 31°-50′, of Nandna as 32°-0′ and of Multān as 29°-40′ N. (S. I. 317). Unfortunately, that of Lāhore itself is not stated, but the fact that Siālkot is said to have been 1°-8′ further north than Mandahūkūr proves that the two are not identical and that Mandahūkūr must have been somewhere *near* Lāhore and almost in the same latitude. Alberūni's latitude of Mandahūkūr is nearly the same as the *true* latitude (31°-36′ N.) of Lāhore. But very little can be built upon this, as his figures are often wrong.

I. 63, *l.* 14. *The people of Kashmīr .... are carried on men's shoulders in a* Katūt *which resembles a throne.*

ویرکب کبارهم الکتوت وهی الاسره و یحملون علی اعناق ال رجال. (101, l. 8)

"The nobles ride in palankins called *Katt* carried on the shoulders of men". (S. I. 206). Here کتوت (R. 89, l. 7) is an Indian vocable connected with the Sanskrit *Khaṭṭākā* or *Khaṭṭikā*, Hind. *Khāt*, 'cot, bed-stead'. Sir Aurel Stein speaks of the *Kattūt* as 'palankins' and traces the word to the Sans. *Karṇi-ratha* of the *Rājatarangiṇi*, (J.A.S.B. 1899, p. 23 and note) but this may admit of doubt. 'Palankin' itself is derived from

the Pers. *Palang*, bedstead, and 'Palang' is connected with the Sanskrit *Paryanka*, a bed. (H.J. *s.v.* Palankin).

I. 63, *l.* 3 from foot. *The principal entrance is at Bīrāhān, half way between the Sind and Jailam.*

S. and R. 89, l. 13 read Babrahān. Dr. Stein rejects Cunningham's identification of it with 'Babarkhāna'. He says it is Babrahān, a place near the village of Chamhad, which lies S.W. of Abbottābād. Latitude 34°-7′ N. Longitude 73°-7′ E. He states that the easiest route to Kashmir from the west, leads through the open central portion of Hazārā district to Mansehra, thence to Muẓaffarābād and thence to Bārāmula. The eight *farsakhs* (39 miles) which Alberūni counts from Babrahān to the bridge over the river—which must have been at what is now called Muẓaffarābād—would well agree with the actual distance between Babrahān and Muẓaffarābād (*l. c.* 24, 222).

I. 64, *l.* 1. *Where the water of the Kusari is joined by that of the Māmhari.*

Sachau reads 'Kusnāri' and 'Mahvi' (I. 206). Sir Aurel Stein identifies the Kusnāri with the present Kunhār river which "falls into the Jailam, a few miles below its great bend at Muẓaffarābād, near which the bridge at the confluence of the Jailam and the Kishanganga must be located." The Mahwi, he says, must be the Kishangangā itself. The only error in the description is that Alberūni makes the Kunhār join the Mahwi (Kishangangā), whereas it really falls into the Jailam *after* the latter's junction with the Kishangangā (*loc. cit.* 23-24).

I. 64, *l.* 3. *Thence [from the Bridge] you arrive at a distance of five days' journey at a defile through which the Jailam runs.*

"The gorge through which the Jailam flows below Bārāmula, is, according to Drew, (Jummoo, p. 205) about 84 miles distant from Muẓaffarābād where the bridge must have been and this accords fairly well with Alberūni's five days or marches (Stein, *l. c.* 25). The 'Harmakut' mountain (l. 9) is Haramukha, which is 17,000 feet above sea level. It dominates the view towards the north from a great part of the Kashmīr valley. The name 'Haramukuta' means 'Hara's, *i.e.* 'Shiva's diadem' and refers to the belief that it is the god's favourite residence (*Ibid*). Haramukh is shown in Constable A c 23.

I. 64, *l.* 4. *At the end of the defile lies Dawārul-Marsad.*

Recte, 'the Watch Station, Dvār' (S. I. 207). 'Marsad' is not a part of the toponym, but an Arabic word signifying 'Place of observation,' 'watch-station,' hence 'custom house' and also 'observatory.' Alberūni is "referring to the Watch-station at the Kashmīr end of the gorge of Bārāmula, the position of which is marked to this day by the site of the old Gate known as Drang." (Stein, *l. c.* 25). "These *Dvāras* served, at the same time, the purposes of defence, customs and police administration, and were garrisoned by troops under special commanders. They were known as *Rāhdāri* in Mughal times." (*Ibid.* 68-9).

I. 64, *l.* 7. *The city of Kashmīr is four parasangs from Adashtān.*

What Alberūni really says is that "the city of Kashmīr, covers a space of four *farsakhs*" (S. I. 207). 'Adashtān' [*Adhishṭhāna*], was the 'city [*i.e.* capital] of Kashmir' itself. Sir A. Stein remarks that the statement is fairly correct, if it is understood to mean that the city and the suburban area was four *farsakhs*, about nineteen miles in circumference. He reckons Alberūni's *farsakh* as equal to $4\frac{77}{80}$ miles (*l. c.* 24 note). According to the I. G., the modern city of Srinagar has a length of 3 miles and a breadth of $1\frac{3}{4}$ miles and had houses on either bank of the Jhelum even in 1050 A. C. (XXIII. 99).

I. 64, *l.* 9. *The source of the Jailam is in the mountains of Harmakut, near the source of the Ganges.*

This is of course wrong. Alberūni is only repeating the popular Kashmīrian belief which places the source of the Kashmīr river Sind, the most important tributary of the Jailam, in the sacred Gangā lake and identifies it with the Ganges, as the Jailam itself is identified with the Jumna. The Sind is generally known as the 'Uttaragangā.' Its confluence with the Jailam is spoken of as a *Prayāga* and is a place of pilgrimage (Stein, *l. c.* 26).

I. 65, *l.* 2. *The country of the Bhūtawārt Turks.*

These people must be *Bhauṭṭas*, "the Tibetan inhabitants of the Indus region towards the north-east and east of Kāshmīr, the people of Tibetan descent in the modern Drās, Ladākh and the adjacent mountain district." (Stein, *l. c.* 92-3, and 125). The mention of Gilgit, Astor and Chilās in the same connection (on p. 46 *ante*) indicates that the people of the Dard country are also included. (*Ib.* 26).

Mr. Crooke explains that the proper name of the tract of Chinese territory which we call Tibet is Bodyul [Bod = land] and that of the people Bodpas, corrupted by the Indians into Bhotiyas,—a name now applied to the Tibetans living on the borders between India and Tibet. (T. C. III. 6).

I. 65, *l.* 8. *It [the mountain Lārjal] can always be seen from the boundaries of Kashmīr and Lohāwar.*

S. and R. read 'Kulārjak' instead of 'Lārjal,' and 'Takeshar' instead of 'Kashmīr' (S. I. 208). Their reading of the second name must be correct, as it is said, in Dowson's own translation, that the mountain of *Kalārchal* "can be seen from *Tākas* and Lahāwar" (46 *ante*).

Cunningham was sure that 'Kalārchal' or Kulārjak' was the great Dayamur or Nangā Parbat to the west of Kashmīr, which he remembered to have seen repeatedly from Rāmnagar on the Chenāb, a distance of 200 miles. 'Nangā Parbat', Bare Mountain, had, he urged, the same meaning as 'Karāchal,' 'Black Mountain' as 'Bareness' meant 'Blackness,' from want of snow. (A. G. I. 151 and note). But Dr. Stein thinks Kulārjak' must be the Taṭakūṭi peak which he has seen from the "Mināras of Lāhore on very clear days and is visible also from Siālkoṭ

and Gujrānwāla, the Takkadesha or Takeshar of Alberūni. This peak rises to a height of 15,500 feet and is the central part of the Pir Panjāl range and the loftiest and most conspicuous point of the mountain range to the south of Kashmīr." Lat. 33°-45′ N.; Long. 74°-33′ E. (*Loc. cit.* 27 and 79). May not the true reading be, not *Kulārjak*, but *Kulājal*, *i.e.* *Kulāchal*, 'a great or principal mountain'?

I. 65, *l.* 9. *The fort of Rājgīri is to the south of it* [*Lārjal*] *and Lahūr, than which there is no stronger fort, is to the west.*

This Rājgiri should not be confounded with the modern Rājauri. Its position cannot be definitely fixed and all that can be said about it is that it was somewhere in the upper Sūran valley.

Lahūr or Lohar is the present Loharin. Lat. 33°-48′ N. Long. 74-°23′ E. The entrance to the valley of Loharin lies almost due west of Taṭakūṭi, (Stein, *l. c.* 27-8 and his article on the 'Castle of Lohar' in Ind. Ant. 1897, p. 225). Rājāwari (l. II) where merchants carried on much traffic and which was three f. distant is the Rājauri of our maps. Constable 25 A a. Lat. 33°-19′ N. 74°-21′ E. (Th.).

I. 65, last line. *From Debal to Tūlīshar is fifty* parasangs; *to Loharāni twelve.*

General Haig cites this as an "instance of the confusion made by copyists in transcribing the names of places, on account of the resemblance which several characters of the Samitic alphabet bear to one another". He has no doubt that Tūlīshar is a blunder for كوتيشر, Koṭeshar in Kachh (Cutch). Koṭeshwar is a place of great antiquity and is mentioned by Hiuen Tsiang who speaks of it as bordering on the ocean, and containing a great temple "where the Pāshupata heretics dwell." (Tr. Beal. II. 276). It lies about 20 miles south-west of Lakhpat and about one mile from Nārāyansar or Nārāyan Sarovar, *q. v.* Constable. 26 B. d. The name Koṭeshvar signifies "ten million deities" and is an epithet of Mahādeva, and the town even now contains a shrine visited by the devotees of the god from distant parts. (I.D.C. 36-7 notes). The difficulty is that Kotesar is, at most, only 125 miles from Debal, not 50 f. or 240 miles as Tūlishar is said to be. J. Burnes says that previous to 1762, the Purān or Eastern branch of the Indus emptied itself into the sea by passing Lakhpat and Kotasir. (Account of Sind, 21. See also Raverty, Mihrān, 459 Note).

If Tūlīshar is Kotesar, Loharāni may be the Khorai [Kori] or some eastern mouth of the Indus, as it is placed at 12 *farsakhs* [60 miles] further towards the east from Kotesar. According to the B. G. (V. 229), "Kotesar lies near the mouth of the Khori river and is almost entirely cut off from the mainland by tidal creeks." This was the Eastern mouth of the great river and it was in old times of as much importance as the Western mouth. The main stream of the river is believed, by many high authorities, to have turned to the west only at some time in the eleventh or twelfth century.

Daibal [near Ṭaṭṭa] is in Lat. 24°-30′ N.; Long 67°-45′ E. Koṭesar is, approximately in Lat. 23°-40′ N. Long. 68°-40′ E., which works out as a map-distance of about 100 miles only, not 250.

It should be noted that this Lohrāni, which was 62 f. from Debal, must have been different from the place of the same name, which is said to have been 30 f. from Manṣūra at 61 *ante*. The latter may have been meant for Larry Bunder. The Map-distance between Brahmanābād and Larry Bunder is about 130 miles.

I. 66, *l.* **1**. *To Kach, the country producing gum, and bārdrūd (river Bhader), six f.*

This has been muddled by the Persian translator. S.'s rendering is: "To Kach where the *muql* tree grows and Bāroi [باروی], six *farsakhs*". (I. 208. See Dowson's note, in which it is said that Reinaud's MS also reads [باروی] 'Baroua' as the name of a place. (R. Tr. 120 n.) The *muql* tree is the *Balsamodendron muql*, which yields bdellium—a fragrant gum resin. It is the *Gugala* of the Hindu pharmacopœia. The parenthetical gloss after 'bārdrūd' is misleading. '*Bārdrud*' or *Bādrū* means Balm or Bezoar. The Bhādar is a river of Kāṭhiāwāḍ which falls into the sea near Porbandar. It has nothing whatever to do with Kachh and is more than a hundred miles distant.

Sachau also understands *Bāroi* as the name of a place but his identification of it with Baroda is inadmissible. I venture to suggest that it is the vernacular form of *Dvārā-vati*, *i.e.*, Dwārkā. The Sanskrit *Dva* becomes 'ba' in Gujarāti, *e.g. Dvāra* becomes 'Bār', *Dvija* 'Bija'. Elsewhere, Alberūni writes that the *linga* of Somanāth was originally erected on the coast.....east of the golden fortress of Bāroi, which had appeared as a dwelling-place for Vasudeva.....The fact that this just mentioned fortress [Bāroi] should have appeared out of the ocean is not astonishing for that particular part of the ocean at all." (S. II. 105-6). Now this is just what is said of Dwārkā in the *Purāṇas* and the mythological writings of the Hindus. It is "believed to have been raised in one night by supernatural agency." (I. G. XI. 387; B. G. VIII. (Kāṭhiāwāḍ), 587-588). The author of the *Mirāt-i-Aḥmadi* also relates the legend and says that the name is derived from Dvāra, 'door' and 'kān' or 'kāhn,' the short form of Krishna. (Text, II, 95). Elsewhere again, Alberūni states that the place where Vasudeva and his family were killed and where they were burned is not far from this Bāroi. (S. II. 105). He means Mūl Dwārkā—the original or ancient Dwārkā—now called Arāmrā—which lies about 18 miles north of Dwārkā. (Thornton).

Alberūni states that Somanāth is fourteen *farsakhs*,—about seventy miles east of Bāroi, which is not quite correct. Dwārkā lies North-west of Prabhās Pāṭan or Verāval. Somanāth is in Lat. 20°-55′ N. Long. 70°-23′ E. Dwārkā in Lat. 22°-15′ N.; Long. 69°-1′ E. This indicates that the true distance must be nearer 125 than 70 miles.

The distance from Baka to Kachh and Bāroi also seems wrong and should be perhaps read as six *days*, not *farsakhs*. There is, probably, some corruption or *lacuna* in the text.

I. 68, *l.* 1. *Beyond them the country of Malibar, which from the boundary of Karoha to Kūlam is 300 parasangs in length..... The people are all Sāmānis (Buddhists) and worship idols.*

As there were no Buddhists anywhere in Malabār, or for the matter of that, anywhere in Southern India, at the time when Rashīdu-d-dīn wrote, *Sāmāni* must stand here, as elsewhere, for the Jainas. At 85 *infra* also, where Dowson makes Idrīsi say that in the twelfth century, the people of Kambāya were Buddhists, we must take *Sāmāni*, the word used in the original, to signify the Jainas or followers of Mahāvīra, not of Buddha. During the seventh and eighth centuries, Buddhism was, "slowly declining and suffering gradual supersession by its rivals, Jainism and Brahmanical Hinduism." (V. Smith, E. H. I. 386). Jainism was "specially popular in the Southern Mahrātta country." (*Ib.* 386). "Buddhism finally disappeared from the Dekkan in the twelfth century." (*Ib.* 387). During the reign of Vishnu or Bittiga of the Hoysala dynasty, the Jain religion enjoyed high favour under the protection of his minister, Gangarāja. (*Ib.* 392). Lassen also tells us that, on the Malabār coast, the Kings of Tuluva, the chief of whom ruled al Ikkeri ... greatly loved the doctrines of the Jainas. (*Indische Alterthumskunde*, IV. 771 ff. Tr. Rehatsek in Ind. Ant. II. 263-5).

Karoha was identified by Yule with Gheria or Vijyadrug. (E.D. VIII. App. p. xl), while others have supposed it to be Goa [گوه]. In either case, the length of coast is greatly overestimated. The distance is only about 7½ degrees of latitude, approximately 550 miles.

I. 69, *l.* 4 from foot. *1,0000 horses from all the islands of Fārs, such as Katīf, Lahsa, Bahrein, Hurmuz, Kilahāt etc.*

Katīf lies at about twenty miles distance from Bahrein. It was the principal port of Al-Hasā." (Dames, Barbosa. I. 77. Note). Tavernier says that Katīf was noted for its pearl fishery and was situated opposite to Bahrein on the coast of Arabia Felix (Yemen). (Travels, Tr. Ball. II. 108). Lahsa or Al-Hasā is on the eastern coast of Arabia and south of Basra. Lat. 27° N; Long. 49° E.

I. 72, *l.* 2 from foot. *Beyond that is the country of Ratbān, then Arman, then Zardandān....afterwards comes the country of Rāhān, the people of which eat carrion and the flesh of men.*

'Ratbān' looks like 'Martabān', with the initial r dropped. 'Arman' is probably Mramyan, the old name of Burma. The variant 'Amān' must bea nother form of the same name, as Burma is called 'Amien' or 'Mien' by Marco Polo. (Travels, Tr. Yule. II. 109-110). But 'Arman' may be meant for 'Arāman', which was the name given to the capital founded on the site of modern Rangoon by Punnarika who reigned from

740 to 761 A.C. (I.G. XXI. 214). The geographical expression Zardandān has not been satisfactory elucidated. Marco Polo writes that the people of the country of Zardandān, "have their teeth gilt; or rather every man covers his teeth with a sort of golden case made to fit them, both the upper teeth and the under. The men do this, but not the women." (Travels, Book II. Ch. 50; Tr. Yule. II. 84). "The country meant," Yule notes, "seems to be Western Yunnān, but I can learn nothing of the continued existence of the custom among any tribe of the Indo-Chinese continent, though the practice of casing the teeth in gold is followed by some of the people of Sumātrā, as Marsden and Raffles have shown." (*Ib.* 88-90).

Rāḥān, "of which the people ate carrion", must be Mrohaung—the ancient capital of Arākān or Rākhang, as it was called by old Muslim authors. Jahāngir says of the Mugs of Arākān that "they eat everything there is, either on land or in the sea, and nothing is forbidden by their religion." (T.J. 115, l. 19; Tr. I. 236). Rashīdu-d-dīn probably wrote راخان Rākhān. The modern form Ārākān is said to be derived from the Arabic 'Al-Rākhang.' Rashīd seems to have made some mistake in regard to the relative situation of Ratbān and Rāḥān.

I. 74. *The Nuzhatu-l-Mushtak of Idrīsi.*

Idrīsi was born at Ceuta in 1099 A. C. and died about 1160 A. C. He tells us that he finished the *Nuzhat al Mushtāq* during the last days of Shawwāl 548, 1154 A. C. (Jaubert. I. xxii). Elliot asserts that "the court of the Anhilvād king, Siddh Rāj Jaysinha, was visited by Idrīsi who distinctly states that at the time of his visit, the chief adhered to the tenets of Buddha." (Races of the North-Western Provinces. Ed. Beames. I. 50), and this statement is repeated in the Cambridge History of India. (III. 517). But no authority for it is cited by either of these writers, and it appears to be founded on error. Moreover, Siddharāj was not a Buddhist, but a devout worshipper of Mahādeva.

Idrīsi's "account of south-eastern Asia, including India" is, in the opinion of Yule, "very meagre and confused". Another defect, according to that acute critic, is that "professing to give the distances between places, he underrates them enormously, in so much that a map of Asia compiled from his distances would assume very contracted proportions." (Cathay, Ed. Cordier, I. 141). Elsewhere also, Yule writes that "Edrisi's information about south-eastern India is a hopeless chaos." (*Ibid.* I. 242 note). These animadversions are not unjust, but the real offender is Khurdādbih, from whom Idrīsi has copied his account. (Cf. 15-6 *ante*). Idrīsi aspired to compose a cyclopaedic treatise which was to embrace the entire geogaphical knowledge of his day. His ambition was to leave out nothing that he had read in the fifty and odd books which he cites, but in thus endeavouring to incorporate everything and pretermit nothing, he has frequently involved himself in contradiction and confusion. He has been frequently misled also by the apparent similarity or identity

of place-names transcribed in the treacherous Semitic script. Moreover, the continuous plagiarism which is a characteristic feature of all the Arab geographers, has led him to lift from writers of the 9th and 10th centuries statements which were true of their own times, but had become obsolete in his own, and their combination with items of more reecent knowledge, has produced a composite picture which is often grotesque. Unfortunately, his errors have often misled European authors who, taking it for granted that whatever he states must be correct, have undertaken the impossible task of harmonizing and reconciling his conflicting assertions with those of others.

Idrīsi's work with its seventy-one maps may, taken as a whole, be "the most important geographical work of the middle ages" as Seybold says, (Houtsma. E. I. III. 451), but it is also true that "the older writers on whom he draws so largely, are often wrongly interpreted, (a striking example is in J. Marquart, Éranshahr, p. 261). His information, even when correct and accurate, is often used in an uncritical way and we learn more and more to use his work with much circumspection." (J. H. Kramers in Houtsma, E. I. Supplement B, 57). Indeed, it is not safe to accept any of his statements without tracing it to and comparing it with the source from which it is derived. The original text also has never been critically edited and Jaubert's version, which Dowson has implicitly relied upon, is replete with error.

I. 75, last line. *After him [the Balharā] comes Makamkam whose country is Saj.*

Sulaimān had said that "the kingdom of the Balharā commenced at the seaside, at the country of Komkam" and Masū'di stated that the country of the Balharā was called Kamkar (pp. 4 and 25 *ante*), that is, Konkaṇ or Kannakara [Kanara or Karṇāṭaka]. Khurdādbīh also had spoken of it as Kamkam and added that the teak tree was found in it. (Goeje. 67, l. 6; Tr. 47, but left out in Dowson's Tr.). This is turned here into 'Makamkam' and the name made to look like the personal designation or dynastic title of the king. There is a bare possibility of a reference to the *Kadamba* rulers of the Konkaṇ, "whose kingdom at one time rivalled that of the Chālukyas." But the better and most probable opinion is that *Makamkam* is the name of the district and a miswriting of 'Kamkam', *i. e.* Konkaṇ. 'Konkaṇ' denotes, in modern times, a much smaller extent of country than it did in the old Hindu geography. Hamilton observes that the term is now applied to the region between the 16th and 19th degrees of Latitude, but that, according to ancient usage, it began in Lat. 14°-37′ and what is now called North Canara was included in its *southern* part. (East India Gazetteer, Ed. 1815, s. v. Concan). In late Sanskrit works, the name is even applied "to the whole western coast of India from about Trimbak to Cape Comorin and they mention seven divisions, the names of which are variously given, but Konkaṇ Proper [the strip of the West coast from Daman to Goa] is

always one of them. (I. G. XV. 394). 'Sāj' is teak wood, for which the Canara forests are still famous.

I. 76, *l.* 17. *This caste [the Kastariyas] may marry Brahman women, but Brahmans cannot take their women to wife.*

Idrīsi is copying from Khurdādbih, but has inverted the meaning of his author, who states that "the daughters of the class of Brahmans are not given in marriage to the sons of this class, [the Kataria] but the Brahmans take their daughters (p. 16 *ante*).

I. 77, *l.* 6. *In that part of the sea.....there are the isle of Sāra, the two rocks of Kasair and 'Awair, that of Dardūr.*

Sāra is Sohar on the coast of 'Omān, which Mas'ūdi locates at fifty farasangs' distance from Masqat. (Sprenger, 262, 347). It is in Lat. 24°-10′ N. Long. 56°-58′ E. This Sohar is entirely different from شحر 'Shihr' which is on the southern coast of Arabia (Ḥaẓramaut) and noted for its exports of horses and frankincense. (Dames, Tr. Barbosa, I. 64-66 notes). Shihr is near Makalla. Lat. 15° N., Long. 49°E.

Mas'ūdi states (Sprenger, 268; *Prairies*, I. 240) that Kasair and 'Awair are two mountains near the island of Beni Kāwān [Kishm.]. He tells us that Durdur is known as 'Durdūr-i-Musaddam' 'the terrible Durdūr' and is styled by sailors, the 'Father of Hell', because in this part of the sea, rise enormous black rocks high over hanging the water .....and under them the sea is very stormy; hence everybody who sails there is filled with fear. The rocks are between Sirāf and 'Omān and vessels cannot help sailing through the midst of them." This enables us to identify Dardūr, which is mentioned also by Sulaimān (Old Eng. Tr. 8) and Khurdādbih (J. A. 1865, pp. 60, 282; Goeje's Ed. Text, 60, l. Tr. 41) as the Cape Mussendom of modern geographers. It is the extreme eastern point of Arabia at the entrance of the Persian Gulf. Lat. 26° N., Long. 56° E. Lord Curzon thus describes the stormy cliffs of Cape Musandim. "At the end of a long and rugged promontory, whose black basaltic cliffs rise sheer from the water's edge .....to 6750 feet, an isolated needle of rock is severed from the mainland by a gloomy channel only a few stones' throw in width, winding between walls of basalt 800 feet high. This island is Rās or Cape Musandim.....Arab and Hindu sailors still offer sacrifice to the rock and present thank offerings to it on their safe return." (Persia, II. 446-447).

I. 77, *l.* 15. *Debal is a populous place but its soil is not fertile.....; the highlands are arid and the plains sterile.*

Ibn Ḥauqal also states that it is a sterile place on account of the lack of artificial irrigation. (37 *ante*, Note). "Lower Sind is almost entirely barren in parts, with nothing but huge stretches of baked mud, broken here and there by shapeless mounds. Even in Upper Sind, vast areas remain untilled because no water can get at them; others are merely scratched, owing to the brief irrigation period. The inundation lasts only for a few weeks". We learn from the I. G. also that "with the

exception of an alluvial strip of great fertility, bordering either bank of the Indus in Sindh for about twelve miles, the province is sterile." (XXII. 396). It is now common knowledge that nearly two-thirds of the cultivable area was lying waste for lack of water before the construction of the Sukkur Barrage, which is expected to irrigate more than five million acres of hitherto untilled soil.

I. 78, *l.* 3. *Nirūn is half way between Debal and Mansūra and people going from one town to the other cross the river here.*

Idrīsi is copying here from Ibn Ḥauqal, but as is not unusual with him, copying inaccurately. What the earlier author really states is that "Nirūn is between Debal and Manṣūra but rather nearer to the latter. Manjābāri is to the west of the Mihrān and there [*i.e. at Manjābāri*, not at Nīrūn], any one who proceeds from Debal to Manṣūra will have to pass the river, as the latter place, [Manṣūra] is opposite to Manjābāri." (37 *ante*). In other words, the crossing was at Manjābāri not at Nīrūn. See also my note on l. 2, p. 40 *ante*. Haig remarks that the Mihrān did not run close to Nīrūn at all at this time. (I. D. C. 53).

I. 78, *l.* 11 from foot. *Al-Masīsa on the Mediterranean.*

This is the ancient Mopsuestiā. (Jaubert, Tr. Idrīsi, II. 129, 133 note). Mas'ūdi mentions Masīsa along with Tarsus, Antioch, Latākia, Tripoli etc. in a list of towns washed by the Mediterranean. (Sprenger, 28, 1, 289, 300=*Prairies*, I. 256; 264, 276; see also *Āīn*, Tr. Jarrett, III. 78 and note). Mopsuestia was an important city of Cilicia Campestris on the river Pyramus and lay about twelve miles from its mouth on the road from Tarsus to Issus. It is now called Messis. (W. Smith, Classical Dictionary, *s. v.*), Lat. 36°-55′ N. Long. 35°-42′ E. (See also Houtsma. E. I. III. 521-527 *s. v.* Messis).

I. 79, *l.* 15 ff. *Near it [Kalri] the Mihrān separates into two branches.*

Kalri, where the Mihrān separated into two branches at about two days' distance from Manṣūra is located by Raverty at "some miles above the low-lying tract near Jakrāo, because Jakrāo is just twenty seven miles above Manṣūra." (Mihrān, 457 note). Haig remarks that "there is much in Idrīsi's description which is absurd, "as the Indus is represented as running from south to north. There is a place called Kalri about 30 miles north-west of Manṣūra and ten miles north-east of Sakrand, but it does not suit the other directions. No place could have been three days' journey from Sehwān and also one day's hard journey of 40 miles from Manṣūra, as Idrīsi says it was. He has confused the distance between Sehwān and Kalri with that between Sehwān and Manḥābāri or some other place." All that can be said is that Kalri was somewhere in this part of the country. But Haig thinks it must have been east of the Mihrān, not west of it, as Ibn Ḥauqal and Idrīsi put it. (I. D. C. 69-70).

I. 80, *l.* 2. *In going from Debal to Firabūz, the road passes by Manhābari and between these two places, it runs through*

Khūr, a small but populous town.

This Fīrabūz must be 'Qirbūz, Qizbūr or Qanzbūr' [Panjgūr]. Holdich believes Khūr to be now represented by Khair, a village near the Malir water works of Karāchi. There is a fine group of Arab tombs there in a good state of preservation. (G. I. 310).

The mountain of salt near Dirak (l. 2 ff) is "the Bampusht Koh, which is the highest mountain in Makrān, and there is enough salt in the neighbourhood to justify the geographer's description." (G. I. 313).

I. 81, *l.* **6.** *A considerable trade is carried on in a sweetmeat called faniz, which is made here.*

It was not a 'sweetmeat' but a species of white loaf-sugar, according to Le Strange. "The chief product of Makrān," he writes, "was the sugar cane and the particular kind of white sugar, known to Arabs as *al Fānīdh* (from the Persian *Pānīd*), made here was largely exported to neighbouring lands." (L. E. C. 329). Idrīsi has borrowed this statement from Iṣṭakhri. (Ed. Goeje. 177, l. 15). Richardson (Dictionary, *s. v.*) also says فانيذ means 'sugar' and Vullers explains that when the boiled sap is refined by reboiling and thrown into moulds shaped like a pine-apple, it is called *Fānīd*. The pine-apple shape was, in fact, the origin of our sugar-loaf. (Lexicon Persico-Latinum, *s. v.* See also Houtsma. E. I. IV. 509. *s. v.* Suḳḳur). Etymologically, the word is connected, by Vullers, with the Sanskrit *Phāṇita*, sugar.

Kasrān (l. 8) must be an error for 'Quṣdār,' which is the reading in Goeje (177, ll. 15-16). Māskān where "the cultivation of sugar was extensively pursued must be Mashkel, which is even now the best date-growing district in Southern Balūchistan and produces dates of such excellent quality that they compare favourably with the best products of the Euphrates." (G. I. 314).

I. 81, *l.* **12 from foot.** *Tūbarān is near Fahraj which belongs to Kirmān.*

Holdich points out that Idrīsi has confounded Ṭūrān and Ṭūbarān in this paragraph. Ṭūrān was the district of which Quzdār was the capital. Ṭūbarān is said by him to have been near Fahraj, [Pahara which is 20 miles north of Regān and a few miles east of Narmāsīr], in Kermān. (L. E. C. 318, 330 note). Idrīsi makes the distance between Ṭūbarān and Multān and Ṭūbarān and Manṣūra, ten and fifteen days respectively. This may well be true of Ṭūran [modern Jhalawān], but it is impossible to predicate the same of Ṭūbarān in Kermān. (G. I. 315.). Idrīsi has borrowed the name Fahraj from Khurdādbih, who says it is a city of Kermān. Narmāshīr, the latter writes, is 7 *farsakhs* south of Bamm. Fahraj, is 7 [or 4] *farsakhs* from Narmāshīr, (Goeje, Text. 49, l. 10; 54, l. 1, = Tr. 34, 36). Ṭaberān or Ṭābarān is 10 *farsakhs* from Fahraj and Basourjān or Masourjān [Regān of our maps?] 14 from Ṭabarān [Tābārīn or Taīrān]. *Ibid*, 55, l. 1. Tr. 37. This Bamm is in Kermān in Lat. 29°-4′ N., Long. 58° 20′ E. Regān is in Lat. 28°-40′ N, Long. 58°-58′ E.

The Fardān which was to the east of Kīrkāyān, four days' distance from Ṭūbarān, has not been satisfactorily identified. It may be another perversion of Quzdār, which was, like Kirkāyān, in Ṭūrān (34 *ante*), and the conjecture receives support from the fact that Quzdār is not mentioned under its proper name by Idrīsī anywhere in his description of Hind and Sind.

I. 82, *l.* 12. *It [the idol of Multān] is, as we have said, square and its arms below the elbows, seem to be four in number.*

This is again founded upon some misunderstanding of the original authorities who say nothing about the idol having more than the natural number of arms. What they state is that it was 'sitting cross-legged' متربع (28 and 36 note *ante*). The error may be due to this word having been misunderstood by Idrīsī or by his French translator. Reinaud complains that the version of Jaubert is full of errors. (Tr. Abul Feda. I. cxxi. See also Houtsma, E. I. II. 451). Dowson's rendering was made at secondhand from the French. متربع نشسته occurs in Barani, T. F. 67, l. 15 in this sense of 'sitting cross-legged.'

I. 82, *l.* 2 from foot. *It bears the name of "the House of Gold Farkh".....Farkh and Bahār have the same signification.*

'House of Gold Farkh' is meaningless. Idrīsī's copies of the *Masālik* of Iṣṭākhri and Ibn Ḥauqal must have been very faulty and the whole statement is misleading. Here, having committed one error by reading فرخ instead of فرج, he proceeds to perpetrate another by giving a blundering explanation of the Sanskrit *Bhār*. فرخ in Arabic means 'an idol-temple, a place of infidels' worship'. Now the Sanskrit 'Vihāra', a Buddhist monastery, college or shrine, assumes in Arabic the form بهار 'Bihār', *e.g.* in *Nau-bihār*. Khurdādbih had said that 'Bhār' was a Hindu weight equal to 333 *mans* of two *ratls* each and that Muḥammad-i-Qāsim [not Muḥammad *bin Yusūf*, as Idrīsī styles the conqueror of Sind], had found forty such *Bhārs* of gold in the temple of Multān. Idrīsī jumbles up the meanings of two entirely distinct Sanskrit words, *Vihār* and *Bhār*, and makes utter confusion in the process.

Bilāduri also reads فرج and explains that there was an *aperture* above the chamber through which the gold was poured. (123 *post*).

I. 83, *l.* 11. *Sandūr is situated three days' journey south of Multān. .....It is situated on the banks of a river which falls into the Mihrān above Samand.*

This is all copied wrongly or carelessly from Iṣṭakhri and Ibn Ḥauqal and the statements of the two writers are so travestied and mixed up as to become incomprehensible.

The *river* Sandūr is Iṣṭakhri's Sind-rūd and Ibn Ḥauqal's Sandarūz, which was about three days distant from Multān and whose confluence with the Mihrān was above Basmad. It was a *river* only and it is not stated anywhere that it had a town on its banks. (30 and 40 *ante*). Then

Ibn Ḥauqal adds that Jandrūz was *another river*, on whose banks lay the *city of Jandarūz*. (40 *ante*).

Idrīsi has confused the two names. His *town*, *Sandūr* is Ibn Ḥauqal's city of *Jandarūz* on the river *Jandarūz*. His *river Sandūr* is Iṣṭakhri's *Sind-rūd* and Ibn Ḥauqal's *Sandarūz*. (30, 40 *ante*).

I. 84, *l.* **12.** *Masūrjān is a ..... town built upon the banks of the river of Ṭūbarān.*

"Masūrjān of Idrīsi is perhaps Regān in the Narmāshīr province of Kirmān and Darak Yāmūna may be Yakmina. Regān is about forty miles from Fahraj in Kirmān." (G. I. 317). Khurdādbih locates Darak Bāmūya at 48 *f.* [144 miles] from Basourjān (Goeje, 55, l. 5. Tr. 37). Regān is in Lat. 28°-40′ N.; Long. 58°-58′ E. a little south of Narmāshīr. Yakmina is shown in the London Times Atlas. Lat. 28° N. Long. 61° E.

When Idrīsi enumerates, a few lines higher up (l. 7), the dependencies of Ṭūbarān, he is again making confusion. Kīr Kāyān, Sūra [Surab in Kelāt State], and Fardān (Quzdār) were in Ṭūrān, *i. e.* modern Jhalawān in Baluchistān, but Kashrān (?) and Masūrjān [Regān] belonged to Ṭūbarān or Tābarān in Kirmān. He has taken the first three names from Iṣṭakhri (34 *ante*), and lifted the other two from Khurdādbih, (*q. v.* my note on p. 81, l. 12 f.f. *ante*).

A few lines lower down (21-2), Māmhal and Nahrwāra are both mentioned as two distinct towns. Idrīsi has copied the first of these from Iṣṭakhri and the second from some other author, without being aware that they are identical. He is also wrong in transferring the title *Balharā* to the Chālukyas of Anhilwād.

I. 84, last line. *There is [at Kambāya] a fine fortress erected by the government of India to prevent the inroads of the inhabitants of the island of Kīsh.*

The island of Kīsh lies in Lat. 26°-30′ N. Long. 54°-0 E. about seventy miles south of Sirāf, which it supplanted in the 12th century. In the 14th, Hormuz rose on the ruins of Kīsh and then Hormuz had its turn and its place was taken by Bandar 'Abbās in the 17th. "Kīsh is also called Ghes or Kenn, and is singular among the islands of the Persian Gulf in being well-wooded and well-supplied with water. It is about ten miles long and five broad and is better cultivated than most of the islands of the Persian Gulf.

But it seems to me more than doubtful if there is any reference here to this Kīsh. The place really meant is, most probably, Kachh—the inhabitants of which have enjoyed an unenviable notoriety for naval brigandage and robbery on the seas from very ancient times down to our own. "The chief references to Cutch in the writings of the Arab travellers of the 10th and 11th centuries are connected with its pirates, who were known as *Bawārij*." [*Vide* Alberūni, 65 *ante*]. Bilāduri also speaks of the Meds of Surast as pirates [123-4 *infra*]. In the 13th century, they are mentioned by Marco Polo who says that they 'landed and en-

camped at Socotra, and sold their spoil there to the Christians who bought it gladly, knowing that it was pagan gear.' (B. G. Cutch, V. 131 and Note).

I. 85, *l.* **3.** *Its* [*Kambāya's*] *mountains produce the Indian Kanā.*

قنا is loosely used for canes, reeds and also wild grasses of sorts, but قنا الهندي seems to be used here as the *specific* designation of the 'bamboo.' The Italian traveller, Pietro della Valle, was struck by and notes the fact that boats in India were not rowed with oars, but guided by two men, with poles of "*Indian canes, or Bambu*". (Travels, Ed. Grey, II. 341). Elsewhere, he informs us that he saw *Indian reeds* of excessive height called by the country people, *Bambu*, growing very thick along the banks of the river of Gersoppa. (*Ibid*, 220). The bamboo is here called قنا الهندى *Indian Qanā*, just as the tamarind is called طمر الهندى 'Indian date', the betel nut جوز الهندي 'Indian nut' and Malabathrum [Tamāl-patra] ساذج الهندي 'Indian leaf'.

Pliny also speaks of bamboos specifically as *Indian reeds*. They attain, he states, "the thickness of a tree and are said by the Indians to be male and female, the body of the male being more compact, that of the female, of greater amplitude. A single section, moreover, between two joints, is large enough, if we take their word for it, to make a canoe," (Lib. XVI. Cap. 34 (62), Tr. in McCrindle, Ancient India in Classical Writers. 126).

I. 85, *l.* **4.** *The inhabitants* [*of Kambāya*] *are idolators* (*Buddhists*).

The word used in the original, 'Sāmāni,' means 'idolators' and also 'Buddhists,' but there were no Buddhists in India and certainly not in Cambay, in the 12th Christian century. Idrīsi must mean the 'Jainas' or Shrāvaks, who have always been strongly represented in Cambay, and still constitute an influential section of its population. See my Note on I. 68. l. 1 *ante* and E. D. II. 163, l. 4. *post.*

I. 85, *ll.* **11, 20.** *From Subāra to Sindān is considered five days..... Saimūr, five days from Sindān is a large, well-built town.*

The two statements are inconsistent and will not hold together. Subāra [Sopārā near Bassein] is about 37 miles, and Sindān [Sanjān near Damaun], 88 miles north of Bombay, while Saimūr [Chaul or Chewal] is 23 south of Bombay. The actual distance between Sopārā and Sanjān is about 51 miles, that between Saimūr and Sanjān more than 110 miles. Both could not have been covered in the same number of days. Alberūni states that Sūbārā was six *farsakhs*, not five *days*, from Sindān (66 *ante* and S. I. 209) which is less wide of the mark.

I. 85, *l.* **13 from foot.** *The pepper vine grows in this island,* [*Māli near Kūlam Māli*] *as in Kandarīna and Jīrbatan, but it is found nowhere else but in these three places.*

This is hardly correct, as the pepper plant is indigenous to the whole of the Malabār coast and is also cultivated in Malaya, the

Philippines and even in the West Indies. Idrīsi is also wrong in asserting that "white pepper is what is gathered as it begins to ripen, or even before" (l. 8 f. f.). It is really the seed freed from the skin and fleshy part of the fruit, by soaking in water and rubbing the dried fruit." (Chambers, Twentieth Century Dictionary). It is, in fact, the dried fruit decorticated.

I. 86, *l.* 12 from foot. *The ruler of Ghāna is called Ghāna, the king of Kaugha is called Kaugha.*

Ghāna was a town in the West Sudān lying on the Niger near Walata or Timbuctoo (Cooley, Negroland, 14; Reinaud, Abul Feda, III. 1. 21). It is said to have possessed gold mines and to have exported gold dust. (*Āīn.* Tr. Jarrett, III. 47 note). Mr. Gibb assures us that the place was so called after Ghāna—the title of its Soninke rulers. (Ibn Baṭūṭa, Notes, 378). It was the southern terminus of the trans-Sahārān route in the 12th century (*Ibid*). Lat. 18°-0′N, Long. 7°-8′ E. (Houtsma, E. I. II.139). Kaugha, also written Kūkū or Gogo, was to the east of Ghāna and west of Kānem, in Central Sudān. Ibn Baṭūṭa speaks of 'Gaogao' as a large city on the Niger, which he reached after arriving at Timbuctoo. It was an important trading station at the convergence of the salt route from the west, the trans-Sahārā route from the north-east, and of the Trans-continental route. (See also Yule, Cathay. Ed. Cordier. IV. 40 note). Gogo in Sudān is shown in the Times Atlas. Pl. 108, E. 5. It is in Lat. 16°-12′ N. Long. 42°-55′ E. (Houtsma, E. I. II. 172).

I. 86, *l.* 10 from foot. *Among the towns of India,.....are Khābīrūn and Asāwal.*

I do not know of any one having attempted to identify 'Khābīrūn.' I suggest that it should be pronounced 'Khabīrwan' and that Kapadvanj is the place referred to. Kapadvanj is a town of considerable antiquity and Siddharāj Jaisinha (*R.* 1094-1143 A. C) is said to have built a *kund* or reservoir there. (B. G. I. Pt. i. 180 note). If is mentioned in a Rāshṭrakūṭa copper-plate grant dated 909 A.C. as 'Kārpaṭavanijya' and the district around it upto Kaira [Kheḍa] is known to have been included in the dominions of Krishna II. (Fleet in B. G. I. Pt. i. 383. 413; Duff. C. I. 81. 84). It derives its importance from lying on one of the main trade routes between Central India and the coast. (I. G. XIV. 406). Forbes (Rās Mālā), has described one of its old Hindu monuments, a beautiful arch. An underground temple of Mahādeva also has been recently found and explored (I. G. XIV. 278).

I. 87, *l.* 19. *Between Barūh [Broach] and Nahrwāra, there are two towns, one called Hanāwal or Janāwal, the other Dūlakā.*

By the addition only of one or two diacritical points to the first letter, 'Ḥanāwal' can be read as Janāwal or Chanāwal. The old name of the district round about the town of Viramgām was Chunwāl. A *pargana* of that name still exists in the Viramgām taluka and there is a branch post office at a village called Chunwāl-Dāngarwa. (Rās Mālā. II. 95, 99 and

notes). Idrīsi is not quite correct in stating that Dholkā stands on a river.

I. 88, *l.* **19.** *When a man has a right to demand anything of another and meets him, he has to draw a circle round him etc.*

This is perhaps the oldest description in a foreign writer, of the old Hindu custom of 'Sitting Dharnā.' Marco Polo also mentions it and states that it was carried out against the King of Malabār. (Travels, Tr. Yule, 2nd Ed. II. 327, 335). Another early reference may be found in Varthema. (Badger's Trans. 147-8). Ibn Baṭūṭa also gives an account of a slightly different form of the same usage. (De Frémery. III. 412). Qazvīni has copied the passage from Idrīsi. (*Āṣāru-l-Bilād* in Gildemeiter, Text. 55. Tr. 197).

I. 88, *l.* **5 from foot.** *When the King of India dies they construct a vehicle etc.*

Here again, Idrīsi jumbles up things and carelessly ascribed to the kings of India a practice which Sulaimān and Mas'ūdi had specifically attributed to the rulers of Ceylon only.

I. 89, *l.* **16 from foot.** *From Sindān to Balbak is also two days..... It is here that vessels change their course for the different islands of India. From hence [Balbak] to the.....Great Abyss, they reckon two days. From the island of Balbak to that of Sarandīb is one day or more.*

In other words, Idrīsi would have us believe that Sarandīb [Ceylon] was only three days' distance from Sindān [Sanjān], which lies about ninety miles north of Bombay. Iṣṭakhrī and Ibn Ḥauqal had put it at twenty days (30, 39). Idrīsi is copying from Khurdādbih. But what Khurdādbih really says is that "Bās where you can take passage to Sarandib, is two days from the 'Great Sea' [Gulf of Manaar], which is two days from Balbun, which is two days from Māli, which is five days from Sindān." In other words, Bās, the port for Sarandib was eleven days' journey from Sindān according to Khurdādbih. (p. 15 *ante*).

The 'Great Abyss' is the لجه, 'Great Sea, gulf or deep' of Khurdādbih and the غب عظيم 'Great Gulf' of Alberūni. It must be the Gulf of Manaar which "abounds in dangerous shoals and rocks at the northern extremity and is exposed to the fury of the monsoons, being quite open towards the South-west and only partially protected by the Ceylon coast on the South-east." (I. G. XVII. 108). Idrīsi's 'Balbak' is the 'Balbun' of Khurdādbih who says that the route divides at that place (15 *ante*), or as Idrīsi puts it, "vessels change their courses here." Rashid-ud-din makes a similar statement about Kābal, *i.e.* Kāyal (72 *ante*), and 'Abdu-r-razzāq tells us that Kāil lies opposite to Sarandib. (E. D. IV. 103). Balbak [Balbun] is, probably, meant for Kāyal.

I. 89, *l.* **11 from foot.** *From the town of Barūh, to Sindābūr four days..... From thence to Bāna [Tānnā] upon the coast, four days.*

As Broach lies about two hundred miles north of Bombay, Idrīsi would seem to have mixed up Sīndābūr, which was somewhere in Canara, with Sindān [Sanjān,] 50 miles *north* of Ṭhāṇa and 88 miles *north* of Bombay. Sindābūr, whether it was near Goa, Ankola or Kārwār must have been at least 250 miles *south* of Bombay, *i. e.* 450 south of Broach. Yule (H. J. 838) and Dames (Barbosa. II. 171. n) have both drawn attention to the error. Yule remarks that Abul Fedā also has jumbled up Sindān and Sindābūr in his Tables. (Gildemeister, 46. 188).

I. 89, *l.* 3 from foot. *The* Tabāshīr *is adulterated by mixing it with ivory cinders.*

The *tabāshīr* is "a siliceous substance sometimes found in the joints of the Bamboo. It is the Sanskrit *Tavakshīra* or *Vānsrochana*, Hindi Bānslochan, or Bānskapur. It is also called *Sākar bāmbū* or Bāmboo-manna." It is said in Hindu medicine to have numerous curative properties, but chemical analysis shows that "it is a saccharose related to, if not identical with, cane-sugar, and that it must be really inert." (Watt, Commercial Products of India, 110-112. See also H. J. 863).

I. 89, *l.* 2 from foot. *But the real article* [*Tabāshīr*] *is extracted from the roots of the reed called Sharki.*

Idrīsi's *Sharki* must be the reed called *Sara*, *Sarakanda*, *Sarkara* and also *kāns* or *kasā*. The Hindu God of War, Kārtikeya, is said in the Purāṇas to have been born in a grove of Sara, which gave notice of the event by bursting into flames. Its botanical name is *Saccharum Arundinaceum*. Its blades are used for thatching houses, its flowering stems (*Sirki*) for making baskets, screens etc., the internodal parts of its culms as writing pens, and the fibre of the culms for weaving the sacrificial thread or *Maunji*,. (Watt, *op. cit.* 929-30).

But this Sara, Sarkanda or Kāns does not yield the *Tabāshīr*, which is produced, not in the *roots* of any reed or cane, but in the *joints* of the bamboo. Idrīsi would appear to have mixed up the one with the other. Yule says that 'Sirky' is a tall reed-grass, *Saccharum Sara*, from the fine cylindrical culms of which matting and chicks are made. (H. J. *s. v.* Sirky).

I. 90, *l.* 4 from foot. *North of this town* [*Fandarina*] *there is a very high mountain, ... the cardamom tree grows there and forms the staple of a considerable trade.*

This mountain must be Mount Delly, which is erroneously stated by some old European writers also to be the "solitary habitat of the true cardamom." They appear to have thought that the name was connected with 'Elachi', 'Ela' and 'Hil,' the Gujarāti and Marāṭhi words for the cardamom. (Cathay, IV. 75 note). This is evidently a folk-etymology, but modern scholars are not agreed as to the real derivation. Some have traced 'Delly' to the old Malabār kingdom of Eli or Hili. (I. G. *s. n.*). Burnell had no doubt that it was the Malayālim '*Eli mala*,' 'High mountain'; others have favoured *Elu Mala*, 'seven hills' and Correa

fancied it was '*Eli Mala*' 'Rats' Hill.' (H. J. *s. v.* Delly; Dames, Barbosa, II. 1. note). Whatever the true derivation may be, the statement that Mount Delly is the only place where the true cardamom grows is wrong. It is found in several other parts of Southern India.

Mount Delly is 855 feet high and lies 18 miles to the north of Cānnānore. It is said to be visible to sailing vessels from a distance of 25 miles. (Th. *s. n.* Delly).

I. 90, *l.* **11.** *From Fandarīna to Jīrbatan.....is five days.*

Ibn Baṭūṭa states (Defrémery, IV. 109) that he went from Manjarūr to Hīli, from Hīli to Jurfattan, Dahfattan, and Budfattan, and thence to Fandarāina and Calicut. Yule rightly remarks that in placing Jīrbatan, (which he identifies with Cānnānore), at five days' voyage from Fandarīna, [the real distance is about 45 miles], Idrīsi has committed an error. (Cathay. Ed. Cordier. IV. 76, 77). Gibb (*op. cit.* 234) accepts Yule's location of Jīrfattan near Cānnānore but Badger locates it at Dharmapattam, about 10 miles S. E. of Cānnānore (Tr. Varthema, 132 note). See Constable 34 Bd. Būdfattan or Pudupattan ('New City') must have been somewhere near Waddakere or Badagere, *q. v.* Constable. Pl. 34, Bd.

I. 91, *l.* **17.** *From thence [Madiar on the Ganges] to Nahrwāra on the west bank of the Ganges....seven days. From Madiar to the city of Mālwa two days.*

What confusion? "Nahrwāra on the west bank of the Ganges"? And yet, Sir Henry Elliot and Sir Wolseley Haig assure us that Idrīsi personally visited and stayed at the court of Siddharāj Jaysinha of Nahrwāra! (Races, I. 50; C. H. I. III. 517). Idrīsi never visited India.

If Madiar, which is said to be seven days from Yanāsat, [Banāras?], is Mathurā, Idrīsi has confused the Jumnā with the Ganges. He does not appear to have heard of the former river.

I. 92, *l.* **4.** *From Kandahār to Nahrwāra is five days' journey in carriages.*

Here, in one and the same paragraph, three entirely different places are confounded under one name, Kandahār, *viz.* (1) Qandahār in western Afghānistān, (2) Gāndhāra, or the lower Kābul valley, *i.e.* Peshāwar district and parts of Kohāt, Swāt, Bājaur and Buner and (3) Gandhār, a ruined town in Broach district on the left bank of the Dhādhar river, 4½ miles from the Gulf of Cambay. It is mentioned by Ibn Baṭūṭa (Defrémery, IV. 57-8) and also in the *Aīn* (Tr. II 255). It was plundered and almost destroyed by the Portuguese in one of their piratical raids along the shores of the Gulf in 1546. (B. G. Vol. II. Sūrat, 561-2). It is this 'Gandhār' or 'Kandahār' which was five days' journey from Nahrwāra.

The 'Kandahār' whose kings could not take the title of Shāh until they had been crowned at Kābul is Gāndhāra, and the kings were the Hindu Shāhis who were compelled by the aggressive inroads of the rulers of Ghazni to remove their capital from Kābul to Waihind near Attock.

The 'Kandahār' which was "accessible by one road only" and had "a strong citadel built upon a scarped rock" must be Qandahār in Afghānistān, as its inhabitants are said to have had large and thick beards and worn the Turkish costume.

The worst feature of this muddle is that Idrīsi transfers to the 12th century, statements which were true only in the 10th. The power of the Shāhi dynasty had been totally eradicated by Maḥmūd of Ghazni about 1021 A. C. and their inauguration at Kābul was, when Idrīsi wrote, only a tale of by-gone days, a tradition or legend of the dead and forgotten past. Idrīsi happened to come across the statement in the *Kitāb-i-Masālik wa mamālik* and copied it without any attempt at verification. It may have been true of the times in which that work was written, though Mr. Vincent Smith denies it. He holds that Kābul which was captured by Y'aqūb Laiṣ in 257 H. 870-1 A. C. was never the capital of the Shāhiyas. (I. M. C. Vol. I. 245).

But it would appear from Alberūni and other Arab historians that though the city was compelled to receive a Muslim governor, the Hindu Shāh or Aspahbad, as he was also called, always remained at his side. About A. D. 950, the city of Kābul was Muslim, but the suburb was inhabited by the Hindus. It would seem that Kābul was the Coronation City of the Shāhis, as Konigsberg in Prussia was of the Hohenzollerns. (Alberūni, India. Tr. II. 157 and Sachau's note at 394). But though this may have been the state of affairs in the tenth century, it was not at all true of the twelfth and Idrīsi cannot be absolved of blindly copying from earlier authorities statements which had no reference whatever to his own period. (Dames in Houtsma, E. I. II, 595).

I. 92, *l.* 8. *The mountains [near Kābul] produce excellent aloe-wood, and the neighbourhood supplies cocoa-nuts and myrobolans ..... of that sort which is called Kābuli, from this town.*

Cocoa-nuts in Kābul! But Idrīsi is not primarily responsible for the howler. He has just pilfered it from Khurdādbih (J. A. l. c. 265; Goeje. 38, l. 1. Tr. 27). Kābul has been always famous for its myrobolans, which are called 'Chebulic', but surely cocoa-nuts never grew or could have grown anywhere in its neighbourhood. The alleged production of aloe-wood in its mountains is also a botanical 'inexactitude'.

I. 95, *l.* 14 from foot. *There is another Persian translation..... bearing the name* Sairu-l-bilād.

There is a copy of this version in the Bodleian. Ethé says it is really a translation of the second *Bāb* or section *only* of the *Āṣāru-l-Bilād.* The translator was a Muḥammad Murād bin 'Abdur Raḥmān and he has dedicated his version to Nawwāb Musawi Khān. (Sachau and Ethé, Bodleian Catalogue, No. 400, Col. 400). This Mūsawi Khān was probably the Amīr of that name who was the minister of Jahāngīr and Shāh Jahān,

I. 95, *l.* 5 from foot. *Mis'ar bin Muhalhil who visited the place [Kūlam].*

Qazvīni who wrote in the third quarter of the 13th century cites

here and in his accounts of Saimūr and Multān, the authority of this writer who is said to have "travelled into various countries" about 331 A. H. 942 H. C. Unfortunately, Qazvīni also appears to have been blissfully oblivious and ignorant of the changes which had taken place in those remote parts during the three centuries which had intervened.

The original work of Mis'ar has been lost and Yule, as well as other critics, have expressed doubts about the genuineness of the extracts which have been preserved. Yule opines that it is very difficult to say "how much it has suffered from the manner in which it has been coopered from loose fragments." (Cathay, Preliminary Essay, I. 139. See also *Ibid.* 255). In any case, what Mis'ar bin Muhalhil says here of Kūlam is not calculated to inspire confidence in the authenticity of his narrative. Among other things, we are informed that when the king of Kūlam died, his successor was chosen from China, that there was no physician in India except in this city, and that it had neither a temple nor an idol. The statement that Multān was "the last city of India bordering on China" must also make a modern geographer 'stare and gasp'. Two other averments about the same town—that the temple of the Sun was 300 cubits (450 feet) in height and that the idol itself was 20 cubits (30 feet)—are likewise suspect. He also tells us that there were Fire worshippers and Fire temples in Saimūr in his time. As this statement about Saimūr has been frequently cited in the B. G. (I. i. 510. n, 516, 517 n.) and relied on by several writers on the history of the Indian Parsis, it may be worth while to note that the extracts given in Yāqūt's *Mu'ajjam* are, in Brockelmann's opinion, "a late falsification" and "the geographical information given by the compiler is quite unreliable in detail." (Houtsma, Encyclopaedia of Islam. III. 519-20). Horowitz also has denounced the excerpts as spurious, while Barthold declares that the story of Mis'ar's Travels, as it is given in Yāqūt's extracts, is "undoubtedly fraudulent" (Houtsma, E. I. IV. 148).

I. 96, *l.* 1. *Nor do they slaughter animals, but they eat carrion.*

The word used for slaughter is ذبح, which means killing animals which are lawful food, in the particular manner and after the recitation of the particular Arabic formula, enjoined by the Islamic law. The flesh of any animal, lawful or unlawful, which has not been done to death in the manner so prescribed, is polluted or unfit for consumption and ranked with 'carrion' [مردار or مردار]. The Merchant Sulaimān had made, almost three centuries before Idrīsi, the same remark and observed that neither the Chinese nor the Indians "kill their meat by cutting their throat, as the Muhammadans do, but by beating them on the mouth till they die." (Old English Translation of 1733, p. 35). Qazvīni again writes of the infidels of Saimūr also they do not *slaughter* animals, *i.e.* kill them in the Muslim manner. (97 *infra*). In other words, *Zabh*, 'slaughter' has a peculiar or technical meaning here and in this sense, all those persons who dine off mutton or beef killed by non-Muslims may be said to eat

'carrion.' Minhāj says that as Chaghatāi, the son of Chingīz, held Islām and all professors of that faith in the greatest detestation, it was not possible in his territories "to slaughter [ذبح] a sheep according to the ordinances of Islām and all sheep used to be rendered thereby unclean." [Carrion, مردار]. (Ṭ. N. Text, 397, l. 5: Tr. Raverty, 1146).

I. 96, *l.* 9. *Rhubarb grows here [Kūlam] the leaves of which are called* Sāzaju-l-Hindi.

This is all wrong. The leaves of the Rhubarb are poisonous. It is the stalks and roots only which are edible and medicinal. Rhubarb is the dried and decoroticated erect rhizome of *Rhei Palmatum* and Mis'ar is mistaken in saying that its leaves are called *Sāzaju-l-Hindi*. The latter is really the 'Indian Leaf,' 'Folium Indicum' or leaf of the *Laurus Cassia*, the *Tamālpatra* of Sanskrit writers and the *Tejpāt* of the bazars. Garcia d'Orta also speaks of this 'Sāzaj' as *Folius Indu*. It is "the pungent leaf of several wild species of Cinnamon and is found in the hills of Eastern Bengal as well as the forests of Southern India and was highly esteemed at one time as a medicine." (Yule, H. J. s. v. Malabathrum).

I. 93, *l.* 6 from foot. *When the king asked his companions what they had to say about the marvel of the idol etc.*

This story of the mysteriously suspended idol of Somanāth is found in 'Awfi's *Jawāmi'u-l-Hikāyāt*. (Bk. IV. ch. xx. No. 1996; Niẓāmu-d-dīn, Introduction. p. 29) and also in the *Tārikh-i- Nigāristān* (Bombay Lith. 1829, p. 109). 'Utbi says this of the idols at Mathurā. (E. D. II. 44). Old European writers repeatedly state that Muḥammad's tomb at Medīna was "fixed in the air without support" in the same way. These and other tales are only part of the medieval mythology of the lodestone.

I. 99, *l.* 18. *The lord of the fortress presented many gifts to the Sultan, among which was a bird in the form of a dove.*

This story of the bird which was a toxicologist by instinct and the stone which could perform surgical miracles has been traced by Dr. Nāẓim to the *Akhbāru-d-dawal*, written by Ibn Ẓāfir in the beginning of the 7th century of the Hijra. These presents are there said to have been sent to Maḥmūd, after his generous treatment of Nanda [Ganda] of Kālinjar, by a neighbouring ruler named 'Kābakan' who was also known as 'Taḥda' or 'Najda.' These wonder-working gifts are also mentioned by Ibn al Athir (*Kāmilu-t-tawārikh.* ix. 234), who records the event under the Hijri year 414 (M. G. 114 note).

Dr. Nāẓim makes no attempt to identify this 'Kābakan' who is said to have been the master of 1000 elephants. I venture to suggest that كابكن is a mistranscription of Gāngeya گانگيه, the diacritical points having been misplaced by the copyists. Similarly • نجد or • نجد is an error by transposition of the letters of • جيد 'Chedah.' We know from contemporary inscriptions that Gāngeya Chedi—the son of Kokalla—was one of the greatest Hindu potentates at this time and that he reigned

from about 1020 to 1040 A. C. [A. H. 411 to 432]. He is mentioned by Alberūni as the ruler of Dahāla, the capital of which was at Tiauri, *i.e.* Tevar near modern Jabalpur (Sachau's Tr. I. 202. See also 58 *ante*). Baihaqi also states that when Aḥmad-i-Niāltigīn raided Benares in 424 H., the city was in the territories belonging to Gang [eya]. Gāngeya is, in fact, the Chand [Chedi] Rāi of 'Utbi, Gardezi and other historians of Maḥmūd and I hope to show in another note that his father Kokalla Chedi ککل چیدی is no other than the Kulchand کل چند who took up his station at Mahāban and died by his own hand, after his defeat on the banks of the Jumnā.

I. 104, *l.* **2.** *They [the Jats and Meds] dwell in Sind and on the banks of the river which is called Bahar.*

I suggest the transposition of the dot and read نهر 'Nahr'—'The River.' The Indus is often called 'Sīḥūn' and this vocable is used on 138 and 158 *infra*, as a common noun for 'river' and also applied to the Indus as '*the River* of Hind' (158 note). So the Oxus is known as النهر 'the River (of Rivers)' and Transoxiana is called '*Māwarāu-n-Nahr*.' Similarly, Pahan, (l. 5), the other river which this author mentions, is a miswriting of 'Bahat' بهت *i. e.* the Jhelum. The country of the Jats and Meds was probably the hilly "tract near the Salt Range, on the part which is in the proximity of Multān." (E. D. II, 477). Firishta says that the Jats against whom Māḥmūd led a punitive expedition in 1026 A. C. dwelt on the bank of the river of the Koh-i-Jūd, *i. e.* the Salt Range. (I. 35, l. 4). Gardezi (*Zainu-l Akhbār*, Ed. Nāẓim, 88) states that they dwelt on the Sīhūn. Their country was evidently what was afterwards known as the Sind-Sāgar Duāb, the interamnia of the Indus and the Jhelum. (*Āīn*, Tr. II, 311).

I. 109, *l* **1.** *When the information of the Brāhman reached the Hindus.*

Dowson suggests in a footnote that we should read "Bahman" for 'Brahman,' but the words cited by him from the original show that برهمن is right. چون خبر برهمن بهند وان رسید. "The [خبر] information given by the Brāhman" was the interpretation put by him upon the dreams of the king, the news or tidings of the events presaged by the visions. Reinaud's translation is as follows:—'Les explications données par le Brahmane s'étant répandues parmi les Indiens''. (*Fragments, 46*).

I. 109, *l.* **2 from foot.** *Three other countries of the kingdom of Sāmid he bestowed upon another.*

Dowson complains in his note that the whole of the passage is ambiguous. The phrase ولایت دیگر which he translates here as "three other countries" is rendered as *un troisième principauté*, (a third principality) by Reinaud, 47. Reinaud is quite right. Gardezi uses the expression exactly in the sense which Reinaud assigns to it. In his account of 'Amr bin Laiṣ, he says that 'Amr had four store-houses [Khazāna], one containing arms and armour and three containing money. He then states the sources from which the latter were replenished and the

purposes for which their contents were disbursed. He writes: یکی × خزینه مال صدقات و گزندهای ×× و دیگرخزینه مال ×× و سه دیگر خزینه مال که دخل آن از احراث و مصادر های جشم جمع شدي (*Zain-u-l-Akhbār*, Ed. Nāẓim, 15, l. 11.) He uses the phrase again, (*Ibid.* 48, l. 15), where three points are mentioned *seriatim*. The first has the heading یکی, the second دیگر and the third سه دیگر. There can be no doubt that سه دیگر means "Another still, (after the second), *i. e.* the third. It is a pleonastic expression or idiom. Anwari also uses the phrases دو دیگر and سه دیگر for 'second' and 'third.'

I. 110, *l.* 1. *He consigned the countries of Hindūstan, Nadama and Lohāna separately upon another.*

Sic also in Reinaud (18, l. 3 ff, Tr. 47), but the true reading seems to be 'Sadūsān, Samma and Lohāna.' 'Sadūsān' and 'Hindūstān' are very liable to be confused in the Semitic script and this identical error is perpetrated again in the Bibl. Ind. text of the *Ṭabaqāt-i- Nāṣiri* (142, l. 1 f. f. = E.D. II, 302; Raverty's Tr. 532 and Note).

I. 110, *l.* 8. *History of Rawwāl and Barkamārīs.*

This is evidently a confused version of some folktale belonging to the Rājā Rasālu cycle. Rasālu, the Punjab King Arthur, had two sons, Vikramāditya (Barkamārīs is a misreading of بکرمادیت) and Bhratrihari who turned anchorite, after being convinced of the infidelity of his mistress, Pingalā. The statement (112 *infra*) about "the power of Barkamārīs and his kingdom having spread until at length all India submitted to him" can apply only to Vikramāditya. Another version makes Rasālu and Puran the sons of Shālivāhan who was contemporary with Vikramāditya and is said to have been defeated by the latter. This author appears to have preferred the first.

I. 110, *l.* 4 from foot. *He had a Vazīr blind of both eyes named Safar.*

Here also, the mere addition of a single *nuqṭa* may give a clue to the right reading, سقر Suqra, *i. e.* Shukrāchārya who is said to have had only one eye. Cf. 106 *ante*, where قاسف (Kāsyapa) is written ناسف.

In this connection, it may not be amiss to point out that the book '*Ādābu-l-Mulūk*' on the 'Duties of Kings, on Government and Justice' (p. 112, l. 13) which this Safar (or Suqra) is said to have written, at the suggestion of Barkamārīs (Vikramāditya), may be the *Shukraniti*—a well-known Sanskrit treatise on "Rājanīti," Political Science or the Art of Government. It has been translated into English by Prof. Benoy Kumār Sarkār.

I. 120, *l.* 8. *There was at Debal a lofty temple.*

Elliot contends (376 and note *infra*) that the temple was only contiguous to the town of Debal and not within it. He relies upon this passage, in which it is said that the temple was *b'il Daibal*, (Reinaud, l.c. 168), but these words may mean both '*in* Daibal' and '*at* Daibal'. The *Chachnāma*, however, explicitly states that the tem-

ple was "*in the midst (or middle)* of Daibal," درمیانِ دیبل. Elliot tenaciously held to the idea that Daibal was at Karāchi and the temple at Manora. Haig accepts the statement of the *Chachnāma* and holds that the temple was in the town itself. As Elliot's identification of Daibal with Karāchi is now universally rejected, the minor contention has ceased to be a live issue. Manora is about five miles distant from any source of fresh water and it is hardly likely that a large temple could have been situated in such a spot.

I. 121, *l.* **13.** *Then he saw approaching near him Sarbīdas, the Samāni, who came to demand peace.*

As the name is written without *nuqṭas* in the MSS, this rendering is very doubtful. Goeje understands 'Sarbidas' as the name of a place. Dr. Murgotten's translation is "where some *monks of Sarbidas* came to him." (219). Reinaud also had rendered it thus: "*Alors il vit venir a luis les Samaneens (prêtres) de Sarb...das.*" (Text 169, l. 8; Tr. 195). The name may be meant for "Sawandasi or Sawindas" سویندس or سوندسی where there was a great Buddhist temple or *Vihāra*, (*Chāchnāma*, 150) and which was somewhere near Brahmanābād (*Ibid*, 190).

I. 121, *l.* **15.** *Muhammad then went towards Sahbān and took it.*

The reading of this place-name is uncertain. Reinaud's MS. (l. c. 169, l. 10) had سهار without any dots. Bilāduri cannot mean Sahbān (Sehwān), as he says only a few lines lower down, that Muḥammad bin Muṣ'ab was sent to Sadūsān, which is only another form of Sehwān. Haig reads the name as 'Ashbhār' (62 note), while Raverty supposes سهار to be an error for the Sīsam of the *Chachnāma q. v.* 161 *infra*, (Mihrān, 232). Sīsam, now called Shāh Ḥasan, (Constable 26 A b) is a township at the western end of Lake Manchhar. Dr. Murgotten reads *Sahbān*. If the place meant is 'Seisam,' the difficulty may be surmounted by reading سهسان *Sahsān*. Shāh Ḥasan seems to be only a modern form, a factitious Muḥammadan perversion of the original name.

I. 122, *l.* **8.** *Old Brahmanābād, two parasangs from Mansūra.*

All authors agree that Brahmanābād was somewhere near a place called Bhambrā-kā-Thull—about eight miles east of Shāhdādpur and 43 miles north-east of Ḥaidarābād. But the relative situations of Brahmanābād and Manṣūra have been the topic of acute controversy. There are three ruined sites in close proximity to each other, *viz.*, Bhambrā-kā-Thull or the Great Mound, Dalūra, 1½ miles south-east of Bhambrā, and Depur Ghangro, 5 or 6 miles north-east of it. Cunningham thought Bhambrā or the Great Mound was Manṣūra and that Dalūra was Brahmanābād (A. G. I. 273). Raverty was for just reversing the positions. The smaller and more compact town—Dalūra—was, he thought, Manṣūra and Depur Ghangro was old Brahmanābād (Mihrān, 202 note and 239). General M. R. Haig held the opinion that Depur Ghangro stood on the site of old Brahmanābād, but Manṣūra must be represented by the Great Mound or Site, *i. e.* Bhambrā. (J. R. A. S. 1874, Vol. XVI,

Part II). Mr. Cousens differs from all his predecessors. Brahmanābād and Manṣūra lie, he maintains, on one and the same site—the Great Mound—but Manṣūra is on the top and Brahmanābād at the bottom. But this contention can hardly be correct as Bilāduri explicitly states that Manṣūra was two *farsakhs* distant from Brahmanābād. Mr. Cousens also holds that Dalūra is Maḥfūẓa and Depur Ghangro is the Buddhist colony or Vihār of Sīwandi, which is mentioned in the *Chachnāma*. (A. S. 59, 66; Arch. Survey Rep. 1903-4, p. 132, ff). Sir Wolseley Haig locates Manṣūra, a few miles to the north-east of Brahmanābād. (C. H. I, III. 8).

I. 125, *l.* **8 from foot.** *Junaid proceeded against him in ships and they fought in the lake of Ash Sharki.*

The words in the original are بطيحه الشرقى which Reinaud renders as *l'etang* ("*Lake*") *de Alscharky* (l. c. 175, 206). Dr. Murgotten says بطيحه means 'swamp'. (Tr. II, 226). Raverty insists that it is "the *Estuary* of Ush-Sharki or Ush-Shāgirā or the Kohrāi mouth, by which the branch of the Mihrān which flowed past Manṣūra united with the Ocean, but which 'estuary' in that day existed much further north." (Mihrān, 256). But Haig denies that بطيحه means 'estuary' and quotes the great Arabic Dictionary of Lane in which it is said to mean 'a wide water course or channel of a torrent.' Haig thinks it must be the 'Eastern inland sea', the sea that once permanently covered and still periodically covers the Raṇ of Kachh. (I. D. C. 65). But it seems hardly profitable to dispute about the point, as there is nothing to guide us save an ambiguous and vague geographical expression. Indeed, Raverty himself does not seem to have known his own mind on the subject, as he declares elsewhere in the same Essay, that this Shāgira must be the Samarah lake or *dhānḍ* running parallel to the old bed of the river Nāra or Hakra, which is somewhere near Amarkot. (Mihrān, 463 and Note). The phrase itself means nothing more than the "Eastern swamp, lake, pool of water or lagoon." (See also Houtsma, E. I. III, 236).

I. 126, *l.* **1.** *He then sent his officers to* [*invade*] *Marmad, Mandal, Dahnaj, Barūs, ...Māliba, Baharīmad, Bailamān and Jurz.*

These toponyms are discussed by Sir H. Elliot in his Notes at pp. 390-1, and 440-1 *infra*, but they are so uncertainly written and so many alternative identifications are possible that it seems hardly worth while to spill any more ink about them. I may, however, refer to Dr. Bhagvānlāl Indraji's opinions on the subject. He thought that 'Marmad' was Marumad, or Mārwāḍ, Mandal, the place of that name near Viramgām, Barūs, Broach, Māliba, Mālwā, Baharīmad, Mewāḍ, Bailamān, Bhilmāl and Jurz, Gujarāt. (B. G. I. Pt. I. 109). Māliba, however, may be Baliba (Valabhi) and Baharīmad, Bāhadmer or Bādmer which is so called after its founder, Bāhad. (I. G., VII, 22).

But though there is considerable uncertainty about the location of

these names, there is no reason to doubt the fact of the incursions. The raids are said, by the Arab historian, to have been undertaken in the reign of the Khalif Hishām (*r.* 105-125 H. 724-743 A. C.) Now, the defeat and repulse of one of the Tājik (Arab) inroads is actually recorded in a copper-plate grant of the Chālukya king Pulakeshi, which is dated in the 490th year of the *Traikūṭaka* Era, *i. e.* 738-9 A. C. It is stated there that the Tājik (Arab) army had afflicted the kingdoms of Sindhu, Kacchella, Saurāshṭra, Chavoṭaka, Maurya and Gurjjara, *i. e.* Sindh, Kach, Kāṭhiāwād, the Chāvaḍās, the Mauryas (of Chiṭor) and the Gurjaras (of Bhinmāl). Pulakeshi was at the time ruling at Navsāri. He was one of the members of the third Gujarāt branch of the Western Chālukyas. (B. G. I. i 109, 117, 465; Duff C. I. 64 ; Vaidya, H. M. H. I, Vol. II. 73).

Dr. Bhagvānlāl did not attempt to locate Dahnaj. The name is spelt in the same way in Murgotten's rendering and he also leaves it unidentified. But in one of the MS. of Khurdādbih, it is written رهنج (Goeje's Text 57, note *f*), and mentioned in association with Barūs, Mandal, Bailamān, and Jurz, just as it is here. *Vide* my note on I. 61, l. 10. It is most probably Rānder, which Alberūni calls دهنجور and which is also written رهنجور.

I. 126, *l.* **12.** *This water was so called because buffalos took refuge there from the bears which infested the banks of the Mihrān.*

The word in the original for 'bears' is دباب. Reinaud's rendering is 'wolves', *loups*, (176, Tr. 208) and Murgotten's 'blue flies' (l. c. 223). دب does mean 'bear', but ذباب which is the reading favoured by Murgotten, signifies "flies or bees", according to Richardson.

I. 127, *l.* **10 from foot.** *He sent 'Amrū son of Jamāl in boats to Nārand.*

Dowson says the name has no points and is نارند in the MS. Reinaud also admits his inability to fix the reading for that reason. He was sure, however, that it was a place situated to the south-east of Manṣūra on an arm of the Indus or on the sea-coast, but at no great distance from the river. He thought also that this raid or invasion is the same as that recorded by Ibn-al-Athīr in A. H. 160, *q. v.* my note on II. 246, l. 14 *post*. Reinaud's description would suit modern Vala (the old Valabhi) fairly well, but the aspect of the country has, as he says, (l. c. 212 note) changed so considerably during the last thousand years that little or nothing can be built upon the apparent coincidence in chronology.

I. 127, *l.* **5 from foot.** *He then went [from Multān or Qandābīl] to Kandahār in boats and conquered it.*

Reinaud thought that this must be Gandhār in Broach district, near the Gulf of Cambay (*Fragments*, 212 note), and Dr. Bhagvānlāl Indraji (B. G. I. i. 96) as well as the compiler of the Surat volume of the B. G. (II. 561) supports that view. But Elliot was in favour of

Khandādhar, on the north-west angle of the Peninsula of Kāṭhiāwād (445 *infra*). Raverty was for identifying it with Kandhiāro, in the south-west corner of Bhāwalpur, on the banks of the now dried-up Hakra or Waihinda. (Mihrān, 207, 257 n). This last opinion is followed in the C. H. I. (III. 9), but it is not possible to reach any definite conclusion, as there is little else to guide us than a doubtfully spelt name.

I. 128, *l.* **10.** *There he constructed a* band, *which he called Sakru-l-Med,* 'Band *of the Meds.' He encamped on the river at Alrūr.*

Reinaud reads و عسكر بمهران على نهر الرود (180, l. 7. Tr. 214). Raverty insists that this Alrūr cannot possibly be Alor or Aror and that 'Imrān's camp was near Adhoi in Cutch (Kachh), which lies 'sixty miles east of Bhuj and *by which a small river still runs'*. (Mihrān, 258). This view is accepted also in the C. H. I. (III. 9). Adhoi is in Lat. 23° 23′ N.; Long. 70° 29′ E. (Th). Constable 26 c d. Elliot and Raverty understand 'Sikr' as a *Band, i.e.* a mound or dike for damming up a river. But Dr. Murgotten says 'Imrān " built a *highway*, which is known as the Highway of the Meds." (232). Reinaud has *Chaussée* (214), *i.e.* causeway or raised way though a marsh. The meaning is that he built a dam or causeway and afterwards dug a canal from the sea to the lake from which they drew their supplies of drinking water, so as to inundate it with salt water.

'The small river which runs past Adhoi' is scarcely worthy of that name. It is nothing more than a monsoon torrent, which is dry during the rest of the year and the construction of 'a dike or mound' as a military or naval barrier on such a streamlet could have served no strategic purpose and would have been an act of supererogatory folly. This fact seems to discredit Raverty's identification. Indeed, we have it on the authority of the I. G. that " there are *no permanent rivers in Kachh at all.* During the rainy season, some streams flow from the hills to the Raṇ and the Gulf of Kachh, but during the rest of the year, the courses of these streams are only marked by a succession of detached pools". (XI. 75). Dr. Murgotten also in his excellent version of Bilāduri says that " the camp of 'Imrān *was upon the river of* [not *at*] *Ar-rūr.*" (232). As all that is really said is that 'Imrān encamped *somewhere on the river of Arūr, i.e.*, somewhere on the Indus, between Rohri and the sea—a distance of several hundred miles—it seems infructuous to dogmatise about the matter. Idrīsi says of the Meds that they " dwell on the confines of the desert [Raṇ of Kachh] and extend their incursions *as far as Aror* and sometimes to the frontiers of Makrān." (79 *supra*).

I. 129, *l.* **6.** *Fazl son of Māhān got into Sindan and subdued it.*

There are two opinions about the Sindān of this passage. Some say it is Sanjān [St. John's Point], near Bulsār, and about 88 miles north of Bombay. But the compiler of the Cutch volume of the B.G. thinks that it must be Sāndhān on the coast of Kachh, about thirty miles west of Māndvi. (V. 131 note 5, and 250). The statements regarding the situa-

tion of Sindān in the 'Arab geographers, Iṣṭakhri, Idrīsi and Abul Fedā are so inconsistent or mutually discordant that it is not easy to say where it really was. Some of them seem to have even mixed it up with Sindābur which was somewhere on the coast of Canara between Goa and Kumṭa.

I. 133, *l.* **21.** *'Ainu-l-Mulk bin Abi Bakr bin Muhammad Husain Al Ash'ari.*

He was at first, the Vazir of Nāṣiru-d-din Qubācha, but after the death of that ruler, entered the service of Iltutimish and was made Divān or Vazir of the Prince Ruknud-dīn Firūz, when the latter was sent to Budāun as governor in 625 A. H. (Ṭ. N. Text 172-3 and 181-2 = E. D. II 325, 330). 'Ainu-l-Mulk's ancestor, Abu Mūsā al-Ash'ari is said in the *Chachnāma* (Tr. Kalich Beg, 9 and 58) to have been Ḥākim of 'Irāq during the Khilāfat of 'Umar, *Circa* 16 A. H., about the time when Mughaira ibn Abu-l-Āṣ attacked Daibal and was killed there. See also Bilāduri, 115 *ante* and 416 *post.*

I. 138, *l.* **5.** *Chach, son of Silāij.*

Elliot says that "the very name of Chach is a subject of some uncertainty", and he gives several variants (409 *post*). But there can be little doubt that it is really 'Jajja.' This name was borne by a brother of Jayāpīḍa, the King of Kashmīr, who stirred up a revolt in Jayāpīḍa's absence and was overthrown and killed when that ruler returned. (Vaidya, H. M. H. I. II. 215). Jajja also occurs in an inscription dated V. S. 1207, (1150 A. C.) from Mahāban near Mathurā. (Duff, C. I. 151). Jajjala Deva was the name also of two Rājās of Ratnapūr, who belonged to the Kalachuri dynasty and reigned in the 12th century. (*Ibid*, 158, 163, 293). Jajja is the Prākrit form of Yayāti. Chach seems to be a local or dialectical form of 'Jajja'. Chāchikdeva appears in the dynastic list of the Bhaṭṭi rulers of Jaisalmir, *Circa* V. S. 1505 = 1448 A. C. (*Ibid*, 256-290). A Hindu surgeon named Jājā [or Chāchā] is also mentioned by Barani in the reign of 'Alāu-d-dīn (T. F. 363, l. 8).

Some of the other Hindu names are hopelessly corrupt and cannot be set right. But Silāij, the name borne by the father of Chach must stand for Shilāditya. Sīharas is probably meant for Shri Harsha, Sāhasi for Sahajiga or Sinhasena, Chatera (141, l. 22) for Jaitrasinha, Bajhrā (142, l. 6) for Vijayarāj (or Vatsarāj) and Diwāij (140, l. 18) for Devāditya. Dāhir (154, l. 7 *infra*) may be restored to Dhīra—[Sena] and Dharsiya (154, l. 12) to Dharasena. Lastly, Darohar (p. 197) or Dūhar (as Bilāduri writes it, 124 *ante*) must be Dhruva. The final letter is a 'wāv' and not a 're.' It may be also noted that 'Dharasena' and 'Dhruvasena' occur in the dynastic list of the rulers of Valabhi. (Duff, C. I. 308; B. G. I. i. 93). Dhīrasinha also occurs in Duff. (*Ibid.* 305).

I. 138, *l.* **18.** *The boundaries of his dominions extended on the north to Kardān and Kaikānān.*

'Kardān' is a mistranscription of Quzdār—the name of which is

written by the copyists in a truly bewildering multiplicity of forms—قسران - قضدان - قصدار - قسدار - قزدار. Kasrān (p. 14), Kasdān (p. 29) and *perhaps* Fardān also which lay east of Kirkāyān (81 *supra*) are perversions of the same toponym. (*Vide* Gildemeister, *loc. cit.* 173 Note).

Ibn Ḥauqal says that the governor of Quṣdār lived at Kaba Kānān (Kīkānān) and also declares that Quṣdār was the capital of Ṭūrān. (38, 39 *ante*). Ṭurān roughly corresponded to modern Jhalawān. (I. G. VI. 275). Kirkāyān, Haig thinks, is Kachhi and perhaps also the country east of it as far as the Indus. (I. D. C. 59). But Cunningham locates Kirkāyān in the valley of Pishīn or at Pishīn itself, north of Quetta (A. G. I. 86), Marquart (*Éranshahr*, II. 275-6) and Lestrange (L. E. C. 332) at Kelāt, while the writer in the I. G. places it at Nāl, which is about forty miles due west of Quzdār. (XIV. 110). This divergence of opinion is probably due to the fact that Kirkāyān is described as a town and seems to have been also an ill-defined district.

Elliot points out that there is no place now extant which recalls the name of the old province or town (383 *infra*). It may be therefore pertinent to invite attention to the fact that Masson came across in his Travels, the vast ruins of a great city called Lakoriān, "between Kelāt and Quzdār, about sixty miles south of the former. The fortifications are, he says, remarkable for their magnitude and the skill displayed in their construction, (Kelāt, 63; Travels in Balochistan, II. 46; A. G. I. 311). This name Lakoriān looks like a survival of Kirkān or Kirkāyān, with the Arabic article *Al* prefixed to it—الكيريان or الكيركان, [A] Lkiriān [A] Lakirkān—and the initial 'alif' elided. It may have been the town Kirkāyān, while the district or province which was so called included not only Kachhi but parts of modern Jhalawān and Sarāwān. It may be also noted that as Khurdādbih mentions Al-Qairūniya and Qinnazbūn separately (14 *ante*, Paris Text. 57-8), Al-Qairūniya cannot be Panjgūr, and may be meant for Lakoriān.

I. 138, *l.* 5 from foot. *Under him were placed Budhpur, Jankān and the skirts of the hills of Rūjhān to the borders of Makrān.*

Haig suggests that Jankān is the Jhangār in Sehwān taluqa, which lies about 12 miles south-west of Sehwān town, (I. D. C. 57 note) and has road-communication with Sehwān as well as Shāh Ḥasan [Sīsam]. (Hughes, Gazetteer of Sind, 269). But there is a Jangān or Jagān, about 17 miles N. W of Shikārpūr and there is a Rūjhān also, 39 miles from the same place, Lat. 28°-18′ N. Long. 68°-18′ E. (Th). The country from Rūjhān to Naushera is 'a desert for 96 miles'. (W. Hough, Narrative of the March and Operations of the Army of the Indus (1838-9), pp. 38, 427). This Jangān is called "Jagun' by Thornton. Lat. 28°-8′ N; Long. 68-°33′. E. The name Rūjhān is read by Haig as 'Dūnjhān (I. D. C. 57), but Kalīch Beg's MS. (p. 11) had the same lection as Dowson's and Rūjhān is probably correct, as Jangān is also in its vicinity. As Budha was, according

to Haig, "a province of which the northern boundary touched Gandāva and the southern was in the Kākar pargana in Shikārpur district," the places mentioned must be the Jangān and Rūjhān which lie north-west of Shikārpur. The hills of Rūjhān must be the Kirthar range.

Elliot states that the old name Budha "still survives in Budha, which lies in the very centre of Kachh Gandāva on the Nāri river" (388 *post*). According to the I. G. (VI. 275) also, Budha was the same as Kachhi.

I. 138, *l.* 2 from foot. *Askalanda and Pābiya which are called Talwāra and Chachpur.*

Elliot attempted to identify the second pair of toponyms with Mīrbar and Chāchar "which are situated at the junction of the Chenāb and the Indus opposite Mittankot" (366 *infra*), but the names themselves are variously written in the MSS. and K. B.'s reading is 'Sawārah and Jajhor', not 'Talwāra and Chachpur' (p. 12). The relative clause is not found in all MSS. of the *Chachnāma* and it looks like a gloss or conjecture which the copyist had read somewhere and which he afterwards interpolated in his transcript of the original Chronicle. Such adventitious glosses may be *ben trovato*, but they are suspect and of little value.

Cunningham suggested that Askaland or Askalandūsa was Uccha (A. G. I 245) and Elliot appears to have been disposed to accept the conjecture (366 and 520 *infra*), but it has not found favour with any other writer. Pābiya is written variously as Māībar, Pāya, Bāya and Bābiya in MSS, as Dowson points out. It is even called 'Yābība', when again mentioned at 202 *infra*. Raverty was sure that it was Pubberwalla, which is 29 miles eastward of Uccha, twenty-four *Kos* from Dirāwal and twelve *Kos* from Bhāwalpur. (Mihrān, 369 and note). But this surmise also has little to be said for it and even Sir Wolseley Haig will have nothing to say to it. He pronounces both Askalanda and Pābiya hopelessly unidentifiable. (C. H. I. III. 6).

I. 139, *l.* 1. *The fourth at the great city of Multān and Sikka and Brahmapur und Kārūr.*

Sikka and Brahmapur also are unsolved conundrums. Cunningham and Raverty agree, for once, in thinking that the last name may be Kahror which lies on the southern bank of the Old Beās river, 50 miles south-east of Multān. (A. G. I. 241; Mihrān, 253 Note).

Kārūr is mentioned by Alberūni as lying between Multān and the castle of Loni. (Tr. Sachau, II. 6). Cunningham thinks this Loni may be meant for Ludhan, an ancient site on the old bed of the Sutlej, 44 miles E. N. E. of Kārūr (or Kahror) and 70 miles E. S. E. of Multān. (A. G. I. 241). Kārūr is said by Alberūni (*Ibid.*) to have been the site of the great battle between Vikramāditya and the Shakas, about A. C. 78, but the battle, the site and even the existence of this Vikrama are all problematical. (I. G. XIV. 273).

I. 139, *l.* 13 and footnote 4. *The army of the King of Nimroz marched from Fārs to Makrān.*

Dowson says the text adds برسم تلاوت تازی which may mean 'in Arab fashion'. I suggest that the right reading is برسم ولایت تازی "by way of invading countries." ولایت تازی is synonymous with the *Mulk-gīri* of the Marāṭha rulers of the 18th century and the '*Digvijaya*' or 'world-conquest' of the *Kāvyas*—the aggressive raids, forays and marauding, sacking and slaughtering expeditions which were only too common in 'the good old days.'

I. 140, *l.* **8.** *Chach marries Rāni Sūbhan Deo.*

The matrimonial entanglements of Chach and his sons, as they are described in this part of the work, must be incomprehensible to any one acquainted with the social conventions of the Hindus of the 7th century. He is represented by this author as a very moral, devout and orthodox Brāhman and yet he marries his quondam paramour and widow of his former master after he had waded through pools of blood to a throne. He then disposes of Mahrat by an atrocious act of perfidy and marries another widow of a lower caste than his own—who had been the wife of Āgham, the Lohāna. His son Dāhir forms an incestuous connection, real or nominal, with his own sister and he is represented as marrying yet another dowager, who had been the wife of his own brother Dharsiya and was also the daughter of their father's wife—the wife of Āgham the Lohāna. (K. B.'s Tr. 54). Moreover, Chach is said to have given the daughter of his nephew Dharsiya to Āgham Lohāna's son Sarband. (148 *infra*; K. B. 35).

It may have been permissible for Hindu kings, in the seventh century, to enter into polygamous *Anuloma* unions with women of castes *inferior* to their own, but no Brāhman could have married a widow. The *pratiloma* marriage of a Brāhman virgin with a low caste Lohāna male must also have been the 'abomination of desolation' to every one in the seventh century. It is difficult even to imagine the perpetration of such social turpitude by any Brāhman prince. 'Ali Kūfi has, in fact, seen things in the light of his own imagination or given the story a dash of Muslim colouring and ignorantly postulated in a Brāhman king the sort of conduct in relation to the wives of his vanquished foes, which Muslim conquerors were accustomed to adopt.

The whole of the first part of the work is overgrown with legendary matter and all but valueless as history. The description of Chach's conquests from Multān on the one side to Makrān on the other seems imaginary. It looks like a *rifaccimento* in Persian prose of a poetical 'Digvijaya' and is every whit as unhistorical as similar lucubrations of Sanskrit poets and Rājput bards. It bears, also, such a close resemblance to the victorious progress of Muḥammad-i-Qasīm himself from Makrān to Multān and the places conquered by both also differ so little, that it is impossible to refrain from suspecting that the one is only a *réchauffé* of the other. It may have had some basis in the flotsam and jetsam of local tradition, but if so, the tradition has been so grossly corrupted in

the course of transmission by the fantastic accretions of subsequent inventiveness, as to amount to a travesty of the truth.

I. 142, *l.* 8 from foot. *Chach placed Amīr Ālīu-d-daula in the fort of Sikka.*

Dowson has understood this as a proper name, but the more probable meaning is 'one of the exalted or leading [Hindu] nobles of the State'. It is not likely that Chach had a Musalman Amīr in his service at this time. The Alāfis appear to have been the earliest followers of that faith to take service with the Hindu kings of Sindh, but they are said to have done so only during the Khilāfat of 'Abdu-l-Malik ibn Marwān, about A.H. 80, *i. e.* in the reign of Dāhir, the son of Chach. (K.B. 69; see also 425-6 *infra*). Cf. also 145 *infra*, where Chach is said to have placed one of his confidential officers (*Shaḥna* in the text) after taking Siwistān.

I. 144, *l.* 4. *At last he reached the fort of Shākalha, an elevated place which is called Kumba on the borders of Kashmir.*

Dowson notes that the words in the original are و آن موضع بالا ترکینه [کنبه] گویند, which may also mean "And they say [or it is said] that the place [Shākalha] is above [or higher than, that is, north of] Kumba on the borders of Kashmīr." Here 'Kumba' seems to be the name of a town and it is spoken of as a town on the borders of Kashmīr, elsewhere also in the *Chachnāmā* (139 *ante*). 'Kumbha' also means in Sanskrit 'a lake, pond or piece of water' and the words may mean that "the place was situated above, *i. e.* north of a lake."

But the right reading here may be neither کنبه nor کنبه but کسه 'Kassa', as it is written at 201 *infra*, where Jaisiya is said to have gone to "the land of *Kassa* on the borders of Jālandhar" or as K. B. renders it to "Jalandhar *in the land of Kashmir*" (p. 185). *Vide* my note there.

I. 145, *l.* 5. *Chach crossed the Mihrān at a village called Dihāyat which formed the boundary between Samma and Alor.*

General Haig thinks that this may be Dehāt, a township on the northern border of the Kandhiāro pargana, which is known to have been the border of the Samma lands. The old river channel still exists here. (I. D. C. 133).

I. 145, *l.* 8. *He [Chach] proceeded to Būdhiya, the chief of which was the son of Kotal bin Bhandargū Bhagū.*

K. B. calls him 'Basarkotad, son of Bandar Kobhko.' (p. 30). Dowson would seem to have read 'pisar' instead of 'basar' and understood it as 'son.' If the right reading is *Basarkotad*, a plausible restoration would be 'Vishvakirti [or Vasugupta] *bin* [son of] Bhadra-rakhu Bhikku.' 'Bhikku' is frequently appended to the names of monks in the inscriptions at Mathurā. (J. A. S. B. XXXIX (1870), Pt. I, 128). 'Vasugupta' and 'Vasubandhu' are well-known names in the history of Buddhist literature. But only two lines lower down, it is said that *Kabā, son of Kākā*, came forth to ask quarter for the chief. This may indicate that Kākā, the actual name of the ruling chief, has been inadvertently omitted

here and that his full name was Kākā, son of Kotal, [Kirti, Gupta or Gopāla,] son of Bhadra-rakhu Bhikku.

I. 146, *l.* **13.** *Malik Ramal who was called Bhaṭi.*

The confusion in the original regarding this 'Ramal' is inextricable. Here 'Ramal' is said to be the name of the *Malik* or King, but elsewhere, (pp. 154 and 155 *infra*), it is spoken of as the designation of the country or kingdom. K. B.'s rendering is 'the kingdom of Nirmal, called Bhaṭṭi' p. 32). The ambiguity is due to the fact that ملك 'Malik' means 'king' and ملك 'Mulk,' kingdom. Again, as 'Raml' in Arabic signifies 'sand,' 'Mulk-i-Raml' may be understood as 'the sandy country' also, which is an appropriate designation for parts of modern Mārwāḍ and Jaisalmir.

Khurdādbih and Idrīsi (14, 84, 87 *ante*) also speak of a town or district called 'Rūmala' and associate it with a desert or the borders of a desert. It is common knowledge that Jaisalmir is "almost entirely a sandy waste forming part of the 'Great Indian Desert'. The general aspect is that of an interminable sea of sandhills." (I.G. XIV. 1). But in Gocje's Edition of Khurdādbih, the reading is not رومل but مرمد *i. e.* Marumad or Mārwāḍ. If a person and not a place is meant, the name may be read as برمل 'Bharmal' or even 'Nirmal'. If it is a district, the reference must be to the country to the east of Sind, parts of modern Jaisalmir and Jodhpur. This is the nearest we can get to an answer.

I. 147, *l.* **9.** *He had a temple which was called Budh Nau-vihār and the the idol Dilha (?). He was a devotee thereof.*

The reading in Dowson's Ms. was او را نوروهار گفتند و بت دلها [E. I. Lib. Ms دکهاد] هم راهب او بود. I venture to suggest that we should read the doubtful words as کنبهارهم [بد or] و بت and translate them thus: "He had a temple which was called *Bud Nav Vihār* and also *Bud* [or idol-temple] *Kanbihār* or [*Kanvihār*]. He was its priest."

The meaning is that the temple was known as 'Nav-vihār' and also as 'Kaṇvihār' and this Sāmāni was its priest. We are told on p. 148 *infra*, that "Chach afterwards went to the temple of Budh [and] Kanbihār with the intention of killing the Sāmāni."

I. 151, *l.* **6.** *But they [the Jats] might wear their outer garments of silk, provided they were of a red or black colour.*

There is some blundering here, as the averment is utterly inconsistent with the general import of the paragraph. These unfortunate people who were treated as helots or outcastes and pariahs of the human race could scarcely have been permitted to disport themselves in outer garments of red or black *silk*, though the wearing of under-garments of shawl, velvet and silk was strictly prohibited. The cruel treatment meted out to them is again mentioned on p. 187. But there we are told that they "were *not allowed to wear soft clothes* or cover their heads with velvet; but they were to wear a *black blanket beneath* and throw a sheet of cloth over their shoulders."

The error is probably due to a misunderstanding of the meaning of

a word like كرباس which really signifies some kind of coarse cloth of hair, or wool, but which has been rendered here as 'silk.' Cf. Yule's Note on the confusion between Sackcloth and Suclāt or Scarlet in H. J. 861.

Chach treated the Jats just like 'Chaṇḍālas. Manu says of the latter that "they should be made to live outside the town, that their sole wealth must be dogs and asses, their clothes must consist of the cere-cloths of the dead, their dishes broken pots and their ornaments of rusty iron". (Institutes, X. 12, 29-30). The Jats are said to be the oldest inhabitants of Sind and to have been reduced to a state of serfdom by the Aryan or some other conquerors. Burton gives them a very bad character and says they are idle, addicted to intoxicants, filthy and immoral in the extreme. (Sind or the Unhappy Valley. II. 118). Crooke has pointed out that not very long ago, the Rājputs in the Punjab actually treated the Jats in exactly the same way.

"They would not allow the Jats to cover their head with a turban nor to wear even red clothes nor to put a crown (*Mor*) on the head of their bridegrooms, or a jewel (*Nath*) in the women's nose. They also used to levy seignorial rights from virgin brides. Even to this day, Rājputs will not allow inferior people to wear red clothes or ample loin-cloths in their villages." (Tribes and Castes of the North-Western Provinces. 1896, III. 23).

Another parallel comes from Gujarāt :—

"In the days of Siddharāj Jaysinha," writes Forbes, "the Dheds were compelled x x x to wear only untwistd cotton round their heads and a stag's horn as a mark hanging from their waists, so that people might be able to avoid touching them." (Rās Mālā. Reprint 1924, I. 110.) The injunction regarding dogs must have been imposed to indicate that they were outcastes. [Sir D.] Ibbetson says of the Punjāb Nāts—a vagrant tribe of so-called gypsy dancers, acrobats and prostitutes—that "their chief occupation is the keeping of dogs with which they hunt and eat the vermin of the jungle." (Punjab Ethnography, Section 588 *apud* Crooke, T, C. IV, 58).

I. 152, *l.* **12.** *Chach bin Silāij bin Basābas.*

'Bisās' in K. B. 38. Silāij must be Shilāditya, just as Diwāij, the name of the father of Sihāras (140 *supra*) is Devāditya. 'Basābas' may be Vishvāsaka, which occurs in several inscriptions on the Buddhist monuments at Mathurā. (Rājendra Lāl Mitra in J. A. S. B. 1870, Vol. XXXIX, Pt. i. p. 128.) Vishvās Rāo and Biswās still survive as names or surnames in Mahārāshṭra and Bengal.

I. 153, *l.* **1.** *He patronised the religion of the Nāsiks (Buddhists) and monks.*

According to Richardson's Dictionary, 'Nāsik' signifies 'devoted to God or virtue' and the word is defined in the *Ghiyāṣu-l-Lughāt* also, as "he who worships, prays or performs sacrifices to God."

I venture to think that these *Nāsiks* were the members of a *third*

sect. They were neither Brāhmans nor Sāmānis (Buddhists), but Jainas. There are many old Jaina remains in Sind, *e.g.* an old temple in the Pārkar portion of Thar Pārkar district, 14 miles north-west of Virāwah. It contains an image of great sanctity. Near the same place, are the ruins of a very old town called Parīnagar, covering six miles in area and strewn with marble pillars. (I. G. XXIII. 310). At Bhodesar, four miles north of Nagar Pārkar, there are the ruins of three old Jaina temples which are at least six hundred years old. (I. G. XVIII. 299). It may be noted that Brahmanābād also lies in the Thar Pārkar district.

I. 154, *l.* **18.** *Dharsiya resided for some time at the fort of Rāwar, of which Chach had laid the foundation, but did not live to see completed.*

Haig thought that Rāwar must have been at considerable distance from Brahmanābād—about eighty miles at least—as two strongly garrisoned fortresses—Bahrūr and Dahlīla—each of which sustained a siege of two months in succession, stood between them. As Dāhir, besides, is said to have spent the summer months at Rāwar, where the cool breezes blew, he locates it on the Eastern Nārā in Lower Sind, at least 80 miles from Brahmanābād and 70 miles south-east of Nirūn, which he identified with Ḥaidarābād. (I. D. C. 63-4). Cousens rejects this view and opines that Rāwar was much further north, about twenty-five miles west or west by south of Alor, just below Kingri. Raverty, on the other hand, placed Rāwar at about ten miles west of Brahmanābād, but Cousens ascribes this to his erroneous location of Nirūn, not at Ḥaidarābād itself, but about 35 miles *south* of it. Raverty was thus obliged, Cousens argues, to bring Rāwar also much farther south than it really was. (A. S. 28 note). The passage which is the subject of this note shows that Rāwar was in Middle Sindh, the territory assigned to Dharsiya, and not in Upper Sindh near Alor, which belonged to Dāhir. The allusion to its milder climate (155 *infra*) and the other references at 167, 170, 171, 174 *infra*, all indicate that Rāwar was somewhere south of Brahmanābād and north of Nirūn, (which two places are only 47 miles apart), if Nirūn is Ḥaidarābād.

Rāwar is not mentioned by any of the Arab travellers and Mīr M'aṣūm even confuses it with Alor (Aror), an error which has entirely vitiated his summary of the *Chachnāma* and misled later writers. But a town called Rāwar does appear to have been in existence so late as 1612 A. C. The India Office Library contains a translation in Persian verse of the Pehlevi '*Dinā-i-Mainōg-i-Khirad*, or 'Opinions of the Spirit of Wisdom,' which was made in that year by a Zoroastrian named Marzbān, residing at *Rāwar in Sind*. (Sachau, J. R. A. S. New Series. IV. 24; West, Pahlavi Texts, III in Sacred Books of the East, XXIV, Introduction, p. xxiii).

I. 156, *l.* **2.** *Hajjāj obtains permission to leave the capital.*

The caption is manifestly wrong. K. B.'s translation is, "Hajjāj

asks for permission from the seat of the Khilāfat to send a fresh expedition" (p. 71). This is undoubtedly what the author meant. See Bilāduri (119 *ante*) and what Elliot himself says at 431 *infra*.

I. 158, *l.* 16. *God grant that his resolution may be fulfilled.*

Such a prayer is obviously out of place and uncalled for in this context. The author knew that the country *had been conquered*, long before the year in which he sat down to write his narrative of the triumph of Muslim arms. Kalich Beg renders the passage very differently and much more rationally thus: "He [Muḥammad-i-Qāsim] prayed to the glorious God to give enlightened reason and right thought to the people of Arabia for their guidance and to make it possible for them to fight successfully against the infidels." (p. 93). It will be seen that the prayer is here rightly put into the mouth of Muḥammad-i-Qāsim and not that of the author.

I. 159, *l.* 12. *And the river Sindhu Rāwal flowed to the north of the selected ground.*

Haig suggests that the right reading is جوي سنده ارل [not سنده راول] روان شد. He thinks that the river was probably known as 'Sindhu Aral' at the time. (I. D. C. 56). The Aral is now a water channel proceeding from the south-eastern part of Lake Manchhar (an expansion of the Nārā) and discharging its water into the Indus, about four miles below Sehwān. Haig supposes this reference to it to prove that the Aral was in existence in the 8th century. Raverty translates the whole passage very differently thus; "Muḥammad took up a position before the *Registān* Gate to attack the place, because there was no other ground; for the waters of the rainy season had risen and from (or on) the north side, the *Ju'e-Sind*—the *Āb-i-Sind*, did not, *in former times*, flow." He rejects the readings راول as well as ارل and says Elliot misread دراوّل [*dar awwal*, formerly, in former times], as راول (Mihrān, 233 note).

K. B.'s rendering is "Muḥammad Qāsim encamped on the sand hills near the gate of the town, since there was no other open field for a battle and there was a flood of rain-water all around, and to the north *the river of Sind* was flowing" (p. 94). This shows that neither راول nor ارل nor در اوّل was to be found in his Mss. سنده ارل. 'Sindha of Aral' seems meaningless and if ارل is right, perhaps we should read دهنده ارل 'The *Dhānd*, or Water-channel of Aral.'

I. 160, *l.* 18. *At a place called Nilhan on the banks of the Kumbh.*

The name is uncertain and there are the variants, 'Nidhān' and 'Budhān'. (K. B. 95). Haig thinks it must be Bilhān, a village on the Manchhar lake, seven miles west of Sehwān. (I. D. C. 58). Raverty insists that the name is 'Nidhāhah' or 'Nidhān.' (Mihrān 234 Note). He holds that 'Kumbh' is the name of a river and he puts it into his map and shows it as running from a little west of Alor and flowing about ten miles east of Sehwān down to Hālā. Cousens, however, denies the existence of any such river. (A. S. 4). Haig understands 'Kumbh' as a

common noun meaning 'Lake' and this 'Kumbh' must, he thinks, be Lake Manchhar on which Bilhān still stands. In this connection, I may just note, without unduly stressing the point, that Sīsam also is said to have been situated on the banks of the 'Kumbh'. The modern village of 'Shāh Ḥasan', with which Haig and Cousens identify Sīsam *does* stand at the western end of Lake Manchhar. In any case, there are no solid grounds for denying the existence of Lake Manchhar in the days of Muḥammad, while the existence of any river named 'Kumbh' is nothing more than a speculative conjecture.

I. 160, *l.* 7 from foot. *The Rānās of Būdhiya are descended from Āu. They had originally come from the banks of the Ganges, from a place called Āūndhār.*

The copyists have bungled the names and the passage is hopelessly corrupt. The meaning assigned to it by Raverty is even more unsatisfactory and incomprehensible than Dowson's interpretation. It is; "The chief priests of Budh at Nīdhān traced their lineage from Ikrānah [or Akrānah] on the Gang, which they call Adwand-Bihar." (Mihrān, 234 note).

Raverty does not explain where this Ikrānah or Akrānah is to be found. The fact is that he has read the name wrongly, even if it is granted that some such name was written in his copy. There *is* a place called Ikwāna (not Ikrānah), three miles from the left bank of the Ganges and 43 east of Ghāzīpur town. Lat. 23°-43′N, Long. 84°-20′E. (Thornton, s. n. Ikouna or Ekouna). Ikauna is now in Bahrāich taḥṣīl (I. G. VI. 212) and is shown in Constable 28 B b. It is really about one hundred miles distant from Adwand-Bihār or the town of Bihār. Lat. 25°-11′ N. Long. 85°-31′ E. and the two places cannot possibly be the same. Adwand-Bihār, moreover, is *not on* the Ganges, but about twenty miles away from it. K. B.'s version may be cited to show that there was no reference in his Mss. either to the '*priests* of Budh' or to 'Ikrānah.' (p. 95.) It is, "The princes of Būdhiya whose origin was from Gang, commonly known as Dandohar,"

I. 160, last line. *But the Bahliks and monks have told me .....that this country would be conquered by the Muhammadans.*

Dowson has left the first word untranslated, because بهلک has no meaning whatever either in Persian or Arabic. I venture to suggest that the right reading is بهکک *Bhikuk*—Sans. *Bhikshuka*, the general designation of Buddhist priests. They were supposed to be wonderfully proficient in astrology.

I. 161, *l.* 2. *He placed a chief whose name was Pahan at their head.*

Kalich Beg's Ms. reads بهسبی 'Bahsabbi' (p. 96). I venture to suggest that the right reading is بهتی or بهتّی 'Bhaṭṭi' or 'Bheṭṭi.' The commander was, probably, a Bhaṭṭi Ṭhākur or Chief whose name the author was not acquainted with. The tribe is frequently mentioned in the *Chachnāma* and some of its leaders not only submitted to the invader

but acted as his auxiliaries. At p. 167 *infra*, Dowson makes the author say that "the Bheti Thakurs had entered the Arab service," and K. B. calls them 'Thaku of Babhsi' (124). I have shown elsewhere that بهر is miswritten for بهت Behat, *i.e.*, the Jhelum. See the note on 104 *ante*.

I. 162, *l.* 16. *When Kākā had invested him with the robe.*

This is an evident slip. Read 'himself' instead of 'him.' It was Kākā himself who was invested with the dress of honour. K. B. (p. 97) renders it correctly and says it was Kākā who "put on the robe of honour." The Sanskrit form of Kākā is probably 'Kakka,' which occurs frequently in old Hindu records and dynastic lists. (Duff, C. I. 66, 94, 96, 97, 301).

I. 163, *l.* 19. *In the vicinity of it* [*Nīrūn*] *there is a reservoir.*

Raverty supposes this to be the Sonhāri Dhānd, as it is now called. (Mihrān, 234 Note). It is near Jeruck and not far from Helāi, which is about thirty-five miles from Ḥaidarābād. But this supposition is only a corollary of his location of Nīrūn, not at Ḥaidarābad, but at about 35 miles south of it. If Nīrūn was, as Haig, Cousens, and many others think, Ḥaidarābād itself, the lake cannot be the Sonhāri Dhānd, on account of the distance. Both the hypothetical identifications put forward by of Raverty must stand or fall together. (See Cousens, A. S. 131 note).

I. 163, last line. *That part of the territory.....which is opposite the fort of Baghrūr (Nīrūn) on the Mihrān is taken.*

'Aghror' in K. B. 99. Raverty reads 'Laghrūr' or 'Baghrūr'. The identity of Baghrūr and Nīrūn which is postulated in the parenthesis is quite inadmissible. Baghrūr is mentioned by Bilāduri in juxtaposition with Alor and is explicitly distinguished from Nīrūn by him. (p. 122 *ante*). It lay *east* of the Mihrān, while Nirūn was situated, not on the river itself, but at some distance to the *west* of it. (Mihrān, 235 note).

I. 164, *l.* 18. *Muhammad Kāsim hears that Dāhir Rāi had proceeded to Nīrūn.*

This caption is wrong and misleading. Dāhir never went to Nīrūn in person. What he really did was to send the old Sāmāni, who had been governor of the town, with a letter addressed to the Arab general, when he heard of the latter's arrival at Nīrūn. What K. B. says (103) is "Rāi Dāhīr receives the news of Muhammad Kāsim's arrival at Nerūn." And this is undoubtedly right as Bilāduri states that Muḥammad "went to the banks of the Mihrān and remained there. *When this news reached Dāhir*, he prepared for battle." (121 *ante*).

I. 165, *l.* 8 from foot. *Dāhir consults with Sisākar, the minister.*

'Sihākar' or 'Shiyākar' in Dowson's Ms. B. The original Sanskrit form may be 'Shikshākar,' Teacher, preceptor. He was probably a learned man who had been Dāhir's *Guru*. But it may also be 'Yashaskara,' which was borne by, among others, a Brāhman who became king of Kashmir about 939 A.C. and died in or about 948. (Duff, C. I. 89, 91, 294),

I. 166, *l.* **16.** *He ordered Sulaimān bin Tihān Kuraishi to advance boldly with his troops against the fort of Aror.*

فرمود که تو بالشکر خود بغرور رود درمقابل حصار اروربایست. Raverty's translation is, "He ordered him to go with his army to *Baghrūr* and take up his position opposite to the fort of Aror." (Mihrān, 235 note). Haig also understands the sentence in the same way and takes it to mean that Sulaimān was "to observe Alor, by which the river was then running and hinder Fūfi, the son of Dāhir, from any diversion against the communications of the invaders." (I. D. C. 62). As regards the situation of Baghrūr, Haig was inclined to identify it with Bhakkar (*Ib.* 62), but Raverty and Cousens think that Bhakkar was not in existence at this time. Their theory seems to be that the island on which Bhakkar stands *emerged only after the great change* in the course of the river, two or three centuries later and "the river did not flow in that bed in those days." (Cousens, A. S. 23 Note). On the other hand, it may be noted that Bilāduri always brackets together Alrūr and Baghrūr (122, 123 *ante*), and the *Chachnāma* also states that Baghrūr was in the country of Alor (164 *ante*) and stood just opposite to the fortress of that name [مقابل حصار اروز], as Ms. A quoted in Dowson's footnote puts it.

I. 166, *l.* **20.** *To watch the road with 500 men, by which Akham might be expected to advance in order to cover Gandāva.*

Raverty understands Akhām or Aghām as the name, not of a person, but of a *place* on the Purāṇā Dhoro, which lies 25 or 30 miles south-east of Ḥaidarābād. He also reads 'Kandārah' (Kandhāro) and not 'Gandāva.' Tifli [or Ṣalabi], he thinks, was stationed on the road to Akhām to watch the territory of Kandārah. (Mihrān, 237 note). As Dowson's Ms. B read کند ارهه and K. B. also states that "Saalabi was ordered to go to the road of Agham, to keep a watch over the country of Kandrāh" (p. 123), there appear to be good reasons for rejecting 'Gandāva.' The Kandhiāro district was occupied at this time by the Northern Sammas (I. D. C. 79). They were the Sammas who gave a great ovation to Muḥammad-i-Qāsim with drums and dances when he passed through their district on the way to Alor (191 *infra*).

I. 167, *l.* **1.** *The Bhetī Thakūrs and the Jats of Ghazni who had made submission and entered the Arab service.*

K. B. has "Thakurs of Babhsi and the Jats" (p. 124). Haig (I. D. C. 61 n) and Raverty (Mihrān, 235 note) agree in reading جتِ غربی "Western Jats," *i.e.* the Jats occupying the western parts of the province and this seems to be undoubtedly preferable to 'Jats of Ghazni.' The *Eastern* Jats are mentioned in the *Chachnāma* as forming part of the army of Dāhir. (Tr. K. B. 137). These Western Jats were probably the followers of Kākā bin Kotal, the ruler of Būdhiya, who was a "Jat Sāmāni" (161-2 *ante*) and who had submitted to and entered the service of the invaders. Bilādūri also says that four thousand Jats were recruited and brought over as auxiliary troops from Sīwīstān, after

its conquest by Muḥammad bin Muṣ'ab (121 *ante*). This contingent may have been made up of the 'Western Jats.'

I. 167, *l.* 3 from foot. *Between Rāwar and Jewar (Jaipur) there was a lake, on which Dāhir had stationed a select body of troops.*

The name of the lake near Rāwar where the Muslim forces crossed the river is written in the Manuscripts of M'aṣūm's History as گوجری وگجری or کنجری Gujri, Gūjri and Kanjri. Raverty supposes it to be Kingri, which lies about twenty miles west of Alor. (Mihrān, 240 note). But Cousens points out that if he is right here, he must be wrong in fixing Rāwar itself about ten miles west of Brahmanābād, which is more than a hundred miles south of Alor. (A. S. 20 note). In other words, if the lake was only about 20 miles from Alor and also near Rāwar, Rāwar could not have been ten miles to the west of Brahmanābād.

But this name Gujri or Kanjri does not occur anywhere in the *Chachnāma* or in Bilāduri and it is probably only a conjecture of M'aṣūm's or a repetition of some local tradition or legend. Moreover, M'aṣūm's account of the battle is vitiated by the erroneous supposition that Rāwar was the same as Aror. If Rāwar was somewhere between Brahmanābād and Nirūn, the lake could not possibly have been that of Kingri near Aror. There is another Dhānd or lake called Kunjur or Kinjore, lying south-west of Ḥaidarābād and there is some phonetic resemblance between Kanjri and 'Kunjur' but M'aṣūm's knowledge of the ancient geography of Sind was, at best, indifferent and it is hazardous to build anything upon his statement. Haig says that the river was crossed by the Arabs somewhere to the south-east of Nīrūn (I. D. C. 63) but lake Kunjur lies to the south-west of Nirūn. The *Chachnāma* puts the crossing at Jham, the stronghold of the district called Bet, but neither Jham nor Bet can be identified with any approach to certainty, though the first name bears some resemblance to the modern Jhimpīr. Constable 26 Ac.

I. 168, last line. *When his minister Sisākar heard of it, he said 'Alas! we are lost. That place is called Jaipūr or the town of victory'.....Dāhir.....said with anger, 'He has arrived at Hindbāri, for it is a place where his bones shall lie.'*

K. B. reads 'Hab' [Hat] Bari'. (p. 132). This anecdote must be unhistorical and an *ex post facto* concoction of some imaginative Muslim. Such a play upon words is possible only in Persian and is founded on the morphology of the Semitic script, of which Dāhir could not have possessed any knowledge. It is a تصحیف or تجنیس مصحف between *Jatpūri* جتپوری and *Ḥatpūri* or *Ḥatbāri* حتپوری [حتباری] from *Haṭ* bone. The pun depends on the fact that the bodies of the letters of the toponyms are identical, the difference lying only in the diacritical point or *Nuqṭa*. The story seems to have been interpolated, either by the author or trans-

lator, only to give the narrative a dash of rhetorical colouring in the Muslim style.

I. 170, *l.* **2.** *Dāhir was slain at the fort of Rāwar on Thursday, the 10th of Ramazān, in the year 93.*

10th Ramaẓān 93 H. = 20th June 712 was a Monday,
10th Ramaẓān 92 H. = 1st July 711 was a Wednesday,
10th Ramaẓān (Ruyyat) 92 = 2nd July 711, was a Thursday.

The chronology of the *Chachnāma* is utterly lawless and inconsistent with itself. Dāhir is said to have been killed in Ramaẓān 93 H. It then took some time to capture Rāwar and the reduction of each of the fortresses of Dhalīla and Baghrūr took two months. But we are told that Muḥammad began the siege of Brahmanābād in Rajab 93 and that it fell six months afterwards on the last day of Zi-l-ḥijja of that year. (177 *infra*).

All this is manifestly wrong and inextricably confused. The only criterion available or of any use appears to be the week day and the correct chronology may perhaps be ascertained by the application of that test. The correct date must be 10th Ramaẓān 92 H.

I. 172, *l.* **16.** *And the other to throw naphtha, fardāj, (?) and stones during the night.*

'Fardāj' is a doubtful reading and Dowson could make nothing of it, as there is no such word in the dictionaries. I venture to suggest that فرداج is a copyist's error for غرواه. Richardson says غرواسنگ or غرباسنگ signifies 'the stone ball of a cross bow'. This so-called 'fardāj' was really a stone-sling or balista which hurled large stones. Barani speaks of مغربی و منجنیق و غراوه (T. F. 253, l. 4 f. f.) in his account of the siege of Sīwastān. K. B. renders the phrase here as 'naphtha torches and *burning stones*' (153), but a few pages further on, the same expression is translated as "naphtha arrows and *battering-ram stones*" (156). This shows that the conjunction is an interpolation and that the right reading is غرواه سنگ not فرداج و سنگ

This [or غرواه] غراوه looks in Persian writing very much like عراده. Shams-i-Sirāj in his description of the siege of Nagarkot says that both sides possessed *Manjāniqs* and that '*Arādah-stones* were hurled by both, سنگ عراده خاسته (T. F. 188, l. 4).

I. 174, *l.* **1.** *After this, give no quarter to any enemy except to those who are of rank. This is a worthy resolve, and want of dignity will not be imputed to you.*

The sentence runs thus in Dowson's Ms.

دشمن رامان مده الا همکنان ترا بزرگ است رای وفتور شوکت حمل کنند

He thinks a negative is required here. The text is evidently corrupt and it may be suggested that we should read الا همکنان تر اتراکت رای وفتور شوکت حمل کنند "After this give no quarter to any enemy, otherwise your coadjutors will attribute to you weakness of judgment and lack of

majesty, *i.e.* the power to command".

I. 176, *l.* 19. *From that place to Brahmanābād there was distance of one parasang.*

It is evident that something is amiss or has been omitted here. What is meant by 'that place' is not at all clear. The copyist of Dowson's Ms. has missed out a clause or sentence. Kalich Beg's version dispels the obscurity.

"Some say that after taking Dahlila, Muhammad Kāsim.....entrusted to Banūna son of Dhāran, the work of collecting and superintending the boats along the bank of the river from Dahlila to a place called Wādhātiya. The distance between *that place* and Brahmanābād was one league." (K. B. 158). 'That place' must be 'Wadhātiya.'

I. 176, *l.* 8 from foot. *Muhammad Kāsim marched.....and encamped on the stream of the Jalwāli to the east of Brahmanābād.*

K. B. speaks of it as "the small channel of Halwāi" (158). Dowson's suggestion that this may be the Fuleli will not bear examination. It is rejected by Haig on the ground that the Fuleli did not exist at all in the 8th century. "It is a recent inundation channel which has its head only in the recent course of the Indus, some twelve miles north of Haidarābād, a course which was taken by the river only about 1758 A. D." (I. D. C. 54). Raverty also is sure that the Jalwāli cannot be the Fuleli, as the latter is thirty miles south-west of Brahmanābād (Mihrān, 241 note), whereas this Jalwāli appears, from the context, to have been in close proximity to the city. Haig surmises that it may be an old form of *Jarāri*, the name of an extant branch channel of the Indus in this neighbourhood. (I. D. C. 135).

I. 176, *l.* 2 from foot. *Jaisiya.....had gone to Chanīr.*

Raverty is sure that it is 'Chanesar'. He locates it at about 23 miles south-west of Dirāwal and about 20 west-north-west of Ghauṣgarh or Ruknpur. (Mihrān, 426). Dowson notes that the name may be read as "Chansīr" also and that it seems to be the same as the "Chanesar" of p. 179 *infra*. K. B. calls it 'Janesar' (p. 158).

I. 177, *l.* 2. *The battle commenced on Saturday, the first of Rajab .....six months passed in this manner.....On Sunday in the end of Zi-l-hijja A. H. 93, Jaisiya came back etc.*

1st Rajab 93 = 13th April 712 was a Wednesday.
But 1st Rajab 94 = 2nd April 713 was a Saturday.
29th Zi-l-ḥijja 93 = 6th October 712 was a Thursday.
But 29th Zi-l-ḥijja 94 = 25th September 713 was a Sunday.
See my note on 170, l. 2 *ante*.

I. 178, *l.* 11. *Jaisiya son of Dāhir goes to the Rāna (of Kashmīr).*

K. B. reads 'Alāfi' instead of 'Jaisiya.' (p. 160) He points out that the caption is wrong and does not occur in the better manuscripts. It was 'Alāfi' who really went to Kashmīr at this time. Jaisiya separated from

him and proceeded by way of the desert, first to Jaitūr [or Chaitūr], then to Kuraj, and it was only after passing some time there that he went to Kassa (on the borders of Jālandhar), which is believed on fairly good grounds, to be meant for Kashmīr (197 and 201 *infra*).

The next heading (l. 15) "The Rāi of Kashmīr gives presents to Jaisiya, son of Dāhir" is also founded on error. The presents were given to the "Alāfi," not to Jaisiya. (See Dowson's note 2). The discrepancy or rather the direct contradiction between the words of the caption and the import of the paragraph itself did not escape him, but he could not account for it or clear up the confusion, as the fault lay with his Mss. The fact that Ḥamīm, [or Jehm] the son of Sāma the Syrian, is said to have been the companion, deputy and ultimately the successor of the fief-holder, also shows that the grant must have been made in the first instance to the Arab Alāfi.

I. 179, *l.* from foot. *Muhammad Kāsim granted them protection on their faithful promises, but put the soldiers to death, and took all their followers and dependents prisoners.*

The context and the narrative which follows clearly shows that the translator must be writing in anticipation of the event. The soldiers were *not* put to death *at this time* and could not have been, as Muḥammad had not become master of the town. This and the following sentence embodies only the *conditions* on which the civil population clandestinely and traitorously agreed to deliver the city to the invader. They were the *terms provisionally granted* to the chief merchants of the city, subject to ratification by Ḥajjāj, to whom they *were to be submitted* for sanction. That sanction was still to arrive and it was only after its receipt and the actual surrender of the town, subsequently to the mock assault and pretended sally, that the fighting men were killed and those 'who had arms, taken prisoners' (180 *infra*). The correct rendering would be "Muḥammad-i-Qāsim granted them protection on their giving their promises, but he *was to put* the soldiers [the fighting men] to death and to take all their followers and dependents prisoners."

I. 182 and foot note. *Slavery, the tribute and the poll-tax.* [*Bandagi wa Māl wa Gazīd (or 'gazand') as Ms. A. has it*].

Gazīd means 'bit,' *Guzīd* signifies 'chose, selected,' *Gazand* signifies 'injury,' but the right reading here must be *guzaid* گزید which is defined by Richardson as 'tribute imposed by conquerors.' The *Ghiyāṣu-l-lughāt* states that it is synonymous with *Bāj*, *Khirāj* and also the *Jizya* which is imposed on infidels. Gardezi uses the word گزیدها in the same sense. (Z. A., 15 l. 13). K. B. reads 'gazand' and renders it as 'scorn' (168), but it is not very apposite and seems farfetched.

I. 183, *l.* 13. *Muhammad Kāsim then ordered twelve dirams weight of silver to be assigned to each man, because all their property had been plundered.*

This is very obscurely worded here. The real meaning seems to be that after the census was taken, Muḥammad issued orders for the *jizīya* or poll tax to be fixed at its lowest limit of twelve *dirhams*. The inhabitants were all rated in the third or lowest class, and had to pay only 12 dirhams per head, because the ten thousand who were 'counted,' that is, assessed and declared liable to pay, had been reduced to a state of indigence on account of their houses having been robbed and plundered by the invaders.

I. 186, *l.* 16. *They were to allot three dirams out of every hundred dirams of capital.*

The reference seems to be to 'revenue' and not to 'capital.' They were to allot three *dirhams* out of every hundred *dirhams* of the land-revenue originally due to the State (اصل مال) to these indigent Brahmans for their maintenance. The rest they were to pay into the State Treasury, and it would be taken into account (*i. e.* credit for it would be given to them) by the officers of the Ḥuẓūr, *i. e.*, His Excellency the Nawāb [or Deputy Governor] appointed by Muḥammad-i-Qāsim. The right reading appears to be اصحاب و حضور نواب not اصحابِ حضورِ نواب as in Dowson's Ms. See his footnote 2. The conjunction must be deleted. 'Ḥuẓūr' is often used for the supreme or central authority at head-quarters in the historical literature and in ordinary parlance even now.

I. 190, *l.* 12. *He [Muḥammad-i-Qāsim] marched from that place (Brahmanābād) on Thursday, the 3rd of Muharram A. H. 94.*

3rd Muḥarram 94 H. was 9th October 712, Sunday.

3rd Muḥarram 95 H. [*Ruyyat*] was 28th September 713, Thursday.

If the week day is right, the correct year must have been 95 H.

See my note on 177, l. 8. 3rd Muḥarram 95 H. would fit in fairly well, as it would leave about 17 or 18 months for the subsequent operations against Alor, Sikka and Multān. Muḥammad was recalled and put to death only after the demise of the Khalīf Walīd in Jumādī I. 96 H. (437 *post*). Ḥajjāj had died in Ramaẓān 95 H. (Houtsma, E. I. Vol. II. 204).

I. 190, *l.* 3. *He stopped at a village called Manhal.*

"Mathal" in Ms. B and 'Musthal' in K. B. (p. 173). The name is supposed to survive in a village now called Shāh 'Ali-Muthālo, which lies four miles south of Brahmanābād by Cousens (A. S. 31). 'Danda' (l. 15) is probably not a toponym but the common noun, 'Dhānd,' which is well defined by Thornton as "an extensive and permanent piece of stagnant water left by the Indus, after it has retired to the channel to which it is confined in the season when it is lowest." (Gazetteer, 541). 'Danda and Karbaha' should probably be read as 'Dhand-i-Wakarbha' or 'Dhand-i-Ukariya,' the 'Pool of Wakarbha [Wakariya or Ukariya]. A son of Dāhir was named Wūkiya [Ukariya?]. (194 *infra* note). Ukā and Ukar are even now common personal names.

I. 190, *l.* 22. *One was a Sāmāni whose name was Bawādu and the*

other Budehi Bamman Dhawal.

K. B. reads 'Bāwad' and 'Zaman (or Baman) Dhol' (p. 173). The first name may perhaps be نارد 'Nārada' and the second 'Buddhivarman Dhaval.' Buddhivarman Pallava is mentioned (Duff, C. I. 299). 'Dhaval' also occurs very frequently in old records. This name was borne by a Rājā of the early Chālukya dynasty of Gujarāt about 640 A. C. (Duff, C. I. 279), by a Rāshṭrakūṭa and also a Vāghelā chief and by several others. (C. I. 103, 282). It is found also as a suffix in Vīradhaval, Yashodhaval, Raṇadhaval, Pratāpadhaval, Prasiddhadhaval, *etc.* It occurs, moreover, at 174 *ante*, where Jaisiya is said to have written letters to "Dhawal, son of Chandar", his cousin. The names of these men are specially mentioned, perhaps, to indicate that one of the two delegates selected was a Buddhist and the other a Brahman, as the object was the equitable adjustment of the burdens on the followers of each religion.

I. 196, *l.* **1.** *Muhammad Kāsim said, "Does not your God know who has got his bracelet?"*

[Sir R.] Burton tells this story with some variations of Muḥammad-i-Qāsim and the idol-temple of *Dewal*. Muḥammad does not take away the bracelet but puts his own mailed glove on the hand of the image. (Sind or the Unhappy Valley, I. 133). Bilāduri has an analogue, but it is about an idol at Zūr in Sīstān. When 'Abdu-r Raḥmān conquered that province in A. H. 35, the idol's hand, he says, was cut off and the rubies in its eyes plucked out. The *Marzbān* or governor was then asked to note how 'powerless was his idol for good or evil'. (Reinaud, *Mémoire sur l'Inde*, 173; E. D. II. 413-4).

This Zūr was in Zamīndāwar and in the vicinity of Lake Zaranj or Zarrah, which is formed by the Helmand and the Farrah Rūd. (Elphinstone, Account of the Kingdom of Caubul, Bk. iv. ch. iv. *apud* E. D. II. 579). The Sea or Lake of Zūr is said to be identical with the Lake Hāmūn of modern maps. (Beveridge, Tr. *Akbarnāma*, II. 415 note).

Alberūni has another version of the same tale. He says that when Muḥammad sacked the temple of the Sun in Multān, he 'hung a piece of cow's flesh on the neck of the idol by way of mockery.' (India, Tr. Sachau. I. 116). Idrīsi repeats this variant. (Tr. Jaubert, I. 167; Reinaud, *Mémoire sur l'Inde*, 165).

I. 200, *l.* **2.** *It is not checkmate; that sheep must not be slain.*

"Sheep" can have no sense or meaning in this context. K.B. has 'chessman' instead (p. 185), which seems to be preferable, as they were playing that game. The literal or exoteric meaning of the words uttered might then be, "There is no checkmate, that pawn must not be taken." The names of the myrmidons are spelt by Dowson as 'Kabīr Bhadra' and 'Bhaiū' (*ante* 199, last line). They may, perhaps, be restored to 'Kālibhadra' [or 'Kālabhadra'] and 'Bhairav.'

I. 201, *l.* **1.** *Till he reached the land of Kassa on the borders of*

Jālandhar. The chief of it was called Balharā, and the women of the country called him Āstān Shāh.

This 'land of Kassa' is most probably Kashmīr, the land of the people called 'Khasa,' or 'Khasha,' who are frequently mentioned in the *Rājataraṅgiṇi* and other Sanskrit works. They are stated to have "lived in the region comprising the valleys lying to the south and west of the Pīr Pantsāl range between the Jhelum and Lohar and Kishtwār. They are identical with the modern 'Khakha' tribe, to which most of the petty hill chiefs and gentry in the Vitastā valley below Kashmīr belong." (Sir A. Stein's Note to Tr. *Rājataraṅgiṇi*. Bk. I. verse. 317). Sir George Grierson says that these 'Khasas are found not only in Kashmīr but in the Kumāon and Garhwāl. "The great mass of the Aryan-speaking population of the Lower Himālayas from Kashmīr to Darjeeling is of 'Khasa' descent." (Indian Antiquary, 1914, p. 151).

According to K. B's Mss. also, Jaisiya 'arrived at Jālandhar in the land of *Kashmīr*' (p. 185), and this may be right, as the name by which the king is said to have been popularly known does point to Kashmīr. 'Āstān Shāh' looks like a corruption of 'Ādashtān Shāh.' Cf. Wākhān Shāh, Bolor Shāh, etc. 'Ādashtān' was the name by which the capital of Kashmīr was known. (E. D. I. 64). 'Ādashtān' is the Sanskrit *Ādhishṭhāna* which signifies 'capital, chief city'. (Sachau, II. 181).

I. 202, *l.* **21.** *Kaksa, son of Chandar.*

This may be 'Kākutstha,' a name which occurs in the Rāmāyaṇa and also in the list of the Pratihāra rulers of Qanauj about 740-755 A. C. (V. Smith in J. R. A. S. 1909). This Kākutstha was the successor of Nāgabhaṭṭa, the founder of the kingdom. (Vaidya, H.M.H.I. II. 100).

I. 205, *l.* **17.** *And silver to the weight of sixty thousand dirams was distributed, and every horseman got a share of four hundred dirams weight.*

So also in K. B. 190, but it can hardly be correct. If the total amount was 60,000 dirhams only and each horseman's share was 400, there could not have been more than 150 horsmen all told, in Muḥammad-i-Qāsim's army, when he besieged and captured Multān, which seems absurd.

I. 205, *l.* **7 from foot.** *There was a chief in this city [Multān], whose name was Jībawīn, and who was a descendant of the Rāi of Kashmīr.*×××× *He always occupied his time in worshipping idols.*

The name is written in a multiplicity of ways as جسوين - جوبن - جوين and has eluded all attempts at restoration. I beg to suggest that the right reading is جنبديو 'Janbadeva' [Sambadeva]. Sāmba, son of Krishṇa by Jāmbavati, the daughter of Jāmbavat, was made king of Multān after the defeat of Bāṇa the Asura. Jāmbavat had presented to Krishṇa the *Syamantaka Maṇi* [Gem or Talisman] "which yielded daily, eight *Bhārs* of gold", along with his daughter. (*Vishṇu Purāṇa*, Tr. Wilson. Ed.

Hall, iv. 76-79). Sāmba was afflicted with leprosy, in consequence of an imprecation of the very irascible sage Durvāsas whom he had insulted. Sāmba was then led, by the advice of Nārada, to establish himself in the groves of Mitra-vana and he was, thanks to the assiduous worship of Mitra (the Sun-god), cured of his leprosy. He then erected a golden statue to Mitra in a temple and the worship of the Sun was thus begun by Sāmba. (*Bhavishya Purāṇa*, quoted in Wilson's Note. *Ibid.* V. 381, Works X. 381; A. G. I. 232-3). Alberūni also notes that one of the many names of Multān was Sāmbapura, 'city of Sāmba.' (India, Tr. Sachau, I, 296). Elsewhere, he states that "the Hindus of Multān have a festival which is called *Sāmbapurayātrā*; they celebrate it in honour of the Sun and worship him. (*Ib.* II. 184).

The Indian Museum and other collections possess several silver coins weighing about 50 grs. each and of the Indo-Sāssānian type. There is a Brāhmi legend on the obverse in which the king, who was probably an Ephthalite, is called Vāhi-tigīn or Shāhi-tigīn and is believed to have ruled at Multān about 500 A.C. On the reverse, there is the bust of a deity generally believed to be that of the Sun-god of Multān and a Pehlevi legend which was read tentatively by Thomas as سف تنسف ثيف 'Saf Tansaf Tef' and supposed to stand for 'Shri Tansaf Deva.' There is also in the field on the obverse, a legend in corrupt Greek letters which has been read as 'Shri Sheno.' May not the real name be 'Shri Sāmba [or Somba] Deva' and the same as the Jaubawīn' [or *Jambadeva*], who is said to have been the founder of this Sun-temple ? (Thomas, Pahlavi Coins of the Arabs, p. 92; I. M. C. I, 234, Pl. XXV. I; Cunningham, Coins of the Later Indo-Scythians, 123; White King Catalogue, No. 911).

I. 206, *l.* **1.** *A Treasure of three hundred and thirty mans was buried there.*

The sentence is not found in K.B.'s version (p. 190). It is obviously inconsistent with the immediately preceding averment that "the treasure exceeded all limit and computation." A few lines lower down also, it is stated that "thirteen thousand and two hundred *Mans* weight of gold [not 330 only] were taken out of the forty jars."

A probable explanation of the discrepancy is that 330 *Mans* of gold were buried, not in the 40 jars *altogether*, but *in each and every one of the forty*; $330 \times 40 = 13200$. This would be in fair accord with the statement of Khurdādbih. He makes the total amount of the treasure 40 *Bhārs*, each *Bhār* containing 333 *Mans*; $(40 \times 333) = 13320$ *Mans*, or 26640 *Raṭls* or Arab pounds at two *Raṭls* to the *Man*. (p. 14 *ante*). To put it differently: 'Ali Kūfi says that there were forty *jars*, Khurdādbih that there were forty *Bhārs*. *Each* jar of 'Ali Kūfi must have held a *Bhār*, that is, 330 or 333 *Mans*.

I. 206, *l.* **4 from foot.** *It is found that sixty thousand dirams in pure silver have been expended for Muhammad Kāsim, and upto this date there have been*

received.....altogether one hundred and twenty thousand dirams weight.

Dowson notes that the passage is not clear in the original and that the Mss. do not quite agree. It seems absurd to suppose that the preparations for the invasion and two or three years' military operations had cost only 60000 dirhams, an amount equivalent to the silver contents of about 15000 of our rupees. Bilāduri (123 *ante*) has "sixty thousand thousand dirhāms" [ستين الف الف] and "one hundred and twenty thousand dirhams." It seems that the second الف or هزار has been inadvertently omitted in the Mss. of the *Chachnāma*.

I. 208, *l.* **2.** *When the army reached as far as Udhāfar.*

Variants اودهايور - اوردهابر - اودهافر (K.B. 192). M'aṣūm turns it into 'Depālpur,' but his authority on such a point is negligible. Raverty says it must be Odipur, fourteen miles south of Alwāna on the Ghaggar, and he is followed in the C. H. I. (III. 7). But the reading is altogether uncertain and the place impossible to determine.

I. 216, *l.* **19.** *Hāmūn carried on the government in the fort of Dahak, and she deputed her brothers to govern Muhammad Tūr and Thāri.*

Thāri is an exceedingly common place-name in Sind. Haig thinks that this Thāri was on the right bank of the Western Purān, about 6½ miles east by south of Muḥabbat Ḍero. The change to Tūr was, he surmises, 'due to the drying up of the river.' (I. D. C. 75). Elliot locates it somewhere near Badīn, on the Gungro river, about 40 miles further to the south. (404 *post*). 'Dero Mohobat' is marked in Constable 26 B.c. It is now in Ḥaidarābād district. Thar, Thari, Thāri, Thal Thul mean 'mound' or 'old ruin,' and any spot where there are vestiges of ancient occupation is indiscriminately so called in Sind. Dahak seems to be called Dirak in the *Tārīkh-i-Ṭāhiri*, where it is stated that Muḥammad Tūr was included in the paragana of Dirak. (256 *infra*). Elliot assures us that the ancient *pargana* of Dirak was represented, in his time, by the divisions of Chachgām and Badīn on the borders of the Tharr or sandy desert between Pārkar and Wanga Bazar. (403 *infra*).

I. 222, *l.* **3 from foot.** *Having got two small fine iron hooks, he tied a silken line to them.*

This saems to be the *réchauffé* of a folk-tale which is preserved in the Tibetan *Kah-gyur*. The hero there also is a prince named Jīvaka, the son of king Bimbisāra. He comes across in his wanderings, a man carrying a bundle of wood, whose bones and internal organs were visible. When asked the reason of his looking like a living skeleton, he replied that he had been in that condition ever since he began to carry the bundle of wood. The prince purchases the bundle from him and finds in it a *Maṇi*—gem or talisman—which had the power, when placed before any invalid, of revealing the nature of the internal malady, and illuminating him just as a lamp lights up the objects in a house. He then cures, by its means,

two men who had been suffering from an incurable headache, by drawing out its cause—a centipede which had crept into their brains. (Tibetan Tales. Translated from the German of A. Schiefner by W. S. Ralston. 99-100 and 103).

The extraordinary mode of treatment said to have been adopted by Dūda bears also a most curious resemblance to another circumstantially described by Ibn Khalliqān in his biographical notice of Ḥajjāj *ibn* Yūsuf. That tyrant, he tells us, "was afflicted by a cancer in the stomach and he was cured by a physician who tied a piece of meat to a string and passed it down his throat. The string was drawn out after some hours, when a swarm of worms were found adhering to it." (Mc Guckin de Slane's Trans. I. 356).

Muḥammad 'Awfi also speaks of the renowned physician Zakarriya-i-Rāzi (Rhazes of the Mediaeval European authors) curing a patient of haematemesis by making him swallow some weeds called *Jāma-i-Ghūk* (*Lit.* Frogs' Robes). The leeches or worms adhering to the weeds were thus drawn out of the intestines. (Niẓāmu-d-dīn, Introduction to the *Jawām'i-al-Ḥikāyāt*, I. XX. Story No. 1046, p. 184).

I. 224, *l.* 8. *Malik Ratan also came out of the fort [Siwistān] with his force and the battle began.....Malik Firoz and Ali Shāh Turk were at this time in the vicinity of Bhakkar.*

There is no reference to these events in the Delhi historians, but M'aṣūm's account is substantially corroborated by Ibn Baṭūṭa who passed through Sind in 734 H. (1333-4 A.C.). He says that some time before his arrival, 'Imādu-l-Mulk Sartīz, the governor of the province, had ruthlessly put down a tribal revolt which was centred round Sehwān. The rising was due to the nomination by Muḥammad Tughlaq of a favourite Hindu accountant named Ratan as castellan of Sehwān. The elevation of the misbeliever so exasperated the Samma chief Wunār [Unar] and a Musalmān Amīr named Qaiṣar that they combined together and attacked Ratan by night and slew him. 'Imādu-l-Mulk then came up on the scene to avenge and re-establish his master's outraged authority. Wunār fled and sought refuge with his tribe. Qaiṣar made some resistance and after standing a siege in the fort of Sehwān for forty days, capitulated on terms, but the terms were perfidiously violated and he and the other insurgents were decapitated, flayed alive or cut into pieces. (Defrémery, III. 105-8; M. R. Haig, Ibn Baṭūṭa in Sind, J.R.A.S. XIX, Part 3). Ibn Baṭūṭa has nothing to say about the subsequent course of events, but there was a recrudescence of the trouble which terminated in the alienation of Southern Sind from the empire of Delhi and the inauguration of Samma dominion in the province.

I. 225, *l.* 4. *After the death of Jām Unar, Jūna of the tribe of Samma received the title of Jām.*

Raverty (Mihrān, 329-30) has pointed out that M'aṣūm's account of the Sammas is full of errors and inconsistencies. Here, he states that Tamāchi

who succeeded Jām Jūna was taken captive by 'Alāu-d-dīn (who died in 715 H.), though the Sammas are known to have come into power only after 734 H. He also asserts that Tamāchi's son Khairu-d-dīn was sent back from Delhi and was the Jām who was called upon to surrender by Muḥammad Tughlaq in 752 H. and that Bābiniya, Khairu-d-dīn's son, was the Jām who was carried off as a state prisoner to Delhi by Firūz Tughlaq. But in the Delhi section (which is reproduced in the *Tuḥfahtu-l-Kirām* at 341-2 *infra*), there is no reference to any Samma Jām either under 'Alāu-d-dīn or Muḥammad Tughlaq and the Jām who was taken captive by Firūz is called Khairu-d-dīn, upon whose death in Delhi, his son Jūna is said to have been sent back to rule in Ṭhaṭṭha. According to Shams-i-Sirāj, the contemporary historian of Firūz, the Jām whom Firūz carried off to Delhi, was the brother of Unaṛ and Bābiniya, the Jām's nephew and son of Unaṛ was joint ruler. Shams states that the administration of the province was entrusted to the son of the Jām and Tamāchi, the brother of Bābiniya, after its annexation to the Empire of Delhi. When some time afterwards, Tamāchi rebelled, the Jām was allowed to return to Ṭhaṭṭha to suppress the revolt. (*T.F.* 254, l. 6 f. f.=E.D. III. 322, 338).

A dynastic list of the Sammas, very similar to that given by M'aṣūm here, is found also in the Ṭ.A. (p. 635), F. (II. 318-32) and the *Āin*, (Tr. II. 342). The names and regnal periods are not absolutely identical, but the four lists are all derived from one and the same source—the *Tārīkh-i Bahādur Shāhi* of Ḥusām Khān Gujārāti—as the Ṭ.A. candidly admits (635, l. 2). The initial date is nowhere stated and the discrepancies make it difficult to construct anything like an exact chronology, but a fairly correct list can be made out on the basis of three or four fixed dates or epochs and two points of contact between the Provincial and Imperial History, which can be determined with tolerable certainty. These epochs or points are:—

Accession of Jām Unaṛ.	736 H. (*Circa*).
„ „ Fāṭḥ Khān.	801 H. [Tīmūr's invasion].
„ „ Nandā.	866 H.
Death of Nandā.	914 H.

The following series of dates can be then evolved by fitting these points into the framework of the names and regnal periods given in the lists:—

Unaṛ	3	years and 6 months.	736-740 H.
Jūna	13	years.	740-753 H.
Bābanīya	15	years.	753-768 H.
Tamāchi	13	years and some months.	768-781 H.
Ṣalāḥuddīn	11	years and some months.	781-792 H.
Niẓām-d-dīn	2	years and a fraction.	792-794 H.
'Alī Shīr	7	years.	794-801 H.
Karaṇ	1½	days.	801 H.

Fatḥ Khān	15	years and some months.	801-817 H.
Tughlaq	28	years.	817-846 H.
Mubārak	3	days.	846 H.
Sikandar	1	year 6 months.	846-848 H.
Rāidhan	8	years and months.	848-857 H.
Sanjar	8	years and some months.	857-866 H.
Nandā	48	years.	866-914 H.
Firūz	12	(or 14) years.	914-927 H.

I. 225, *l.* **8.** *These men crossed the river Mihrān at the village of Talahti.*

This must be Talṭi, about six miles north of Sehwān (*Vide* note to Vol. I. 309 *post*). It is said to have been four *kos* from Sehwān.

I. 225, *l.* **16.** *Ulugh Khān then sent Tāj Kāfūri and Tātār Khān to oppose Jām Jūna in Sind.*

The whole passage is full of anachronisms, but M'aṣūm has, in this case as in that of Malik Ratan, stumbled by chance upon a part of the truth and got at least one name correctly. Malik Tāju-d-dīn Kāfūri *was* governor of Multān and Sīwīstān, during the last years of 'Alāu-d-dīn Khalji. (Barani, *T. F.*, 323, l. 16). This man should not be confused with the better-known Malik Kāfūr-i-Hazār-dīnāri.

I. 226, *l.* **2.** *Sultan Muhammad [Tughlaq] died in the neighbourhood of Bhakkar.*

Read 'Tatta' as in Malet and K. B.'s Tr. in History of Sind. II. 43. See also 342 *post*). Sin (l. 5) is Sann, a town in Sehwān, eleven miles north of Mānjhand and the same distance south of Amri. (Hughes, Gazetteer, 696). It is about a hundred miles distant from Ṭhaṭṭha and the Jām is said to have harassed the retreat of the Sultan and pursued him to that distance. (I. D. C. 80). Constable 26 B b.

I. 226, *l.* **9.** *The following story is told of this prince [Jām Khairu-d-dīn].*

Exactly the same story is told of Kabak, or Kapak, the son of Dawā, the fifteenth Khān of the race of Chaghatāi, the son of Chingiz, in an old History of the Mongols called *Shajratu-l-Atrāk*. (Tr. Miles, Ed. 1838, p. 369). The resemblance is so close that it is worth while citing the original. "One day, [Kabak] was riding out for exercise with his servants and in a cave near the road, he discovered a number of human bones. On seeing these, he pulled up his horse and remained in thought for some time and then said to his attendants, 'Do you know what these bones have been saying to me?' His attendants, being surprised at the question, remained silent, when he, answering himself, said: 'They are the bones of men barbarously murdered, who cry to me for vengeance'. He then ××× immediately summoned the *hazāra* to whom the land appertained and ordered him to examine as to whom these bones belonged.×××. It was discovered that three years previous, a *Karwaun* had arrived there from Khoraṣan, and that this tribe had murdered the whole of the

persons composing it, and had seized their property, and that some part was still in their possession. When this fact was established, the Khan ordered the murderers to be apprehended and the property collected and despatched by a messenger to the chief of Khorasan, that he might search for and produce the heirs of the murdered men. On their being found, they were sent to the Khan, who immediately delivered up the property, with the murderers, into their hands."

It is impossible to say that the two stories are not identical. Either M'aṣūm has 'lifted' the tale from the *Shajrat* or both have pilfered it from some other source.

I. 226, *l.* 9 from foot. *Jām Bābanīya.*

The name of this Jām has been a puzzle and a pitfall to the later epitomists and commentators. F. speaks of him as 'Māni, the son of Jūnā,' (II. 317-8), Ṭ. A. as 'Mānibha' (635, l. 3) and Abul Faẓl as 'Banhatiya' (*Aīn*, Tr. II. 342). Raverty's impetuous assertiveness was responsible for the pronouncement that it was not a name at all, but an epithet or title, بانی تہٹہ *i.e.* 'The Founder of Thatta'! (Mihrān. 329 n.) But this whimsical conjecture is put out of court by the fact that Bābaniya is said by M'aṣūm, Muḥammad Ṭāhir and others to have been the name not only of the father of Unaṛ, the founder of the dynasty but also of that of its most renowned member, Nandā or Niẓāmu-d-dīn (224 *ante*, 273 and 275 *post*; Malet 47).

The fact is that 'Bābaniya' is a corruption of 'Bāmaṇiyo', a name which occurs frequently among the ruling dynasties, not only of Sind, but of Kachh and Kāṭhiāwāḍ. It was borne by a Ṭhākor of Rājkot who ruled from 1675 to 1694 A. C. (B. G. VIII; Kāṭhiāwāḍ, 632). The Rājkot chiefs are Jāḍejā Rājputs belonging to the same clan as the Rāos of Kachh and the Jāms of Jāmnagar. 'Bāmaṇiyo' occurs also in the dynastic list of another Kāṭhiāwāḍ State named Koṭḍa Sangāni, whose rulers, as cadets of the ruling family of Gondal, are also Jāḍejās. (*Ibid.* 521-2). A *Jām* Bāmaṇiyoji who was the son of Jām Unaḍ is said to have conquered Ghumli and to have ruled in Kachh also about the beginning of the 16th Christian century. (*Ibid*, 566). The name of a Bādshāh (or Jām) Bāmaṇiyo also occurs in a widely-known Kāṭhiāwāḍ folk-tale which is related at some length at 690 *Ibid.*

I. 228, *l.* 13. *Sikandar and Karan and Fath Khān, sons of Tamāchi.*

According to Malet's translation of M'aṣūm's history, Sikandar and Karaṇ only were the sons of Tamāchi. Fatḥ Khān was the son of Sikandar and this is the true relationship of the men. It is so stated in Dowson's own version (229, l. 4 *post*), Ṭ. A. (636, l. 4) and F. (II, 318, l. 2 f. f.) also declare that Fatḥ Khān was Sikandar's son and not Tamāchi's.

I. 229, *l.* 15. *He sent 3000 horses from the royal stables for the service of the Mirzā.*

'Thirty thousand' in Malet, p. 50, and this is the correct number.

(*Malfūẓāt-i-Tīmūri* in E. D. III, 420; *Ẓafarnāma*, *Ibid*, 486).

'Bhaṭṭi and Āhan' (l. 16) also must be an error for 'Bhaṭner and Ajodhan', both of which were sacked by Tīmūr. (*Ib.* 487). There *is* a place called Bhaṭṭiwāhan, but there is no reference to it in any of the histories of Tīmūr's devastating inroad, and it did not lie on his route. It is said to have been in the Bīrūn-i-Panjnad *Sarkār* of the Multān Ṣūba (*Āīn*, Tr. II, 331) and situated just midway between Multān and Aror. (Raverty, Mihrān, 248 note).

I. 229, *l.* 10 from foot. *Sayyid Abu-l-L'ais.*

Malet (p. 15) calls him 'Abdul Ghais'. غیس means 'abundance of wealth.' Budāuni speaks frequently of Mīr Abul Ghais Bukhāri, a warrior-saint of the reign of Akbar. (II. 21, 245, 304, 347; Lowe, Tr. 14. 252, 313, 358). K. B. reads Abu-l-Ghais (History of Sind, II. 49) and this is most probably the correct form.

Mirzā Pīr Muḥammad did not start for Delhi *after* Tīmūr had captured Delhi, as is said here on l. 2, p. 230, but accompanied his grandfather to Delhi from Tulamba.

I. 230, *l.* 3 from foot. *On the sixth of Jumāda-l-awwal, in the year 858 H., Jām Rāi Dan came forth.*

This date is irreconcilable with the writer's own assertions. M'aṣūm has just stated (229 *ante*) that Tīmūr's invasion took place when Fāṭḥ Khān was Jām. Fāṭḥ Khān is said to have ruled for 15 years and some months, his successor Tughlaq for 28, and Tughlaq's son Sikandar for 1½ years. Tīmūr ravaged Hindustān in 801 H. If that calamity overtook Northern India in the first year of Fatḥ Khān's reign, the accession of Rāidhan must be put into 846 H.; into 845, if in the second; into 844, if in the third and so on.

But Rāidhan himself is afterwards said to have ruled for 8½ years, his brother Sanjar for 8 years and the accession-date of Sanjar's successor, Niẓāmu-d-dīn is given as 25 Rab'ī I. 866 H. This means that Rāidhan must have ascended the throne 16½ years before Rab'ī I 866, *i. e.*, in 849. But as he is said to have come forth out of Kachh and to have been employed for a year and a half in establishing his authority in the province, the death of Sikandar and the coming forth of Rāidhan may be put $16\frac{1}{2} + 1\frac{1}{2} = 18$ years before 866, *i. e.* in 847-848 H. It appears as if 858 is a miscalculation or slip for 848 H. The month and date, 6th Jumādī I, may have been correctly recorded.

But there is another complication. Ṭ. A. and F. know nothing of Rāidhan and leave out his name altogether. Abu-l-Faẓl has it, in the *Āīn*, but it is inserted only as another name for Sanjar. As the original source of the information, the *Tārīkh-i-Bahādurshāhi*, is no longer extant, it is impossible to say who or which is wrong. If M'aṣūm is right in adding the name of Rāidhan, the inconsistencies in the latter part of his chronology may be reconciled by the supposition that 858 H. was the year in which Sanjar, not Rāidhan, ascended the throne. Rāidhan appears to

have been a common name in Sindh and was borne by one of the Jādejā Samma rulers of Kachh, who died about 1697 A.C. (Duff, C. I. 290; I. G. XI. 78). There is a place in Sindh called Rāidhan between Lārkhāna and Dādu and the name is preserved also in Rādhanpur.

I. 231, *l.* 7 from foot. *On the boundaries of Māthīla and Ubāwar.*

(Mīrpur) Māthelo is now in the Ghotki tāluqa of Rohri district, about 45 miles north-east of Rohri and six miles S.E. of Ghotki Railway station. It is a very old site and is said to have been captured by Abul Ḥasan, the general of Sultan Maudūd Ghaznavi. (Raverty, Mihrān, 488; Cousens, Antiquities of Sind, 175). Ubauro is in the Rohri Deputy Collectorate, seventy-five miles from Rohri and on the road leading from Rohri to Multān. Lat. 28°-11′ N., Long. 69°-30′ E. Constable 26 B. a. Ghotki is in Lat. 28°-0′ N., Long. 69°-21′ E. (I. G. XII. 236).

I. 233, *l.* 2. *Nizāmu-dīn succeeded Jām Sanjar on the 25th of Rab'ī I. 866 H.*

According to the *Tuḥfatu-l-Kirām*, Jām Nandā reigned from 866 to 914 H. (K. B. II. 51 note). General M. R. Haig accepts M'aṣūm's date, 866 A.H., for the accession of Niẓāmu-d-dīn or Nandā and states that he died in 914 H. after a reign of 48 years. (I.D.C. 82). Ṭ.A. (636, l. 23) and F. (II. 320, l. 5) assert that he reigned for 62 years, but this is undoubtedly erroneous, as 866 + 62 = 928 H. This would leave no room for the reign of Jām Firūz which lasted from 914 to 928 H. In the inscription on Jām Nandā's tomb at Ṭhaṭṭa, it is stated that the foundation-stone was laid in 915 H. The year of death is not stated, but it appears probable that the event had taken place some time before. (I.D.C. 83). See also the discussion in Erskine's H. B. H. (I. 359 Note).

I. 234, *l.* 4. *It advanced as far as Dara-Karīb, commonly known by the name of Jalūgar.*

Jalūgīr is a place in the Bolan Pass near Bibi Nāni. (Haig, I. D. C. 83). Bībī Nāni is 55 miles south of Quetta, 30 north of Dhādar and about 1695 feet above sea-level. It is about 30 miles from Kohundilan or Khundilān, which is the first stage of the Pass. (Hough, *op. cit*, 425; Sir Clements Markham in Proc. R. G. S. 1879, p. 59).

I. 234, *l.* 9. *Maulānā Jalālu-d-dīn Muhammad Dīwāni formed the project of leaving Shīrāz and going to Sind.*

I venture to suggest that the litterateur referred to here may be Jalālu-d-dīn *Dawwāni* (not Dīwāni), the author of the well-known ethical and political treatise called *Akhlāq-i-Jalāli*. He was born at Dawwān, a village near Kāzerūn in Fārs, in 830 H. (1426-7 A. C.). He was the Qāẓi of Kāzerūn and was also a professor in the Orphans' College in Shirāz, where he died in 908 H. (1502-3 A. C.), just six years before Jām Niẓāmu-d-din. (Browne, L. H. P. III. 444, 423. See also *Ā'īn*, Tr. III. 422, 424). This work was translated by J. W. F. Thompson under the title of 'Practical Philosophy of the Muhammadan People' in 1839.

I. 235, *l.* **12.** *He compiled a commentary on the Mishkāt but did not complete it. Some portions are still extant in the library of Masūd* (مسود) *and passages are commonly written as marginal notes in books.*

"He had written marginal notes to many difficult books." (Malet 57). K. B. (II. 52) translates the sentence thus: "Maulānā Asīrud-d-īn was well-read in the religious law and had written many books on history and other learned sciences. He had written commentaries on many difficult books." 'Library of Masūd' has no sense here. The real meaning seems to be that the Maulānā had written *Hāshiya* or Marginal Notes on several classical works and that these Notes in his own handwriting [مسودہ] were extant in the library in the possession of his descendants, or some other collection, when M'aṣūm wrote.

The *Mishkāt-al-Maṣābiḥ* is a collection of the *Ḥadiṣ* or Traditions of Muḥammad. A translation into English by A. N. Matthews was published in 1809-10.

I. 238, *l.* **1.** *Between Sīwi, Dehra and Kasmūr, there is a tract of land called Bārgān, which breeds horses not inferior to those of 'Irāk. The young colts..... can go unshod even amongst the hills.*

"Dehra" is Dera Bugti. Constable 24 C c. It lies in "the angle of the Sulaimān mountains between the Indus and Kachhi. (Dames, Baloch Race, 57.). "The ponies of the Marri and Bugti hills are light in limb and body, but carry heavy weights *unshod over the roughest ground.* (I. G. XXII. 339). "The Sarawān country and Kachhi still produce the best horses in Baluchistān." (*Ibid.* XIV. 301). Bārgān is perhaps Bārkhān which with Sanjaki and Dūki, formed part of the Thal Chotiāli district, but was transferred to Loralai in 1903. (I. G. XXII. 349). It is shown in the I. G. Atlas. 35 E 2. Kashmor is marked in Constable 26 B a.

I. 238, *l.* **6.** *At Chhatūr, there is a tribe called Kahari, so called from the tree called Kahar, on which one of their ancestors mounted....and it moved on like a horse.*

The Baluch tribe of Kaheri is still found in the Kachhi and Sībi districts. (I. G. XIV 250; XXII. 338; Dames, Baloch Race, 19, 58; Eastwick, Dry Leaves from Young Egypt, 100). The tree called Kahar (l. 6) is the *Kirrār* or leafless Caper (*Capparis aphylla*). It grows to the height of ten to fifteen feet and its evergreen twigs or branches which are leafless, produce a fruit called *tent* which is pickled by the poorer classes. (Elliot, Races. II. 393). Hughes (Gazetteer, 13) says that its wood also is valuable and is used for rafters and the knees of boats. It is the *Kariraka* of the *Shukra-nīti.* (Ed. Oppert, IV. iv. l. 118). Chhatur or Chatar is now in British Baluchistān. Constable 24 C c. The story reminds one of the tales of witches in Europe riding upon broomsticks.

I. 238, *l.* **4 from foot.** *Within this recess, are inscribed the names of Bābar Bādshāh and..... Mirzā Kāmrān, Mirzā*

'Askari and Mirzā Hindāl.....Of all his dominions, Kandahār was the only place mentioned. When I visited the spot, it came into my head, etc.

Dowson suggests in the footnote that a negative is required here and that the sentence should read 'Kandahār was not even mentioned as forming part of his dominions.' But the emendation is not only uncalled for but positively wrong. The 'Great Qandahār Inscription' engraved under the directions of M'aṣūm has been edited, translated and commented upon by Darmesteter (*Journal Asiatique*, 1890, pp. 195-230) and also by J. Beames. (Geography of the Qandahār Inscription, J. R. A. S. 1908, pp. 795-802). Mrs. Beveridge gives the following translation of the original epigraph commemorating the conquest of Qandahār, which M'aṣūm sought to supplement and complete :—

"Abul Ghāzi Bābur took possession of Qandahār on Shawwāl 13th, 928 A.H. In the same year, he commanded the construction of this *Raucāq-i-Jihānnumā*, and the work had been completed by his son, Kāmrān at the time he made over charge of Qandahār to his brother 'Askari in 9 ...." [937 ?]. (B. N. Tr. Appendix xxxiv; see also Mohan Lal's Travels in Afghanistan and Turkistan, 312).

The fact is that Qandahār *was the only part* of his dominions *that was mentioned* in the original epigraph and the primary object of inscribing it had been to record and commemorate the conquest of the great stronghold. It was just because Qandahār was the *only part* of Akbar's dominions *which was mentioned* in this ancient record, that M'aṣūm thought it necessary to have another engraved, in which the names of all the other notable towns and districts comprised in the Great Emperor's realm, from Orissa and Gaur-Bangāla in the East to Bandar Lahri and Ṭhaṭṭa in the West, were registered.

On line 10 from foot. 'Sibūda' is wrongly spelt. Malet is right in reading 'Seepoozah' (Sīpūza).

I. 239, last line. *He [Bābā Ḥasan Abdāl] accompanied Mirzā Shāh Rukh, son of the Sāhib Kirān (Tīmūr) to Hindustān.*

This statement is not quite correct, as Mirzā Shāh Rukh did not really accompany "the great Tartarian" to Hindustān or take any part in his devastating and sanguinary invasion. He did leave Samarqand in the train of his father, but was sent back from somewhere near Kābul to Herāt, as he had been appointed governor of all Khurāsān about a year before. (May, 1397 A. C.). He remained at Herāt all the time and a servant of his actually waited upon Tīmūr, when the latter was encamped at Janjān near Tulamba and brought assurances of his good health. (*Zafarnāma*, Text, II. 31, 59; see also E.D. III. 408, 417). Another attendant brought letters from the Prince when Tīmūr had passed Kābul and Shibar-tu on the return journey. (Z. N. II. 187, l. 14).

Mīr M'aṣūm states in an inscription engraved under his supervision

on the Buland Darwāza at Fatḥpur Sikri that he was a descendant of Bābā Ḥasan Abdāl. (Muḥammad Hādi's Introd. to *Tūzuk-i-Jahāngīri*. Text 4 Note, last line; Blochmann, Tr. *Ā'īn*, 515; Beveridge, A. N. Tr. I. 397 note). M'aṣūm was evidently proud of his ancestry and this accounts for his going out of the way to mention the spot where the saint performed his miracle of the 'golden brick' and to refer also to his having accompanied Mirzā Shāhrukh to Hindustān. The saint is also known as Bābā Wali.

I. 241, *l.* 11. *He [Gīsu Khān] sent them firing and fighting towards the Shrine of Khwāja Khizr.*

The shrine is situated on a small island, a little to the north of Bhakkar and separated from it by a narrow channel of easy passage. A mosque in it contains an inscription which has been supposed to prove that "the Indus had deserted a former channel and taken its present course [in or] before the year 341 H." in which the mosque is believed to have been erected. The inscription runs thus:

چو این درگاه عالي شد هویدا
که آب خضر دارد در حوالي
خضر با خط شیرین در نوشته
تاریخش یاب از درگاه عالي

E. B. Eastwick appears to have been the first to draw attention to the epigraph. (Handbook for India. Part II, Bombay, (1859), p. 492; Dry Leaves from Young Egypt, 38).

He translated it as follows:—

" When this Court was raised, be it known,
That the waters of Khizr surrounded it:
Khizr wrote this in pleasing verse, (lit. handwriting)
Its date is found from the " Court of God."

As the numerical value of the words *Dargāh-i-'Ālī* is 341, the conclusion he drew from the words was that the epigraph was a contemporary document of great historical value, which " fixed the date on which the Indus abandoned Alor and directed its course into a new channel between Rohri and Sukkur." But Haig rejects this rendering and understands the first couplet to mean only that " the Indus [or some branch of it] was running by Bhakkar in 341 H. It does not tell us how much earlier or when it came there." He renders the lines thus:—

" When this sublime temple appeared,
Which is surrounded by the waters of Khizr." (I.D.C. 133-4).

Raverty who had pinned his faith to the legend of Saifu-l-Mulk and had a pet theory about the Hakra having been diverted from near Aror, in the time of Dalurai about 335 H., made much of the epigraph, as it fitted in with his preconceptions (Mihrān, 491 n.), but the more recent and better opinion is that the inscription is a fake of comparatively recent origin and historically worthless. The principal reason

for this view is that the *Nast'alīq* script in which it is engraved is known to have been devised and come into vogue only in the 14th or 15th Christian century. The practice of composing such mnemonic lines or chronograms *in verse* also does not appear to have existed at all in 341 H. 952 A. C. (Cousens, A.S. 145-6). Mr. Abbott also has recently declared that the inscription is "a pious fraud contrived to give the shrine a hoary antiquity. (Sind, 76 n). In this connection, it may be worth while to invite attention to a passage in Ibn Baṭūṭa's Travels. He says that when he was at Bakkhar in 734 H., he saw in the middle of a canal derived from the river Sind, a superb hermitage where travellers were lodged and fed. It had been erected by Kishlu Khān Bahrām when he was governor of the province, *i.e.*, about 1320 A.C. (Defrémery, III. 115). May not this 'Shrine of Khwāja Khiẓr' be the hermitage erected by Kishlu Khān?

Rānīpur (l. 6) is now in Khairpur State. It is shown in Constable 26 B b.

I. 242, *l.* 8. *When Tarsūn Muhammad Khān received permission to depart from the court [after being appointed to Bhakkar], some of the nobles objected that it was impolitic to place the children of Saifu-l-Mulk on the borders of the country.*

Tarsūn Muḥammad Khān was the sister's son of Shāh Muḥammad *Saifu-l-Mulk*, who had been, at one time, independent ruler of Gharjistān, but had to submit to Shāh Ṭahmāsp of Persia in 940 A.H. Tarsūn Muḥammad himself afterwards took service under Akbar. He rose to be a *Panj-hazāri* and was killed in Bengal by the insurgent M'aṣūm Khān Farankhūdi in 992 H. (Blochmann, *Āīn*, Tr. I. 342-3). When Tarsūn Muḥammad Khān sent his cousin Muḥammad Ṭāhir (the son of Shāh Muḥammad *Saifu-l-Mulk*) and two other relatives in advance, to take charge of the *Jāgīr*, (see 241 *ante*), his rivals and enemies at the Court pointed out that as he was the nephew of a quondam ruler of Gharjistān, a man with a following and connections in Persia and on the Indian Frontier, it was not safe to make him governor of an impregnable fortress, situated, like Bhakkar, in a remote part of the Empire. The Emperor was thus persuaded to cancel the appointment and he was made governor of Āgra, as he would be there under the Emperor's own eye and find it impossible to turn traitor. M'aṣūm merely records the reasons for the change.

Raverty's assertion that Shāh Muḥammad was entitled Saifu-l-Mulk, because he was a descendant of 'this very merchant' Saifu-l-Mulk, to whom local legend attributes the diversion of the river and the destruction of Alor, is a fantastic and absolutely groundless supposition. He had somehow convinced himself of the truth of the folk-tale, but his attempt to bolster it up by this grotesque conjecture is a dismal failure. (Mihrān, 485-6 Notes). Many other persons have been styled Saifu-l-Mulk and *Saifu-d-daula*, *Saifu-l-Mulk* are very common *Ilqāb*.

His argument that the story must be true because the graves of Saifu-l-Mulk and his sons Raṭṭa and Maṭṭa (or Mātta) are still pointed out and visited by pilgrims at a village called Raṭṭa-Maṭṭa, lying about 5 miles from Jatoi and 32 from Derā Ghāzi Khān (Mihrān 409, 486 Notes) is scarcely worthy of serious attention. Its logic is almost as *naïve* as that of the 'simple child' in Wordsworth's poem. The names of the sons and of the village are obvious fabrications of the eponymous type, while those of the merchant and his slave girl are found in the Arabian Nights (Lane's Trans. III, 744 and Note) and other story books.

I. 243, *l.* 7. *He sent a force against the Mankinjas of the district of Gāgri.*

The correct form is 'Maṇgnejas.' Hughes states that they are a Sindhi clan settled in Naushahro district. (Gazetteer, 583). They are perhaps so called because they are descended from a person named 'Mangnē.' Cf. Samejas, Jāḍejas, Kākeja, Kūrejā-Sammas. (339, 340 *post*).

Gambaz or Gambat (l. 13) is twelve miles south of Khairpur and ten miles east of the Indus. (Hughes, *Ib.* 170). Constable 26 B b. 'Bajrān' (l. 13) is written 'Vejūran' in Malet and may be Vanjhrot وڻجروٽ or Vinjrot or Vijnot, a very old Hindu town which lies four miles south of Reti station and 63 miles west of Rohri. (I. G. XXIII. 121). There are extensive ruins here in which very large bricks like those of Brahmanābād have been found. (Cousens, A. S. 72).

I. 244, *l.* 8. *The Emperor granted the country of Bhakkar in jāgīr to Fath Khān Bahādur, Rājā Parmānand and Rājā Todarmal.*

Dowson states that Ms. B makes no mention of Todarmal and speaks of only two grantees. The explanation is that Rājā Parmānand was a relation (خويش) of Todarmal. (A. N. III. 70, Tr. 97; K. B. History of Sind, II. 109). The copyist of Ms. A must have dropped out the word and interpolated the conjunction in its stead. خويش also means 'son-in-law' and that may have been Parmānand's exact relationship to the great minister.

I. 244, *l.* 11 from foot. *He [Shihāb] led a force against the fort of Kin-Kot, which was in the hands of Ibrāhīm Nāhar.*

Malet's reading is 'Kamkot.' It must be Kin or Kinkot. "About 1450, the Nāhars who are a branch of the Lodis.....succeeded in establishing their authority in Kinkot and Sītpur in Derā Ghāzi Khān district and even extended their dominions further in the Derajāt, but their power was afterwards circumscribed by the Mīrāni Baloch." (I. G. XI. 250-1).

I. 246, *l.* 12. *His advanced guard was composed of Baluchīs.*

Dowson says in the note that the original words are بلوچ يلدي بودند and he has left out يلدى as he could make nothing of it. Malet speaks of them as 'Boordee Beloochees.' The tribe is known as Buledi or Burdi. According to the I. G. (VI. 290), the most important Balūch tribes are the Marris, Bugtis, Buledis, Magassis and Rinds. (See also *Ibid*, XIV, 250, art. on Kachhi; Wood, Journey, 33). The name is derived

from the Buleda valley in Makrān. (I. G. Atlas, Pl. 35 B b). They are also called 'Burdi' and there is a tract in Upper Sind near the Indus called Burdika, where they are found in great numbers. (Dames, Baloch Race, 17, 57).

I. 247, *l.* 12 from foot. *The officials assigned to me the pargana of Durbela, Gāgri and Chandūka (in the Sarkār of Bhakkar).*

Cf. 234, l. 2, *ante* where 'Lakri, Chandūka and Sindicha' are mentioned. Abu-l-Faẓl registers Kākhri (or Kākri), Darbela and Jandola (*Recte* Chandūka) as *Maḥāls* in *Sarkār* Bhakkar (*Āīn*, Tr. Jarrett, II, 334). Chandūka or Chāndkoh is said to be 20 *Kos* west of Bhakkar by Malet (83, 153). It is now the chief town of Lārkhāna district.

Gāgri (which can be read also as Kākri) may be Kangri or Kingri, which lies about 20 miles south-west of Bhakkhar. (Mihrān, 240 note). It is stated in the *Maāṣiru-l-Umarā* that Mīr M'aṣūm was born at Bhakkar and educated under Mullā Muḥammad of Kingri. (III. 326; Blochmann, Tr. *Āīn*, I. 514). But Gāgri is, more probably, Kākar in the Mehar Deputy Collectorate of Lārkhāna District. (Hughes, 314, 730; I.G. XIV. 289). K.B. (History of Sind, II.) reads 'Kākri.' Darbelo is 10 miles north of Naushahro, which is about 76 miles south-east of Bhakkar (Th.) Chāndkoh, Darbelo and Kākar are all in proximity to one another and are shown in Constable Pl. 26 B b. The name Chandūkā or Chāndkoh, the old designation of what is now called the Lārkhāna sub-division, is derived from the Chandia tribe of Balūchis. (I.G. XVI. 139).

I. 248, *l.* 5. *The river was crossed, batteries were raised and we began to take measures for securing a passage over the river.*

Dowson observes that "the text says در مقام ساختن پایاب شدند. The word *pāy-āb*, commonly means 'a ford'". As the river had been already crossed, there was neither sense nor reason in making 'a ford.' Besides, a ford is not 'made'. I suggest that the right reading is پاشیب *pāshīb*, which is used by Barani more than once (T.F. Text, 213, l. 18; 253, l. 20; 277, l. 6) in connection with sieges and in juxtaposition with گرگچ. Dowson renders it as 'mound' in his translation of the second passage (E. D. III. 165) and leaves it untranslated in that of the third. (*Ibid*, 174). Amīr Khusrau also uses the word frequently in his accounts of the sieges of Ranthambor and Warangal and says in connection with the first, that "sandbags were sewn and with them was constructed a *Pāshīb* high enough to touch the western tower of the fort. *Maghribis* then shot large stone-balls from the summit of the *Pāshīb*." (*Khazāin*, Tr. Ḥabīb, 39; see also *Ibid*, 41). Elsewhere, he speaks of a *Pāshīb* "reaching the summit of the hill on which the fort of Siwāna stood" (*Ib.* 54), of a *Pāshīb* "so wide that files of hundred men abreast may ascend over it to the fort" (*Ib.* 66) and describes a '*Pāshīb*' as "the means of opening the way to a besieged fort" (*Ib.* 83). There can be little doubt that the right reading here is پاشیب, *i. e.* "Earthworks to mount and protect the guns."

I. 248, *l.* 10. *Jāni Beg then threw up a sort of fort on the bank of the river at the village of Lohari above Nasrpur.*

The correct name is Bohīri or Bohri, a village which still exists about ten miles north of Naṣrpur. It "lies in a large loop of land formed by an abrupt recurving of the river, the neck of which Jāni Beg closed with strong earth-works armed with artillery." This earth-work was M'aṣūm's 'sort of fort' and it was "protected on other sides, either by the river or by soft and treacherous quicksands or quagmires. His fleet of boats enabled him to command the river and keep open his communications with the land and draw supplies from the whole of Lower Sindh." (I.D.C. 103-4 and 106 note).

I. 249, *l.* 18. *Khusru Khān acted judiciously ; keeping his own ghrābs in the river, he sent others in pursuit, and several of the enemy's vessels with soldiers and Firingi fighting men on board fell into his hands.*

This translation is manifestly wrong and Malet's rendering is very different. The 'Firingi fighting men' were employed, not by the Mughals, but by Jāni Beg and they must have fallen, not into the hands of Khusrau Khān, but into those of his enemy, the Khān-i-Khānān, just as Malet says.

I. 249, *l.* 6 from foot. *There were some little sandhills (chihla) around, and the place seemed difficult to take.*

چهله is a quagmire, quicksand, slough or morass, and not a 'sand-*hill*'. It is practically identical with جهجه or دلدل which latter is explained in the *Wāqiāt-i-Bāburi* of Shaikh Zain Khwāfi as آب پرحیله (Treacherous Water). Such a place "looks like solid ground, but it is really so soft that any one who places his foot upon it is liable to sink and disappear for ever." (Mrs. Beveridge, Tr. B. N. 31 note). Elliot says چهل means wet oozy land, from چهلا mud. (Races, II. 266). جهجه is used at A. N. II. 112 and rendered as 'quagmire or bog.' (Tr. II. 171 note). چهله and دلدل are used as synonymous terms in the T. J. (102, l. 11 f. f.) and چهله and جهجه at *Ibid.* 381, l. 14, چهله is translated by Dowson himself as 'marsh' at E. D. VI, 390. Shaikh Zain's explanation of the term as آب پرحیله is a *jeu de mot*, a play upon words or the figure of speech called تجنیس مصحف or تصحیف by the Persian rhetoricians, It shows, however, that he did not understand it as a 'hill,' but as 'a piece of water, a bog or morass.' The same word is used at 248, l. 9 f. f. *infra*, and there also, the meaning of ناچار پایستی از چهله عبور نموده باردو رسید must be that "they were obliged to cross over the *morass* [not 'sand bank' as in Dowson] to reach the camp." The word is used in the T. A., also in the account of the Conquest of Sind under Akbar. (Text, 375, l. 8 f.f.). Dowson himself translates it there as "morasses." (E. D. V. 462). The *Tarkhān-nāma* also describes 'chihlas' as "places which are so soft that if any one set foot on them, he would sink up to his neck." (I. D. C. 103).

I. 250, *l.* 3. *Shāh Beg Khān should march to besiege Shāhgarh.*

As Shāhgarh is an oft-recurring toponym, it may be as well to say that it was a fort about ten miles north of Bohīri. (I. D. C. 106). In the *Tārīkh-i-Ṭāhiri*, Shāhgarh is said to have been in the province of Naṣrpur (286 *post*). Bohīri was ten miles north of Naṣrpur.

I. 250, *l.* **5.** *Another force went against Badīn, Fath Khān and Jūn.*

Badīn lies 62 miles S. S. E. of Ḥaidarābād and is now a station on the North-Western Railway. Constable 26 B. C. Fatḥ Khān is an error for 'Fatḥ *Bāgh.*' It lay about five miles N. W. W. of and higher up than Jūn on the right bank of the Ren, and six miles south-east of Ṭāndo Muḥammad Khān on the route to Badīn. (I. D. C. 93). It is the 'Bāgh-i-Fatḥ' of the *Āīn*. (Tr. II. 340). Jūn itself lay 75 miles south-west of Amarkot and 50 north-east of Ṭhaṭṭa. It is now a small village in the Gūni *tāluqa* of Ḥaidarābād district. It is centrally situated in the Delta. All these three places lay on the main route north-wards to Naṣrpur, Sehwān and Bhakkar. (I. D. C. 92; Mr. C. E. A. Oldham in Indian Antiquary, (LIX), 1930. p. 240; Cousens, A. S. Map, Pl. Ciii).

I. 251, *l.* **1.** *Jāni Beg retreated to Unarpur twenty kos from the battle field.*

Abul Faẓl says Unarpur was four *kos* from Hālā Kandi (Old Hālā), and forty south of Sehwān. (A. N. III. 613; Tr. III. 938). This agrees with Haig's location of it at four miles north of Matāri and about twenty-two north of Koṭri near Ḥaidarābād. The battle-field must have been somewhere near Fatḥpur in Sakrand *pargana* and about 8 miles west of Sakrand town. (I. D. C. 108-9). Sann (l. 24), where the Khān-i-Khānān encamped, is about thirty miles north-west of Unarpur and thirty-four south of Sehwān. (I. D. C. 109). See also Hough, *op·cit.* 436. Both places are shown in Constable, Pl. 26.

I. 252, *l.* **4.** *And Khusru Khān was named to be his* [*Jāni Beg's*] *son-in-law.*

The reference is not to Khusrau Khān Charkas, who is mentioned at 249 *ante*, but to the Shāhzāda or Prince Sultan Khusrau, the eldest son of Akbar's son, Salīm, who afterwards became known as the Emperor Jahāngīr. There is a reference to Prince Khusrau's betrothal to Jāni Beg Tarkhān's daughter in the *Tūzuk-i-Jahāngīri* (Text 8, l. 2 f. f. = Rogers and Beveridge's Tr. I. 20).

There is some confusion in Dowson's version of the *Tārīkh-i-Ṭāhiri* also, in regard to these two names. At p. 287 *infra*, Khusrau Khān Charkas, the quondam slave of Jāni Beg, is spoken of as '*Sultan* Khusrū Charkas,' which is a solecism. 'Kāsim' (l. 6) is a blunder for 'Āsir.' Malet has it right and calls the place 'Asseerghur.'

I. 252, *l.* **6.** *On the 25th Rajab, Mirzā Jāni Beg died of brain fever.*

The year is left out here. It is given as 1008 H. by Malet but that is wrong. Abul Faẓl gives the exact date as 13 Bahman in the 45th year of Akbar's reign. Faiẓi Sirhindi says the event took place on 1st Sh'abān 1009 H. = 26th January, 1601 A. C. (A. N. Tr. Beveridge, III,

1172 and Note).

Calculation shows that Abul Faẓl's 13th Bahman XLV R. corresponds to 25th Rajab 1009. The fortress of Āsīr was taken on 7th Bahman 45 R = 16th-17th January 1601 (O. S.). The Ilāhi equivalent of 1st Sh'abān (26th January 1601) would be 18th Bahman. The 46th Ilāhi year of Akbar's reign began on 15th Ramaẓān, 1009 H. Between 25th Rajab and 15th Ramaẓān, the number of intervening days is 48 (5 + 29 + 14) and 13th Bahman XLVR was 48 (18 + 30) days before 1st Fravardin of the XLVIth Regnal year. The date given by M'aṣūm is practically identical with Abul Fazl's. Faiẓi Sirhindi puts the event six days later, but the correct year is, according to both these authors, 1009 and not 1003 H, as given by Malet. Mirzā Jāni really died of excessive indulgence in strong drink, which brought on paralysis and delirium tremens. (*Maāṣiru-l-Umarā.* III, 310; *Āīn.* Tr. I. 363). There is no truth in the report that Akbar had Jāni Beg poisoned on account of his having made an indiscreet remark in connection with the capture of Āsīrgarh. (*Ibid*).

I. 256, *l.* 4 from foot. *Every night he possessed himself of a maiden.*

This exercise of the *droit de seigneur* is a very commom feature in folktales about dragons, tyrants and monsters of sorts, but it may be worth while to note here that similar wickedness is actually ascribed to Mirzā Ghāzi Tarkhān, the son of Jāni Beg, who was Ṣūbadār of Ṭhaṭṭa in the reign of Jahāngīr, by the compiler of the *Maāṣiru-l-Umarā.* "He required," this author assures us, "every night a virgin and girls from all places were brought to him and the women of the town of Ṭhaṭṭa were so debauched, that every bad woman, even long after his death, claimed to have had relations with the Mirzā." (Text. III. 348; Blochmann, *Āīn*, Tr, I, 364). The anecdote may be only a canard, but it would seem as if the enforcement of this 'ancient privilege' was associated in the popular mind of Sind with the exercise of strong and vigorous rule, even in the seventeenth century.

The alleged feat of the merchant is a romantic folktale masquerading as history. Aror was most probably destroyed, as the I. G. states, by "the great earthquake which diverted the Indus into another channel and also deprived the town of its water supply. (VI. 4; see also I. D. C. 72). The legend appears for the first time in the *Tārīkh-i-Ṭāhiri* and there is no allusion or reference to it in the History of M'aṣūm. It will be observed also that neither the merchant nor his handmaiden is given any name at all in the earliest version. They are called Saifu-l-Mulūk and Badī'u-l-Jamāl *for the first time* only in the *Tuḥfatu-l-Kirām*, which was compiled only about 1181 H. 1767-68 A. C. (p. 328 *infra*). Both these names occur frequently as those of lovers in Oriental story-books and are fictitious. A Dakhani poet named Ghawwāṣi also is known to have written in Hindustāni a *maṣnavi* on the loves of Saifu-l-Mulūk and Badī'u-l-Jamāl in 1035 H. (Houtsma. E. I. IV. 1025, s. v. Urdu).

I. 258, *l.* 8. *Destruction of Brahmanābād.*

Brahmanābād, Bhāmbor and Alor are all said to have been destroyed in a single night and by divine wrath. The legend of Chhota Amrāni, the maiden Fāṭima who taught him to read the Qurān and who, after marrying him, escaped from the doomed city just on the eve of the catastrophe, bears a very suspicious resemblance to the story of Zobeide, in the Arabian Nights. There, the prince who was the only inhabitant not turned into stone was saved because his Muslim nurse had taught him to read the Qurān and made him one of the Faithful. Ibn Baṭūṭa's tale (Defrémery, III, 113) of the petrified *Kāfir city* which lay about seven miles (*Kos*) from Lārry Bunder, looks like another variant of this same legend of Chhotā Amrāni. That city was probably the ruined town of Bhāmbor or Bhānbarwa, which lies about 12 miles north-west of Lārry Bunder (A.G.I. 299). Hughes notes that Bhāmbor is still known as the 'Kāfar' or 'Infidel City' and was formerly called 'Mansāwar' or 'Manhāvar'. (Gazetteer, 120). Cunningham supposed "the petrified city" to be Daibal, but that was because he sought to locate the latter at Lārry Bunder, an opinion which is now almost universally rejected.

I. 259, *l.* 2 from foot. *On the second night, they were saved by the watching of Gunīgīr, but on the third, the whole city was swallowed up.*

It is not easy to say what this 'Gunīgīr' means or stands for. It cannot be a personal name, as no such name is known. In the English version of the legend, as it is related on the authority of the *Tuhfatu-l-Kirām* in Hughes' Gazetteer (p. 141), it is understood as a Sindhi vocable or common noun signifying 'Oil-presser' and not as the personal designation of any individual. But the interpolation of a vernacular word in the Persian text of the story seems to be neither appropriate nor necessary and I suggest that گنیگیر is a miswriting of کنیزکی *Kanīzaki*, "a maid-servant, a young girl."

Stories of the fate of doomed cities having been temporarily delayed by the prayers or on account of the presence of some saintly individual of humble birth are common in folk-lore and have been not infrequently related even by the credulous authors of contemporary histories. For instance, we are assured that the conquest of Ṭhaṭṭa by Sultan Firūz Tughlaq was delayed because a saintly old woman was one of its residents. The city could not fall so long as she was alive, but it was destined to surrender to the invader immediately after her death. (Shams-i-Sirāj, *Tarīkh-i-Firūzshahi*, Text. 241. = E. D. III. 334).

It may be also noted that as "the destruction which hovered over the city was staved off on the first night by the watching of an *old widow*," it seems quite appropriate and in the true vein of folk-lore to suggest that it was held up on the second, by the vigils of a *young virgin*. Cunningham remarks that "the same stereotyped legend is told of all the old cities in the Punjab, as well as those of Sind. Shorkot, Harāppa and

Atāri are all said to have been destroynd on account of the sins of their rulers as well as Alor, Brahmanābād and Bambhura." (A. G. I. 275).

I. 263, Footnote. *The Tuhfatu-l-Kirām says, Mīr Tāhir is here in error, the real author being Idrahi Beg.*

The statement will be found in the Translation at 350 *infra*.

The "Chanesar Nāma" was really written by Idrāki [not Idrāhi] Beg, but as it was dedicated to or composed under the patronage of Mīr Abul Qāsim Sultān, it is said in the *Tārīkh-i-Ṭāhiri* to have been "written in his name." (در نام او نوشته). Idrāki Beglar is explicitly said in a "Tazkira" called "*Maqālātu-sh-Shu'arā*" also, to have been the author of a Maṣnavi called چنیسر نامه (Rieu, III. Additions, 1906). در نام او نوشته is a phrase frequently used in such a connection. The *Qānūn-i-Mas'ūdi* of Alberūni and the *Kitāb-i-Mas'ūdi* of Nāṣihi are, both said by Khwāndamīr, to "have been compiled in the name of Sultan Mas'ūd Ghaznavi". (E. D. IV. 199). The *Ṭabaqāt-i-Nāṣiri* is said to have been written in the name of Sultan Nāṣiru-d-dīn Maḥmūd [بنام او تالیف یافته] by the author of the *Ṭabaqāt-i-Akbari* (35, l. 11). It is said of Tānsen also that "most of his compositions were written in the name of *'Arsh Āshiāni, i.e.* Akbar." تصانیف او اکثر بنام عرش آشیانی نوشته (*Maāṣiru-l-Umarā*, II. 134, last line). The Emperor Jahāngīr tells us that his Vazīr, Āṣaf Khān composed a poem on the Loves of Khusrau and Shīrīn and entitled it *Nūr-nāma*, 'after my own name' بنام من نظم کرده (Tūzuk, 108, l. 3 f. f.) This is rendered as "dedicated to me" by Mr. Rogers. (Tr. I. 22). The *Laṭaif-i-Ghiyāṣi* of Rāzi also was so called because it was "written in honour of" Sultan Ghiyāṣu-d-din Sām. (Budāuni, I. 53 = Tr. I. 73).

I. 267, *l.* 8 from foot. *This was the plan.*

This is an age-old ruse which has been associated with diverse places and fathered on diverse national heroes. Grant Duff states that Mahratta traditions ascribe a similar stratagem to Shivāji and that a fort called Parichitgarh is said to have been captured in this way by a body of insurgents in the reign of the Peshwā Bāji Rāo II. also. "Having corrupted one or two persons in the garrison, a party of them, each loaded with a bundle of grass and having his arms concealed below it, appeared at the gate in the dress of villagers to deposit, as they pretended, the annual supply for the purpose of thatching the houses in the fort, and admittance having been thus gained, they surprised the garrison and possessed themselves of the place." (History of the Mahrattas, Reprint 1873, p. 64 Note). This story of the trick by which the two Samma chiefs, whose names are said to have been Mudā and Manāi, laid the foundation of their rule in Kachh is well-known and was related to Burgess during his tour in the province. The event is there said to have taken place about 1320 A. C. and the fort to have belonged to Wāgam Chāvadā of Gunthri, now a small village about 36 miles north-west of Bhuj. (Arch. Survey Reports, 1874-5, p. 200; B. G. V, Cutch,

133, 222-3). The date is given by other authorities as 1270 A. C. (Duff, C. I. 290).

I. 268, *l.* **21.** *Rāi Bhāra and Jam Sihtā, the Rājās of both Great and Little Kach, are descended from the Samma tribe.*

Rāi Bhāra is Bhārmal, the Rāo of Kachh, who paid a visit to the Emperor Jahāngīr at Aḥmadābād in 1027 A. H. (*Tūzuk*, Text. 235). Jām Sīhta (Satā) is Jām Satarsāl of Nawānagar, whose son and successor Jasā was similarly compelled by a show of force to pay his respects at the same time, to the Mughal Emperor. "Sixty years ago," writes Abul Faẓl about 1595 A. C. "Jām Rāwal.....was driven out of the country of Kachch and settled in Sorath.....and founded the city of Nawānagar and his country received the name of Little Kachh. Satarsāl, the present Rājā, is his grandson." (*Āin*, Tr. II. 250). The rulers of Kachh and Nawānagar are Jāḍeja Sammas, *i. e.* Sammas descended from Jāḍā. The Sammas are said to have fled from Sindh to escape the tyranny of the Sumras and become masters of the country about 1320 A. C. "They then ruled over it, in three branches, upto 1540 A. C., when Khengār drove out Jām Rāwal and became sole master of the whole province." (I. G. XI. 78). Rāo Bhārmal ruled in Kachh from 1585 to 1631 A. C. (B. G. V. Cutch, 136). Satarsāl (Satāji or Satoji) was Jām from 1569 to 1608 A. C. (*Ibid.* VIII. 567-569).

I. 269, *l.* **3.** *They [the Sumras] had many strange customs, such as the strong branding the stamp of slavery upon the shoulders of the weak.*

The author of the *Mirāt-i-Sikandari*, a history of the independent Sultans of Gujarāt which was written about 1610 A. C., says that Sultān Maḥmūd bin Laṭīf (*r.* 943-961 H. 1537-1554 A. C.) actually revived this custom and enforced it in the turbulent parts of his kingdom. "With a view to putting down the turbulent Kolis of Bānswārā, Rājpiplā, Lunāwārā and the Mahikānṭhā, he ordered all those who remained in his territories and worked at the plough to be branded on the right arm, and if any Rājput or Koli was found without the brand-mark, he was killed. He also ordered that no Hindu could ride on horseback in the city and every Hindu had to carry a piece of red cloth round his sleeve." (Bombay Lith. 334, Tr. Faẓl Luṭfulla, 239; Tr. Bayley, 439). Bilāduri states that 'Amrān son of Musā who was governor of Sind in 222 H. summoned the Jats, took from them the *jizya*, ordered every one of them to carry a dog with him and "sealed their hands," by which he probably means that they were branded on the arm. (128 *ante*).

It was the practice to brand slaves to facilitate capture in the event of flight or secure proofs of identification in cases of disputed ownership. 'Abbās Khān Sarwāni informs us that when Shīr Shāh came to Khushāb and "ordered the Baluchis to brand their horses, 'Ism'āil Khān, their chief, said, 'other persons brand their horses, I will brand my own body', Shīr Shāh was so pleased that he excused him from the branding and

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confirmed to him the country of Sind." (E. D. IV. 388).

According to the *Tuḥfatu-l-Kirām*, the nails were extracted by the roots, not from their own hands and feet, but from those of other people who were their inferiors (Trans. in K. B. History of Sind, II. 38), but the older author appears to have grasped the inside meaning better.

I. 270, *l.* 6. *The late Mirzā Muhammad Bāki Tarkhān..... ..... gave away in charity the produce of his husbandry.*

The story, as it is translated here, is pointless and incoherent. The person who gave away in charity "the produce of his husbandry" was not, as this rendering makes out, the mean and miserly Mirzā Bāqi, but the Dervish. "The Fakīrs, widows and the poor were the recipients of the bounty" of the Dervish and not of the Mirzā. Again, it was the Dervish and not the Mirzā who asked the guest why he did not partake of "the sumptuous meal ordered for him". The word حضرت "Your Holiness" applies really to the devotee and is wrongly translated as "Your Majesty". It is this fundamental error which is responsible for the confusion. Ṭahir Muḥammad, like other devout Musalmans of his day, was a great admirer of Santons and hermits and the anecdote is evidently related with a view to emphasise the greatness of the Dervish, by laying stress on the reverence and awe in which he was held by a sanguinary tyrant and grasping curmudgeon like Muḥammad Bāqi.

The sordid nature of Muḥammad Bāqi is illustrated in the *Tuḥfatu-l-Kirām* by the anecdote that one of his servants who collected "a heap of grain from the dung of the horses" in the stables was promoted at once to a high office and became a great favourite. (Tr. in K. B. *l. c.* II. 102).

I. 271, *l.* 23. *These poople* [*the Sammas of Kachh*] *hold in high respect their minstrels, such as the Katriyas, the Chārans, the Doms and the Mārats* (?)

'Katriyas' is a puzzle. Can it be meant for 'Katviyas' *i.e. Gaḍvi*, گدوی? 'Mārat' looks like an error for بارت or بارون Bārat or Bāroṭ, a name by which Chāraṇs are known. (B. G. II, Surat, 374). "Ḍoms" are a very low caste who are sweepers but also village musicians, tumblers, dancers, etc. (Yule, H. J. s. v. Dome).

I. 275, *l.* 2. *One day* [*Jam Nandā*] *went out to hunt, taking with him his minister Lakhzhir.*

Dowson observes in the footnote that "the *Tuḥfatu-l-Kirām* is doubtful about the real name, saying it is Lahakdir or Lahgir". The right reading is 'Lakhdhir,' a common name still in Kachh and Kāṭhiāwāḍ. The present Mahārāja of Morvi is named Lakhdhirji. The father of the ruling Ṭhākor of Rajkoṭ bore the same name. The Sanskrit form must be Lakshadhira or Lakshmidhar. The name seems to have been spelt with the Persian *dāl*, د which is pronounced like '*Z* or *zāl*' and also as '*d*' or '*dh*'.

It may be noted that Jām Nandā is here said by Ṭāhir Muḥammad also to have been the son of *Bābiniya* [Bāmaṇiyo].

I. 275, *l.* **15.** *The lad filled the cup and threw in it some small blades of grass.*

This is a very common by-plot in folktales about kings who have lost their way while out hunting and suffered from a burning thirst. It is an episode in the 'Tale of the King and the Gardener's Daughter' which is told by Jahāngīr (*Tūzuk*, Text 251, Tr. II. 52) and also in an older variant in Burton's 'Book of the Thousand Nights and A Night, (V. 87-8), where it is associated with Khusrau Anūshīrwān. Manucci relates a very similar anecdote of which the hero was neither Jām Nandā nor the Sāssānian Kisrā, but the Timūride Shāh Jahān. He tells us that "the emperor was once separated from his retinue while out hunting and felt very thirsty. He went to a village where a Brāhman gave him water, but seeing that he was drinking it very greedily, threw into the vessel a little grass. On being angrily asked to explain the reason, he declared that it was just what he did to his asses, so that they might not get an attack of colic." (Storia, Tr. Irvine, I. 214).

I. 276, *l.* **3 from foot.** *Sack and burning of Tatta.*

This event is put by the author into 973 A. H. but the *Tarkhān Nāma* has the right year which was 963 H. (324 *infra*). The Portuguese accounts leave no doubt as to the raid having been perpetrated in 1555-6 A. C. (Faria Y Souza, Tr. John Stevens (1693), pp. 184-5; Danvers, History of the Portuguese in India, I. 508; I. D. C. 99). A. H. 963 began on 16th November 1555 and ended on 3rd November 1556 A. C.

I. 278, *l.* **18.** *His [Mirzā 'Isā Tarkhān's] reign ended in 984 H.*

The *Tārīkh-i Ṭāhiri* is again wrong. Mīr M'aṣūm gives 974 (Tr. Malet 133) and so also the *Tarkhān Nāma* (325 *infra*). Abul Faẓl states that in or about Rajab 974 H. Muḥammad Bāqi Tarkhān sent ambassadors to Akbar saying that his father 'Isā Tarkhān was dead and professing his own allegiance. He also complained that Sultan Maḥmūd Bhakkari was preparing to invade his territory, upon which Akbar issued orders to Maḥmūd Khān to confine himself to his own dominions. (A. N. II. 277; Tr. II. 411). Elsewhere in the same work, it is stated that Mirzā 'Isā had died some years before 978 A. H. (Text. II. Tr. II, 526). The arrival of the embassy from Muḥammad Bāqi, reporting the death of his father is also mentioned in the Ṭ. A. in the annals of the eleventh year (973-974 H.) of Akbar's reign. (E. D. V. 315; Text, 277, l. 9 and 628, l. 5) and also by B. (II. 91, Tr. II, 93) and F. (II. 322). This contemporary testimony from independent sources settles the matter.

Mr. Cousens (A. S. 35) gives 980 H., which must be due to some error.

I. 285, *l.* **3 from foot.** *When he drew near the Lakki mountain, which wise men hold to be the key of the country.*

There are two places of this name in Sind. This is the Lakki about

twelve miles south of Sehwān. "Between the town of Lakki and Sehwān, the mountain has a nearly precipitous face about 600 feet high towards the Indus, between which and the precipice there was at one time a road, though in some places so narrow that only a single camel could pass at a time. This defile was washed away in 1839 [A. C.] by the Indus, which now sweeps along the base of the cliff." (Thornton, 570; see also Hughes, Gazetteer, 686).

I. 286, *l.* **7.** *Tribes of the Bulūch and Nahamrūi, of the Jokya and Jāt.*

The Jokiyas are a tribe among the Balūch. (Wood, Journey, 12). The Numria and Jokia tribes are mentioned by Hughes (Gazetteer, 290, 428) as dwelling in the Jhirk and Kohistān districts. He supposes the Numria to be a clan of Rājput origin. "It is said that Esub Khān with his eight brothers left Rājputānā and settled at Kej in Makrān. They were well received by the chief, but they subsequently assassinated him on account of an insult offered to the eldest brother. After this outrage, they were driven out of Makrān and obliged to settle on the Western frontier of Sind." (*Ib.* 291). They are again mentioned at 291 *infra* wrongly as 'Nabūmiya.' Abul Faẓl speaks of them as 'Nohmardi' (*lit.* nine men). He notes that they were then dwelling in the Kirthar range of hills (which runs from Sehwān to Sīwi) and were able to furnish a force of 300 horse and 7000 foot. (*Āīn*, Tr. II. 337). According to Tod, their correct name is 'Lumris' or 'Luka' from 'Lukri', a familiar term for 'fox' and they are originally Jats. (A. A. R. II. 1198, III. 1299). More recent writers, however, regard them as the aboriginal inhabitants of Las Beyla. According to the I. G. (XVI. 146), the Sābrā, Gūngā, Burrā and six other tribes constitute a group of *nine* tribes which are termed *Numriā*. See also Census of Baluchistān (1911), p. 17 and I. G. XVI. 5.

I. 287, *l.* **6.** *Mirzā Jāni Beg made this agreement with his soldiers that every one who brought in an enemy's head should receive 500 gabars, every one of them worth twelve Mīrīs,.....of which seventy-two went to one tanka.*

The passage is cited in Hobson Jobson by Yule, but he admits his inability to elucidate it. 'The Gubber,' he says, would appear from three other excerpts cited in the article, to have been "some kind of gold ducat or sequin," but the 'gabar' of this passage could hardly have borne any such signification. The fact is that the gold coin which is called 'Gubber' in his excerpts from Lockyer and Milburn has nothing to do with the 'Gabar' of the *Tārīkh-i-Ṭāhiri*. The clue to the correct explanation of the term is found in the *Āīn*. Abul Faẓl informs us that an *Ibrāhīmi* was equal to 40 *Kabīrs* and that 14 *Kabīrs* were equal to a rupee of Akbar Shāh. (Tr. II. 56). Now we are told here that one Gabar = 12 Mīrīs and 72 Mīrīs = a *Tanka*, (of Sind). This *tanka* was the Shāhrukhi or Miṣqāli, which was worth about 2/5ths of an Akbari Rupee. (Hodivālā, Historical Studies in Mughal Numismatics, 1-10). The Gabar

was therefore equal to 1/6th of a *Tanka* and 1/15th of an Akbari Rupee. This result is so close to the equation given by Abul Faẓl (1/14th of the rupee), that there can be little doubt in regard to the identity of the *Gabar* and the *Kabīr*. See also my Notes on Hobson Jobson in the Indian Antiquary for 1929, p. 171. *s. v.* The name of the Hindu, 'Giriya' (l. 11) should be read, perhaps, as Gīdiya *i. e.* Gidumal.

I. 288, *l.* 13. *Charkas Daftīr, the chief of the merchants of Firang, who repaired yearly to Thatta from Hormuz.....*

As the identification of this 'Charkas Daftir' is not easy, it may be worth while to note the ingenious suggestion of Mr. Beveridge in regard to the matter. Abul Faẓl in his description of this naval battle, writes: "Four *ghrābs* full of men and stores were captured. In one of them was the ambassador of Ormuz. The rule is that the governor of Ormuz leaves one (ambassador) at Tatta.....Mirzā Jāni (Beg) had brought him in order to proclaim that these tribes (the Portuguese) had come to help him.....Active men brought up their *ghrābs* and wounded Khusrū and he was nearly made prisoner. Suddenly, a gun burst and the boat was broken to pieces and some were killed". (*Akbarnāmā*, Tr. III. 920). Mr. Beveridge observes that the word for "ambassador" is فيطور in his own manuscript and طيفور in the *Iqbālnāma-i-Jahāngīri* of the other contemporary chronicler, Mu'atamad Khān. The latter author explains that he was the *Gumāshta* or Agent of the Governor of Ormuz. فيطور is the Portuguese 'Feitor,' which is synonymous with the English 'Factor' *i.e.*, Agent. Mr. Beveridge thinks that 'Daftīr' must be a corruption of 'Feitor.' Charkas stands for 'Jarjis' or 'Jurgis' (George) and 'Charkas Daftir' would be a perversion of 'George, the Factor'.

A Charkas Rūmi is mentioned in the Ṭ. A. (258, l. 4=E.D. V. 434).

I. 288, *l.* 16. *But the attempt cost both of them [Daftīr and Khusrau] their lives.*

Khusrau Khān did not lose his life in this battle. He was captured, but escaped in the confusion caused by the explosion of a powder magazine in the Imperial *ghrāb* (249 *ante*). When Jāni Beg was obliged to go to Agra and leave his minor son, Ghāzi Beg, as his deputy in Ṭhaṭṭa, this Khusrau was appointed one of the members of the governing council. Subsequently he was accused of the embezzlement of public funds, but Mirzā Ghāzi happened to die soon afterwards (1021 A. H. 1611 A.C.) and he was again saved by the skin of his teeth. He is credited by local tradition with the erection, in the days of his power and glory, of no less than 360 public buildings, including mosques, tombs, wells and bridges. Popular legend describes these benefactions as undertaken by way of atonement for the involuntary sin of having accidentally beheld a neighbour's wife while she was bathing. It is said that he wanted to gouge out his eyeballs and was with difficulty persuaded by the 'Ulemā to adopt and rest content with this mode of expiation. The oldest mosque in Ṭhaṭṭa —the Ḍabgar Masjid—is known also as Khusrau Khān's Mosque and

dates back to 1588 A. C. (Cousens, A. S. 121-2). There are biographical notices of Khusrau Khān in Blochmann, *Āīn*, Tr. I. 363; *Maāṣiru-l-Umarā*. III. 346-7; K. B. History of Sind, II. 123-4, 144, and elsewhere.

The author is mistaken in prefiring the title "Sultān" to the name of Khusrau at 287, l. 10 f. f. Khusrau Charkas was only a slave of Mirzā Jāni Beg.

I. 293, *l.* 6 from foot. *Rāi Dhar Raj of Jesalmīr.*

The real name of the Rājā ruling at this time was *Har Rāj*. Abul Faẓl says that Rāwal Har Rāj's daughter was married to Akbar in the 15th year, 977-978 H. (A. N. II. 358, Tr. II. 518). She gave birth to a daughter named Māhi Begam who died in the 22nd year of the reign. 1577 A. C. (*Ib.* III. 200, Tr. III. 282). See also the Dynastic List of the Rāwals of Jaisalmīr in Duff (C. I. 291), and Tod (A. A. R. Edit. Crooke, II. 1225 note).

I. 296, *l.* 16. *The Chiefs of 'Umarkot, Jesalmīr, Bikānir, Nirohi, Mahwa (Mīwār ?), Kotāra, Bāhalmer, Nilma, Bārkar Kach, Nākti, Rāmdinpur, Chauduwār and the like, were gained by his bounty.*

Some of these place-names are indubitably corrupt. 'Nirohi' must be Sirohi and Bāhalmir, Bahādmir, also called Bārmer, Bālmer or Bāḍmer in Jodhpur. Kachh-Nakti is Kachh-Nāgan *q. v.* Hobson Jobson *s. v.* Cutch. It is another name of Nawānāgar or Jāmnagar. Nāgna or Nāgan is said to have been the name of the village on the site of which Jām Rawal of Nawānagar (also called Little Kachh) founded his new capital. (Ranchhodji Amarji, *Tārīkh-i-Sorath*, Tr. Burgess, 241; B. G. VIII, 566). Tavernier says that Dārā Shikoh passed through the country of the King of 'Kachnāgona' in his flight. (Travels, I. 347). 'Rāmdinpur' must be Rādhanpur, 85 miles north-west of Aḥmadābād. Constable 26 C. d. Kotāra is Kotra, 60 miles south-west of the town of Jaisalmir. (Tod, A. A. R. II. 1226 and note; *Āīn*, Tr. II. 278). Barkar may be Pokaran (Pokhran) or Pungal. Both are mentioned in the *Āīn* as *Maḥāls* in the *Sarkār* of Bikāner (*Ibid*). Constable 26 C b; 27 A a.

This absurd panegyric on the largesses of Khān Zamān is more in the style of a Rajput *Bhāṭ* than of a sober historian. The name of the Bhaṭṭi bard given here (l. 6 f. f.) as 'Hewanda' (هيوندہ) must be a mistranscription of Chonda چوندہ.

I. 306, *l.* 12 from foot. *At this juncture, Warash Khān marched upon Karā, and set up his standard.*

"Dermish Khān" in Malet (p. 76). Budāuni says Darmish Khān was governor of Khurāsān under Shāh Ism'aīl Ṣafavi. (I. 342 = Tr. I. 449). Khwāndamīr informs us that Durmesh Khān was appointed governor of Herāt by Shāh Ism'aīl in 927 A. H. and that Durmesh entrusted the administration to Khwāja Karīmu-d-dīn Ḥabībulla, his own patron and the person after whom his history is named. (*Habību-s-Siyar*. Preface. See also Rieu, Catalogue, I. 98). The name is written 'Durmesh Khān'

in the M. U. (II. 549, l. 7). He is called 'Durmesh Khān' by Erskine also. (H. B. H. I. 457). A Malik Ruknu-l-mulk 'Izzu-d-dīn Durmeshi was killed in 652 A. H. Raverty says he was called Durmeshi, as his family came from a place of that name. (T. N. 218, l. 10. Tr. 697-8 note).

'Karā' also is an error. Malet (p. 76) has 'Furat'. The right reading is فراه Farrāh. It is 170 miles south of Herāt and about 220 north-west of Qandahār. (Angus Hamilton, Afghanistān. 181: *Tārīkh-i-Rashīdi*, Tr. 205; E. D. II. 576; Hunter, I. G. I. 35). Lat. 32°-26′ N. Long. 62°-8′ E. Farrāh is shown in Bartholomew's Atlas of Asia in Everyman's Library, Pl. 45 and the I. G. Atlas 47 B 4.

The date of the death of Muḥammad Khān Shaibāni is given wrongly here as 915 H. (1509 A. C.). M'aṣūm, from whom the account is copied, has 917 H. (Malet, 76). The correct date is stated as 29th Sh'abān 916 H. 2nd December 1510 A. C. (Houtsma, E. I. II. 545, IV. 274; *Bāburnāma*, Tr. 350 note). 'Purdili' Birlās (last line) is called 'Peer Wullee' in Malet (p. 74) and more correctly, 'Pīr Wali' in K. B. II. 61.

I. 307, *l.* 9. *Ann. Hij. 919 (1513 A. D.), the Emperor [Bābur] having determined upon the conquest of Kandahār, marched upon it etc.*

This account of Bābur's invasions and sieges of Qandahār has been copied by the compiler of the *Tarkhān-nāma* from M'aṣūm's History of Sind and the dates given below are also borrowed from the earlier author. But Mrs. Beveridge is convinced that M'aṣūm's chronology is quite wrong and she charges him with "setting a regularly discrepant series of dates from the success Shāh Beg Khān had at Kāhān. This event he allots to 920 H., whereas Bābur himself states that he received news of it only in 925 H. (1519 A. D.). M'aṣūm makes Shāh Ḥasan go to Bābur in 921 H.....but Ḥasan spent the whole of the year 925 H. with Bābur. Again, M'aṣūm makes Shāh Beg surrender the keys of Qandahār in 923, but 13th Shawwāl 928 A. H. is inscribed in the Inscription at Chihalzīna, which Bābur himself ordered to be cut in commemoration of the event. Briefly, all his dates from 919 downwards are *seriatim* five lunar years earlier." (*Bābur Nāma*, Tr. 435-6. See also *Ibid*, 338, 340, 365 and 431).

Mirzā Ḥaidar Dughlāt says that Bābur went on laying sieges to Qandahār for five years and five months. (*Tārīkh-i-Rashīdi*. Tr. Elias and Ross. 357; see also A. N. Tr. I. 233 note). F. gives the date of the capture of Qandahār as 928 H. and states that the final siege lasted for three years. (I. 202, l. 10). Erskine also puts the final surrender into 928 H. (H. B. H. I. 355). As the real date of surrender was 13th Shawwāl 928, the first siege may be put into Jumādī I. 923.

I. 307, *l.* 5 from foot. *Shāh Beg took the villages of Kākān and Bāghbān.*

Kākān (*Recte* Kāhān) is Gāha, 48 miles north-west of Sehwān. It is 21 miles north-west of Bāghbānān, which is 27 miles north-west of Sehwān and near Dādu. Kākān and Bāghbān are mentioned in

the *Āīn* as *Maḥāls* in the *Sarkār* of Sewistān. (Tr. II. 340).

Elliot's identification of Kāhān with another place of that name which was gallantly defended by British troops in the First Afghān War, (see footnote), is erroneous. That Kāhān was not in Sind Proper, but in the Marri country in British Baluchistān. (I. D. C. 84 note, Raverty, N. A. 20). The Kāhān of Baluchistān is marked in Constable, Pl. 24 Cc.

I. 308, last line. *Sultān 'Ali Arghūn and Zībak Tarkhān.*

Sultān 'Ali Arghūn was Zū-l Nūn's brother and Shāh Beg's uncle. The second name is variously spelt. On 311 *infra*, 'Zībak' is called 'Kaibuk' and at page 320 'Kabaik' by the same author. The name seems to be the Mongol 'Kapak' or 'Kaipak' or 'Gucbek', as D'Ohsson writes it. (*Histoire des Mongols* apud E. D. III. 42 note. See also E. D. III. 72). Mīr M'aṣūm calls him Kībak. (K. B. History of Sind, II. 53, 64, 66).

I. 309, *l.* 4. *He learnt that an army of Samejas.....was encamped at Thatta, four kos from Siwistān.*

A comparison with the *Tārīkh-i-M'aṣūmi*, from which the whole account is borrowed, shows that Ṭhaṭṭha is a slip for 'Talṭi' which is 6 or 7 miles north of Sehwān and appears to have been on the left bank of the river. (K.B. II, 64; I.D.C. 86: Mīhrān, 240 *Note*).

On p. 310 last line, there is another puzzling perversion of Talṭi, which is written Thāti. It is called 'Talahti' in another extract from M'aṣūm which is translated at 225 *ante*, q. v. my Note. The river which Shāh Beg had to cross was, Haig thinks, probably the Kalri. (I.D.C. 85-6).

I. 309, *l.* 5 from foot. *Jām Firoz left Thatta and fled without stopping until he reached the village of Pirār.*

Pīr-Ār village is 13 miles south of Ṭhaṭṭha. The river which Jām Firūz crossed was the Baghār. The Baghār channel was, in old times, called the Ār and so the shrine on its left bank, as well as the village in which it stood, came to be called Pīr-Ār (I.D.C. 86, 126), the Ār of the Pīr or Saint. See also Burton, Sind or the Unhappy Valley. (I. 168).

I. 312, *l.* 9. *In the month of Sh'abān 928 H.;.....Shāh Beg died.*

Authorities differ in regard to the date of the death of Shāh Beg Arghūn. The *Tārīkh-i-Ṭāhiri* puts it into 924 H., the *Tarkhān-nāma* into 926 H., M'aṣūm into 928 (Elliot's Note 502 *post*), while the Ṭ.A. (637, l. 1 f. f.) and F. (II, 321, l. 14) are in favour of 930 H. M'aṣūm cites in support of 928 H., the chronogram شهر شعبان, the numerical value of which is 928, but the prefixing of a ب to the ش of شهر would make it equal to 930. The discrepancy between the Ṭ. A. and M'aṣūm is probably due to this difference in the reading of the chronogram as بشهر شعبان

Modern European writers also are divided into two camps on the point. Elliot (502 *post*), Haig (I.D.C. 87) and the compiler of the I.G. (XXII. 397) are advocates for 928 H. (1522 A.C.), while Erskine (H.B.H., I. 376), Mrs. Beveridge (B.N. 437, 443), Sir Wolseley Haig (C.H.I. III. 501) and Cousens (A.S.) vote for 930 H. (1524 A.C.). The origin of the cleavage centres really round the preference of one party for the

opinion of M'aṣūm and of the other for that of Niẓāmu-d-dīn Aḥmad.

I. 313, *l.* **2.** *When he reached Chāchkān and Rāhmān, he collected an army.*

Chāchgān was a district in the Eastern Delta country and the present Ṭāndo Bego *pargana* is a part of old Chāchgān. (I.D.C. 88). It is the Hajkān of the *Āīn*. Hajkān, Rahbān, Jūn, Bāgh-i-Fatḥ and seven other *Mahāls*, which were in a *Sarkār* also denominated Hajkān, are registered in the *Āīn*. (Tr. Jarrett, II. 340). Chāchgān and Badīn are both on the borders of the Tharr or Sandy Desert between Pārkar and Wangā Bazar. (403 *infra*). There is a *pargana* called Chachro still in Thar Pārkar. (I.G. XXIII. 310). Haig thinks that the battle took place at Khāri Khabarlo in the Ṭāndo Bego *pargana*. This village is near the old route from Chāchgān to Gujrāt, where Jām Firūz sought and found refuge. (I. D. C. 88-9 and Note).

Raḥmān is probably identical with Raḥīm-ki Bāzār or Raḥam-kā Bāzār or Raḥmaka, which lies about forty miles south-east of Badīn and 88 south-east by south of Ḥaidarābād on the border of the Raṇ of Kachh. It is called 'Raḥīma' in the Treaty between Muḥammad Shāh and Nādir Shāh. (E.D. VIII, 92). Ṭāndo Bego is shown in Constable 26 B. b. Raḥamkā Bāzar is in Lat. 24°-20′ N., Long. 69°-14′ E. It is marked in Constable Pl. 26 B. c., but the name is printed wrongly as 'Baham Kā Bazār' in the map as well as in the Index.

I. 316, *l.* **15.** *He [Humāyūn] established his own residence.....in Babarlūka.*

Babarlo is about five miles south of Rohri. It is now included in the territory of the Mīr of Khairpur. (Hughes, Gazetteer, 411; Cousens, A.S. 34).

Hālā Kandi (l. 25) *i. e.* Old Hālā is two miles from New Hālā, which is 36 miles north of Ḥaidarābād. Lat. 25°-45′ N. Long. 68°-28′ E. (Hughes). Constable 26 B. c. Bitūra or Bathoro as M'aṣūm spells it, was a place, lying on the other side of the river, *i. e.* west of the Ren, which is the river referred to. (Haig, I. D. C. 93). It *may be* the Mirpur Baṭoro of Constable 26 B. c. Erskine says the territory north-west of the Ren is meant. (H. B. H. II. 216 note).

I. 318, *l.* **3.** *He [Humāyūn] marched with great speed to Sātalmir.*

Sātalmir lies two miles distant from Pokharan, which is 85 miles from Jodhpur town. It is said to have been founded by Sātal, the eldest son of Rāo Jodhā, about the end of the 15th century. (I. G. XXII. 158; Tod, A. A. R. 1221 note). Pokharan is shown in Constable 26 C b.

I. 318, *l.* **6.** *On his arrival, Dair Sāl, the chief [of Amarkot] ..... came out to meet him.*

'Wair Sāl' in the *Tuḥfatu-l-Kirām* and 'Bair Sāl' in M'aṣūm. (K. B. Tr. II. 80). The ر has been wrongly read as a ب. The right reading is Wairsāl (Sanskrit, Vairisāl). Bairi Sāl or Bersi occurs in the Dynastic List of the Bhaṭṭi rulers of Jaisalmir. (Tod, III, 1224; Duff, C. I. 291).

Bairi Sāl, the Rājā of Bundi, fell in the defence of his capital against the Sultan of Mālwā in 1457 A. C. (I. G. IX 80). Gajpati, Rājā of Jagdishpur, had a brother named Bairi Sāl. (A. N. III. 188, Tr. III. 255). Wairsi (Sansk. Vairisinha) is still a common personal name in Sind and Kachh. Wairisāl assumes the fantastic form of [Rānā] 'Parsād' in the A. N. (I. 182 ; Tr. I. 375), but بیرساد is really a miswriting or misreading of بیرسال Birsilpur, a town in Jaisalmir, which contains many old monuments of Hindu architecture, is named after Bīrsīl, another form of Bairisāl. (I. G. XXI. 104). Raverty also calls the Rānā of Amarkot, Bīrsīl. (Mihrān, 464 note). One of Akbar's favourite courtiers was called Rāi Sāl Darbāri. (Blochmann. *Āīn*, Tr. 1. 419). The Wairsi Rānā of Amarkot mentioned at 290 *ante* was this Wairīsāl or Bairīsāl and Rānā Kumbhā Wairsi (p. 292 *ante*) was his son. Elliot appears to be mistaken in correcting the *Beglār-Nāma* and asserting that 'Wairsi' was not the *name* of the Sodha chief but that of "the chief *clan* among the Sodhas". (531 *infra*). Wairsāl or Wairsi was his *personal designation.*

I. 321, *l.* **14 from foot.** *Ahmad Khwāja flourished.....nineteen generations after 'Iddi' son of Hātim Tāi.*

According to the most accredited Arab chronologists, Ḥātim Ṭāi flourished some time before Muḥammad in the latter half of the 6th and the first quarter of the 7th century. His daughter is said to have been led as a captive before the Arabian Prophet. (Nicholson, Literary History of the Arabs, 86 ; Houtsma, E. I. II. 290.). As Aḥmad Khwāja was taken prisoner in Timūr's sack of Isfahān in 789 A. H. [1387 A. C.] (*Rauẓatu-s-Ṣafā*, Bombay Lithograph, *Jild* IV. 73; Browne, L. H. P. III. 181, 188), the number of intervening generations must have been nearer 25 than 19, even if the average duration of a generation is reckoned at 30 years. 1387-622 = 765.

I. 323, *l.* **11.** *Mirzā Shāh Husain marched back to Bhakkar and on the 12th of the same month [Rab'ī I. 961], died at the village 'Alipūtra, twenty kos from Thaṭṭa.*

'Alipūtra' is now called Aripota and lies about six miles from Ṭāndo Muḥammad Khān in Gūni *pargana* (I. D. C. 95) which is about 40 miles north-east of Ṭhaṭṭha. Ṭāndo Muḥammad Khān is shown in Constable 26 B. c. The year of the Mirzā's death is given as 962 in the Ṭ. A. (638) and also by F. (II. 322). According to the contemporary traveller Sīdi 'Ali Raīs, Shāh Ḥusaīn was alive so late as Jumādī I. 962 H. He states that this peace or compromise between the Shāh and Mirzā 'Isā Tarkhān was effected by his own intervention and that in the first days of Jumādī I. 962, Sultān Maḥmūd of Bhakkar, who was in command of Ḥusain's forces, returned with the troops towards Bhakkar, while the Shāh started back by river, but died on the tenth day of the voyage. (*Mirātu-l-Mamālik*, Tr. Vambéry, p. 40. See also Mr. C. E. A. W. Oldham's Art. in Indian Antiquary, LX. (1931), p. 6). But Mīr M'aṣūm gives the exact date as Monday, 12th Rab'ī I. 962 H. (K. B. History of

Sind. II. 91). It may be worth while to note that this was 4th February 1555 A. C. which is shown by calculation to have been really a *Monday*. See also 498 *infra* and Note. The C. H. I. puts the death into 1556 A. C. (III. 502), which must be wrong. The events which are said on this page and on 322 *ante* and 324 *post* to have taken place in 961 or 962 H., should be put back by a year and 962 and 963 read in their stead.

I. 324, *l.* **21.** *He fled to Wanka which was the abode of the Sūmras.*

Wangā Bazar is 74 miles south-east of Ḥaidarābād. Lat. 24°-39′, Long. 69°-19′ (Th.). Sīdi 'Ali speaks of it as the frontier town of Sind. (Travels, Tr. Vambéry, 37). It lies on the bank of the Nārā, the main eastern branch of the Indus and on the road which crosses the Raṇ of Kachh to Bhuj. (Mr. Oldham in Indian Antiquary, 1930, p. 240).

I. 325, *l.* **10 from foot.** *The opposing forces met at the village of Rakbān.*

Rafiān رفیان, not رقیان in Malet and also in Kalich Beg's Translation from M'aṣūm in H. S. II. 97). Rafiān may be Rafi Ḍero, where there is a ferry and which lies a few miles south-west of Kingri.(Mihrān, 240 *Note.*) But there is a place called Rukān also, about ten miles north-east of Kākar and eighteen south-west of Mehar. (Hughes, Gazetteer, s. n.).

I. 326, *l.* **11.** *Muḥammad Bāki ascended the throne.*

Authorities differ very considerably in regard to the duration of the reign of this monster. In Malet's Translation of M'aṣūm, he is said to have died in 979 A. H. (1571 A. C.) and this is repeated by General Haig (I. D. C. 101), but the Ṭ. A. (638, l. 7), F. (II. 322, l. 18) and the *Tuḥfat-u-l-Kirām* (K. B. II. 102) put the event into 993 H. The *Maāṣir-i Raḥīmi* states that he reigned for 18 years after the death of Mirzā 'Isā in 974 H. (B. I. Text, II, 326, l. 21). His tomb at Ṭhaṭṭha is stated to have been built in 995 H. (Cousens, A. S. 32, 119). Sir Wolseley Haig follows F. and gives the date as 1585 A. C. which corresponds to 993 H. (C. H. I. III. 502). 979 H. cannot possibly be correct, because Muḥammad Bāqi was alive in 982 H. M'aṣūm himself explicitly states that when Kīsū [Gīsū] Khān was appointed governor of Bhakkar in that year by Akbar, he had orders to " proceed to Tatta (that is to invade it) and make Bāqi Muḥammad Tarkhān prisoner". (240 *ante*). The same chronicler declares that when Muḥammad Ṣādiq Khān arrived as governor in Rab'ī I. 994 H., Mirzā Jānī had not been long in possession of the throne. (*Ibid.* 244-5). According to the *Tārīkh-i-Ṭāhiri* also, Muḥammad Bāqi was alive when Fatḥ Khān was governor of Bhakkar on behalf of Akbar, *i. e.* between 986 and 994 A. H. (284-5 *ante*). His daughter Sindi Begam was also offered in marriage by him to Akbar after the capture of Bhakkar in 982 H. (282 *ante*). The *M. U.* also gives 993 H. (III. 308, l. 8).

I. 330, *l.* **4.** *A modern story runs thus: A woman stole a pair of shoes etc.*

This is neither a modern story nor a tale known only in Sind. It is a hoary old saga which has travelled ' from China to Peru'.

" Tales in which a person swears falsely and yet tells the truth are

writes Mr. Clouston, " common in folklore. There is one in the Metrical Romance of Sir Tristrem. A Mongolian variant is found in the ' Tales of Ardshi Bordshi '. There are others also in the mediaeval Life of Vergilius and in the [Sanskrit] *Shuka Saptati* or ' Tales of a Parrot '". (Popular Tales and Fictions, I. 177-180). Still another analogue is in Cervantes' Don Quixote (Part II, Chapter 45), where a similar case is said to have come up before Sancho when he was Governor of Barataria. An even more modern parallel is found in Manucci. He tells the story of two brothers, " one of whom took the whole inheritance and gave nothing to the other. The rogue put all the wealth in the form of jewels which was the other brother's due, into a hollow staff and during the ordeal gave it to the wronged brother to hold. He then took the oath thus: ' I owe you nothing; what was mine I took; what was yours I made over to you; meanwhile hold this staff '. When he came out successfully from the ordeal, the wronged brother struck the staff angrily on the ground and broke it ; by the blow, the precious stones dropped out and the fraud was exposed." (Storia, III. 225).

I. 330, *l.* **17.** *The Ordeal of Water.*

" Under the government of the Mīrs of Sind," Hughes informs us, " trials by ordeal, especially those of fire and water, were frequently resorted to in cases where the accused person declared his innocence or where there was no direct proof forthcoming. The Ordeal of Water mentioned in the *Tuhfatu-l-Kirām* is described in almost the same terms by Lieut. James, when he was Deputy Collector of Shikarpur " about 1850. (Gazetteer, 48). Captain Wood also has a word-picture of a similar trial which he witnessed at Mithankote in 1836. (Journey, 45-6).

I. 331, *l.* **10 from foot.** *There are also women who feed on liver and foretell things to come.*

" There are amongst the people of Sind ", Ibn Baṭūṭa writes, " some who merely look at a man and he falls dead on the spot. The common people say that if the breast of a man killed in this way is cut open, it is found to contain no heart and they assert that this heart has been eaten. This is commonest in the case of women and a woman who acts thus is called a *Kaftār* ". (Gibb, Ibn Baṭūṭa, 225; Defrémery, IV. 36). The Turkish admiral Sīdi Ali Capudan also notes that " in Sind are a great number of liver-eaters, against whom you must be on your care, because if they meet a man who eats his dinner in public, they have the talent of eating up his liver with their eyes and so kill him ". (*Al Muḥīṭ*, Tr. Von Hammer, J. A. S. B. V. (1836), p. 463). Abul Fazl describes the liver-eater or جگرخوار as " an individual who by glances and incantations can extract a man's liver..... He can convey intelligence from long distances in a brief space of time and if they are thrown into the river with a stone tied to them, they do not sink ". (*Āīn*, Tr. II, 338-9). The author of the *Maāṣir-l-Umarā* says that the ' Jigar-khwār ' is called داین [داکن], *Dākin* in the vernacular. (III. 313, l. 3).

I. 331, *l.* **5 from foot.** *There is a tribe entitled 'Bawartiya' which go about in the guise of beggars professing to explain mysteries and past events.*

There is no tribe or caste so called any where in India. The preposition ب has been wrongly read as a part of the name, which is really 'Vartya'. The reference is to the priests of the Jainas and the designation is derived from the Sanskrit, *Vrat*, a vow. These ascetics are mentioned by Du Jarric, who says that Akbar was supposed by some people to follow the opinions of the 'Verteas'. (Payne, Akbar and the Jesuits, p. 69.) In one of the contemporary Jesuit Letters also, Pinhero writes of Akbar, that "he follows the sect of the Verteas, who live together like monks in one body and undergo many penitential observances. They eat nothing that has had life. Before they sit down, they clean the spot with cotton brushes in case they sit on and kill the insects". (Maclagan's Art. on 'Akbar and the Jesuits' in J. A. S. B. lxv, 1896, Part I. 70). The Italian traveller Pietro della Valle (*c.* 1626) describes a temple he saw at Cambay which belonged to the race of Indians who shave their heads, (a thing unusual to all others, who wear long hair like women), and are called 'Verteas'. (Ed. Grey, I. 104). Thevenot also (*c.* 1665) speaks of the Jaina monks as 'Vartias' and describes their manners and customs at some length. (Travels into the Levant, Tr. 1687, Part iii, 61, Ch. xxxvi). The priests of the Jainas have been reputed from very remote times to possess great skill in *astrology and other occult arts.* (*A. N.* I. 50, Tr. I. 147 and III. 67, Tr. III. 93; *Dabistān*, Tr. Shea and Troyer, II. 210-6).

The art of tracking footprints—the Puggy system,—as it is also called, is described by Burton, Sind Revisited, I. 180; see also Yule, H. J. 736.

I. 332, *l.* **17.** *The story of Sassi and Pannūn.*

Burton repeats a popular derivation of the first name from 'Sansār me Suni', 'Heard (renowned) in the world'. (Sind Revisited, I. 128, note). But it seems to be the Sanskrit *Shashin*, one of the many names of the Moon. 'Pannūn', 'Pannū' or 'Panhu' also is derived most probably from the Sanskrit 'Bhānu', the Sun. The legend is of some interest as indicating that the old channel of the Indus flowed directly from Brahmanābād past Bhāmbor. Bhāmbor stands on the Ghāro which ceased to be an arm of the Indus only within recent times. (I. D. C. 52; Holdich, G. I. 153).

I. 335, *l.* **9.** *Kāzi Murtazā Sorathi, a resident of the village of Katiāna.*

This is 'Kuṭiāna' now in Junāgaḍh State, Kāṭhiawāḍ, about 25 miles east of Porbandar and on the banks of the Bhādar. It is an old town and is said to derive its name from Kunti, a Chāraṇ woman. (I. G. XVI. 57; B. G. VIII. Kāṭhiāwāḍ, 525). The sobriquet 'Soraṭhi' is derived from the fact that Kuṭiāna is in Soraṭh. Constable Pl. 31 A a. writes the name Kuntiyāna,

I. 343, *l.* **11 from foot.** *They [the Sūmras] sprang from the Arabs of Sāmra.....who arrived in Sind in the fourth century of the Hijra.*

The author means 'Sāmarrā' on the Tigris in Irāq, the name of which was changed by the Khalif Mut'aṣim into 'Surra-man-raa', 'he who sees it, rejoices', for the sake of good augury. It was from 836-892 A. C. the capital of the 'Abbāsides, but sank into insignificance after the return of the Khalīfs to Baghdād. It is still, however, a place of pilgrimage, as two of the Shī'a Imāms are buried there. (Guy Le Strange, in J. R. A. S. 1895, p. 39; L. E. C. 53).

I. 343, *l.* **5 from foot.** *With the 'Ulamāi Mūsawī, he brought to Sind.*

ملا is a misreading of مل. The person intended is Sayyad *'Ali Mūsawi.* He is spoken of as "the Sayyid" in the very next sentence. (See 485 *infra* and also K. B. History of Sind, II. 38).

Mut'alwi [Mat-'Alwi, Mat of 'Ali] is so called from this 'Ali Mūsawi. It is now known as Matāri. (481 *infra* note). It is in the Hālā Tāluqa and lies about sixteen miles north of Ḥaidarābād. (Hughes, 487). Constable 26 B c.

I. 347, *l.* **8 from foot.** *Story of Chanesar and Laila.*

The name of the lady is here spelt as if it was the Arab لَيْلَى, but it seems to be really the Hindu Līla (or Līlāvati) and it is so spelt at 263 *ante.*

So, 'Kaunrū' must be Kāmarūpa, and 'Marghin' (348, l. 6) 'Mrig-naina', deer-eyed. The Gujari queen of Rājā Mānsinha Ṭomar of Gwālior bore the latter name. Similarly, 'Mendra' (p. 347, l. 6) must be 'Mahendra'.

VOL. II. GHAZNAVIDES, GHORIS AND SLAVE KINGS.

II. 3, *l.* 1. *He [Alberūni] was indebted to the Sultan of Khwārizm for the opportunity of visiting India, for he was appointed by him to accompany the embassies which he sent to Maḥmūd of Ghazni . ...[Abu Riḥān]... ...is reported to have stayed forty years there [in India].*

The statements made in this paragraph are almost all wrong. Alberūni was a native of Khwārizm and was in the service of its rulers only until the annexation of the province by Maḥmūd in 408 H. 1017 A.C. "The princes of the deposed dynasty and the leading men of the country were then carried off", says Sachau, "as prisoners of war or hostages to Ghazni. They were then sent away to distant fortresses more or less as prisoners of state. Alberūni was one of them, and appears to have stayed in different parts of India and been treated as a hostage or political prisoner, kept on honourable terms. But he was no favourite with Maḥmūd or the persons in power. But a radical change in his life took place soon after the accession of Mas'ūd, who settled upon him a handsome pension, which enabled him to devote himself entirely to his scientific work." (Tr. Pref. viii-xvi). He died on 3rd Rajab 438 H., 13 Dec. 1048. (Houtsma, E. I. I. 727; L.H.P,II. 105). Alberūni appears to have left India soon after the death of Maḥmūd and resided during the rest of his life at Ghazni or Khwārizm. As Maḥmūd did not reign for more than thirty-three years, Alberūni's stay in India could not possibly have extended to so many as forty. Its duration could not have exceeded thirteen years, even if he returned in the year of Maḥmūd's death.

II. 5, *l.* 14. *The 'Tārīkhu-l-Hind' treats of the literature and science of the Indians at the commencement of the eleventh century.*

This is how the work is generally called and cited even in Huart's History of Arabic Literature (p. 302) and Houtsma's Encyclopaedia of Islam, (I. 726), but the correct title is '*Kitābun fi Taḥqīq-i-mā li-l-Hind*, (Niẓāmu-d-dīn, Introduction to the *Jawāmi'u-l-Ḥikāyāt*, 37; Nāẓim, Sultān Maḥmūd of Ghazna, p. 6; Raverty, Mihrān, 186 note). Alberūni himself writes in the Preface that his "book is nothing but a simple historic record of facts". (Sachau, Tr. I. 7; كتاب × × × فى تحقيق ماللهند Text. Pref. p. iv and p. i).

II. 9, *l.* 6 from foot. *This cave is now well-known by the name of Bakar.*

'Bakar' has no sense or meaning here. Sachau has the right reading 'Vār', an old Avestaic word meaning 'enclosure.' (Tr. II. 10). The word is also used for 'cave, place of refuge' etc. The 'Var-Jam-kard', the 'Var made by Jam or Yima' is described at length in the *Vendidād*. It was to be "as long as a riding ground on every side of the square, and he was to bring thither the seeds of sheep and oxen, of men, of dogs, of birds and of red blazing fires," to preserve them from "the fatal

winters which were to fall upon the material world and bring fierce, foul frost and make snow-flakes fall thick on the highest tops of mountains." (*Fargard* II. 22-25, Darmesteter's Trans. in Sacred Books of the East. IV. 15-16). The story is told there in connection with a great Deluge and the 'Var' is the Indo-Aryan analogue of Noah's Ark.

II. 12, *l.* **18.** *Jaipāl, whose successor was Nardajanpāl, who ascended the throne in 412 A.H. His son Bhīmpāl succeeded him after the lapse of five years, and under him the sovereignty of India became extinct.*

This is translated wrongly. S. renders the passage thus:

"The latter [Tarojanpāla, *i. e.* Trilochanapāla] was killed in A.H. 412 and his son Bhīmapāla five years later." (II. 13).

At 463 *infra*, Elliot himself speaks of Alberūni giving 412 H. as the date of Pur Jaipāl's [Trilochanapāla's] *death* and not of his *accession*. Ibn-al-Athir, (*Kāmilu-t-tawārikh*, Ed. Tornberg, IX, 219) and Farrukhi also, in his *Qaṣida*, state that Trilochanapāla was murdered by his mutinous soldiers in 412 H. (Nāẓim, M.G. 95 n and 206). Banākati also states that he was *killed* in 412 H. (Tr. in E.D. III. 59).

II. 13, *l.* **1.** *Though I have vanquished you, I do not desire that any one but myself should obtain the ascendancy over you.*

It is stated in the footnote that this is translated differently by Reinaud. Sachau renders the sentence just as Reinaud does in *Fragments Arabes et Persans*, (p. 154), and as both agree to differ from Elliot, it is safe to say that the true meaning is, 'I have been conquered by you, therefore I do not wish that another man should obtain the ascendancy over you!' (S. II. 13).

It may be also observed that Ānandapāla had never vanquished Maḥmūd, and the epigram or trope as it is worded in Elliot's rendering would be a mendacious as well as wantonly provocative vaunt.

II. 13, *l.* **3.** *This prince* [*Ānandapāla*] *was a determined enemy of the Musalmans from the time that his son Nardajanpāl was taken prisoner, but his son was, on the contrary, well disposed towards them.*

Reinaud (l. c. 154) and Sachau understand this also differently. As 'Nardajanpāl' is not known from the histories to have been taken prisoner at any time by Maḥmūd, it seems preferable to accept here also, Sachau's version: 'This prince cherished the bitterest hatred against the Muḥammadans from the time when his son was taken prisoner, whilst his son Tarojanpāla [Trilochanapāla] was the very opposite of his father'.

II. 14, *l.* **16.** *He* ['*Utbi*] *records an event as happening in 420 Hijra, but the interest of his work ceases with the year 410.*

Elliot has been misled on account of a copyist of Jurbādhaqāni's Persian translation having ascribed an event, which really occurred in H. 402 to H. 420. (Reynolds' Tr. 474, but see 'Utbi, Dehli Lithograph,

Text 427, l. 3). Rieu (Persian Catalogue, I. 158) states that all the Mss. of Jurbādhaqāni in the British Museum agree in reading the date as 402 H. Browne states that the latest event recorded by 'Utbi relates to 411 H. (1020 A. C.), though the author is said to have died so late as 427 A. H. =1037 A.C. (L.H.P. II. 114). Dr. Nāẓim repeats the statement (M. G. 4), but in the last chapter, the date 413 H. ثلث عشره واربعمايه is clearly mentioned in connection with the proceedings of the Vazīr Aḥmad bin Ḥasan Maimandi. (Delhi Lith. of A.H. 1263, p. 478, l. 8). The death of Maḥmūd's brother Amir Naṣr which took place, according to Gardezi, (Z. A. Text, 79, l. 7) in 412 H. is also explicitly mentioned, though the year is not specified. ('Utbi, Dehli Text. 441, l. 11; Reynolds' Tr. 486).

II. 15, *l.* **4.** *The most ancient of these* [*Persian translations of 'Utbi*] *is that of Abu-l-Sharaf Jarbāzkāni.*

Jurbādhaqān, also called Gulpāyagān, is a place situated between Ispahān and Hamadān. Mīrkhwānd, Khwāndamīr, Firishta and other late compilers have all freely used and implicitly relied upon Jurbādhaqāni's Persian version and never turned to the Arabic original, but it is really of small value. Nöldeke has shown that it is "exceedingly free, the translator's object being not so much to produce an accurate rendering, as a rhetorical imitation of the original. He changes, omits and adds as he pleases". (Browne, *op. cit.* II. 471-2). He has also omitted several portions of the text, and to judge from Reynolds' translation, which is extremely incorrect, muddled the proper names fearfully. Most of the errors and discrepancies which are found in the later epitomists are, in fact, due to their having used this secondhand authority instead of the original.

II. 20, *l.* **9 and Footnote 2.** *There was a clear fountain of water of the dimensions required by the Hanafi law for purification,* [*that is, a cube of ten spans, q. v. the footnote*].

Here 'ten *spans*' must be an error for 'ten *cubits*'—ذرع — each of 24 fingers or about 18 inches.

"Among the orthodox (Musalmans), it is generally held that if a dead body or any unclean thing falls into flowing water or into a reservoir more than *ten cubits* square, the water can be used.....It is for this reason that the pool near a mosque is never less than *ten cubits* square. If of that size, it is called *deh dar deh* (literally, 10 × 10). It may be, and commonly is, larger than this. It should be about one foot deep. (Sell, Faith of Islam, quoted in Hughes, Dictionary of Islam. s. v. Water). Bābur tells us that he ordered such a tank to be carved out of a single mass of rock and he gives the dimensions as 10 by 10 cubits. (B. N. Tr. 606; see also Gulbadan, *Humāyūn Nāma.* Tr. A. S. Beveridge. 98).

II. 20, *l.* **9.** *There was a clear fountain of water.....If any filth were thrown into it, black clouds collected, whirlwinds arose etc.*

This 'tale of wonder' reflects and records the survival of an ancient

superstition. The spring was, what the Buddhists called a *Nāgahrada* a 'Nāga-lake' or 'dragon-fountain'. The Chinese monks, Fa Hian, Sung Yun and Hiuen-Tsiang naively relate wonderful tales about such springs in their Travels. The Nāgas were believed to be demons, half men, half-brutes, who had the power of hurling down or stopping rain, piling snow, sending tempests of drifting or flying sand and hail, raising high winds, riding the clouds and gliding over the waters. These half-human, half-divine beings resided in such natural reservoirs and many circumstantial accounts of offended Nāgas or 'Poison-dragons' spitting winds, rain and snow to punish those who had polluted the waters or otherwise incurred their displeasure arrest attention in the Pilgrims' Journals. (Beal, Buddhist Records, Fa Hian, I. xxix, xlii; Sung Yun, l, xcii; Hiuen Tsiang, *Ibid.* 25, 49, 64-6, 122, 137, 159). Dragon worship was, in fact, the *real religion* of the people in many parts of Afghānistān and the Indian frontier in the 6th and 7th centuries of the Christian era. The road to all happiness and prosperity was believed to lie in the propitiation of the Nāgas or Dragons, while any offence given to them wittingly or unwittingly was sure to bring in its train the most dreadful calamities. (See A. M. T. Jackson's Note in Bom. Gaz. I. 502-503).

Stories of such fountains are common also in other writers. Alberūni had heard of a well in the mountains of Farghāna, "where it begins to rain as soon as any one throws any dirty thing into it, also of a cave in Ṭabaristān, where heaven becomes cloudy as soon as it is polluted by filth and of a mountain between Herāt and Sīstān, where you hear a clear murmur as soon as it is defiled by human excrement". (Sachau's Tr. of *Āthāru-l-Bāqiya*, or Chronology of Ancient Nations. 235). Abul Faẓl speaks of a lake in the mountains of Lār between Kashmīr and Tibet where "a heavy fall of snow and rain ensues, if the flesh of an animal fall into it". (*Āin*, Tr. II. 363). The strangest thing about the matter is that this old-world belief is not, even now, quite extinct. Sir Frederick Goldsmid was credibly informed that such "a mystic spring" was actually in existence in the mountains of Dāmaghān in Persia. "It is said," he writes, "that when the Shāh [Nāṣiru-d-dīn] passed through Dāmaghān *en route* for Mashhad, being incredulous of the story, he ordered some of his suite to throw dirt into the spring, when immediately such a wind arose, that the royal camp was rolled up like so much paper and the Shāh was compelled to have the cistern completely cleaned out and purified before the wind would cease". (Eastern Persia, p. 381).

'Utbi and Jurbādhaqāni say that the fountain was in the Pass عقبه of Ghūrak or Ghūzak غوزک and that the site of the battle was between Ghazni, Farwān and Lamaghān. Alberūni tells us that one of the tributaries of the Ghorwarand, that is the Kābul river, was the river of the Pass of Ghūzak. (*Indica*. Tr. I. 259). But in 'Awfi's version of the story, the fountain is located at a place called Bagharū or Nagharū (182 *infra*),

(Niẓāmu-d-dīn, Introduction to the *Jawāmi'a*, 63, 252). Now Ghūzak غوزك is mentioned by Baihaqi also as بزغورك *Baz* or *Faj* [or Pass] of *Ghūrak* and as a place on the route from Ghazni to Hindustān (127 *infra*; Text. 502, l. 7 f. f.). See also Text. 500, l. 7 where there is another reference to the place. The connecting link here is found in Muqaddasi who states that there was at Shiyān (near Naghṛu) a place in the district of Askimasht, "a wonderful spring." (*Aḥsan*, Ed. Goeje, in B. G. A. viii. 303). Askimasht is apparently the Iskamīsh of our maps (Constable 22 C b). The conjecture may be offered that Shiyān شيان is a miswriting of شپيان 'Shupiān' *i. e.* Hupiān or Opiān, which lies about five miles south of Parwān, three miles north of Chārikār and about twenty miles east of Ghorband. Opiān possesses "many vestiges of antiquity" and is "distinguished by its huge artificial mounds, from which copious antique treasures have been extracted". (Masson, Journeys. III. 126, 161; Cunningham, A. G. I. 24 and Map. III; Beal, *loc. cit.* I. 55, 59; II. 285 Notes). The wonderful spring of Shiyān may have been, therefore, near Parwān and the *'Uqba* or Pass may have been that of Ghurak, *i. e.* Ghurband, which is said by some to have been so called because it lay on the route to Ghur or Ghor. The fact that Parwān is called 'Paryān' in the *Malfūẓāt-i-Tīmūri* (E. D. III. 401; A. N. I. Tr. 540) may also indicate that the place was associated in the popular imagination with 'Parīs' or 'Fairies,' and believed to have something uncanny or supernatural about it. The phenomenon which was responsible for the panic in Jayāpāl's host was, no doubt, a snow-storm and Wood assures that a whole party of his former fellow-travellers was actually destroyed in the Pass of Ghorband by a violent one when traversing it. (Journey. 123).

II. 21, *l.* 13. *There is no alternative for us but to destroy our property,* ××× *cast our children into the fire and rush on each other with sword and spear etc.*

This is an early allusion to the 'Johar' or Juhār, 'Shaka' or 'Sakha' in Muḥammadan literature, though there is an older one in Bilāduri, who says that when Dāhir, the King of Sind, was slain, his wife set fire to the fort and burnt herself with all her handmaids. (E. D. I. 122; Reinaud, *op. cit.* 170, 198). But the practice must be of much greater antiquity as Quintus Curtius (IX. 4) mentions it. "When Alexander the Great marched during his retreat, against the Agalassoi, they were routed after an obstinate defence, but the survivors, who were said to number 20000, set fire to the town and cast themselves with their wives and children into the flames". (V. Smith. E. H. I. 91 and note). The popular derivation of this word 'Johar' is from 'Jiva' 'life' and 'hara' 'taking', as in C. H. I. III. 19 note, but this is rejected by Sir G. Grierson. He traces it to the *Jatūgṛiha*, the house of shell-lac and other inflammable materials which the Kauravas had perfidiously prepared in secret for burning to death the Pāndavas. (*Mahābhārata*, I. 141-151). The Prakrit form, 'jauhara' is said to occur in Jaina literature,

(V. Smith's Note in Akbar the Great Mogul, 72; Crooke's Note in Tod, A. A. R., I. 310).

II. 21, *l.* **21.** [*Peace was made*] *on condition of receiving 1,000,000 dirams of royal stamp and fifty elephants.*

They were not *royal* dirhams but *Shāhiya* dirhams. The words in the text of 'Utbi (Dehli Lith., 26, l. 8) are clearly الف الف درهم شاهيه, which must mean '*Shāhi* dirhams'—dirhams struck by the *Shāhiya* rulers of Waihind. Elsewhere, also, in his account of the booty obtained at Bhīmnagar, 'Utbi says that "the stamped coin amounted to seventy thousand thousand *Shāhiya* dirhams" سبعون الف الف درهم شاهيه (Text, 290, l. 11), not 'royal dirams', as in Dowson, at 35 *infra*. It is significant that 'Utbi does *not* use the word شاهيه when *dirhams* are mentioned in other places. The reason probably is that the *dirhams* spoken of in those passages were not the *Shāhi* mintages but the *dirhams* of Sultan Maḥmūd. For instance, all that he states in connection with the capture of Multān is that the indemnity demanded was "twenty thousand thousand dirams". [32 *infra*; Text. 263, l. 13]. The total money value of the booty carried off after the Qanauj expedition is similarly estimated at "three thousand thousand dirams", ثلثه الف الف درهم (50 *infra*; Text, 408, l. 9). The specific references to *Shāhiya* dirhams in connection only with Jaipāl and Bhīmnagar which was in Shāhiya territory and the *deliberate omission* of the qualifying denomination *in all other passages* are, I suggest, of pregnant significance.

II. 23, *l.* **6 from foot.** *The Rājā* [*Jayapāla*] *was contented to offer the best things in his most distant provinces to the conqueror, on condition that the hair on the crowns of their heads should not be shaven off.*

This direct reference to still another 'Hindu Institution' is noteworthy. Hiuen Tsiang remarks in the 7th century, that the Hindus wore a little knot of hair on the crowns of their heads. (Tr. Beal, I. 75). In the 16th, Du Jarric records that when a Brahman of Lāhor "who had determined to.....turn Christian cut off his 'sendi'—the long lock of hair they let grow on the top of the head as a mark of gentilism, the Pagans were filled with consternation as they had never seen any one do such a thing before". (Payne, Akbar and the Jesuits, 141-2). Sir Thomas Roe's chaplain, Edward Terry, also mentions the Hindu custom of shaving off the hair from the head, reserving only a lock on the crown, but he adds, in a grotesquely blundering fashion, that this is "for Mohomet to pull them into Heaven"! (Early Travels in India, Ed. Foster, 308). *Choṭikaṭ* is even now, a term of reproach which is applied in the Punjāb, to those who have, on conversion to Islam, cut off the 'Choṭi' or Hindu scalp-lock. (Ibbetson, Punjab Ethnography, quoted in Crooke, Tribes and Castes of the North-Western Provinces, IV. 226). But perhaps the oldest notice of this peculiar feature of Hindu manners is to be found in Megasthenes. He has left it on record that "if any Indian

is guilty of a very heinous offence, the King orders his hair to be cropped, this being the punishment to the last degree infamous". (Fragment xxvii. Tr. in McCrindle, Ancient India as described by Megasthenes and Arrian, Ed. 1877, pp. 73-4). The excision of the scalp-lock (*Shikhā or choṭi*) would thus appear to have been regarded as a stigma or symbol of infamy and social degradation even about 303 B. C.

II. 26, *l.* 2 from foot. *On Thursday, 8th of Muharram, 392 H.*

Gardezi, the author of the contemporaneous *Zainu-l-Akhbār*, has the same date but gives the week-day as Saturday. (Ed. Nāẓim, 66, l. 11). He is followed in the Ṭ. A. (5, l. 2 f. f.) and B. (I. 11=Tr. I. 19). F. makes it Monday (I. 24, l. 8), though the date given by all these three authors also is 8th Muḥarram. As 1st Muḥarram 392 H. corresponded to Thursday, 20th November 1001 A. C., (*vide* Burnaby, Jewish and Muhammadan Calendars or Pillai, Indian Ephemeris, Vol. III), 8th Muḥarram or 27th November must have been a Thursday and not a Saturday or Monday. 'Utbi is thus right and those who differ from him must be mistaken.

II. 28, *l.* 7 from foot. *The conquest of Bhātia.*

Bhera, Uchch, Bhaṭner, Bhaṭinda and even Bhāwalpur have been put forward as identifications of Bhatiya, but all, except Bhera, are ruled out by the crucial test of strategetical considerations. The capture of Waihind had merely *opened* Maḥmūd's way into the Northern Punjāb and he had only just acquired the power of extending his incursions to the other side of the Indus. He had not even crossed that river and it is difficult to conceive how he could have advanced so far into the interior of an unknown continent as Uchch, Bhaṭner, Bhaṭinda or Bhāwalpur, without possessing a single base of operations within its borders, any means of keeping up his communications or of preventing the rulers whose territories he had invaded from cutting off his retreat. None of these four towns is less than three hundred miles distant from Waihind and it would not have been possible to reach any of them without opposition in crossing several of the Punjāb rivers. Maḥmūd is not said to have crossed any other river than the Indus to reach Bhera, which lies on the Jhelum, the very next river to the Indus, and only about 80 miles distant from Waihind. It lies, in fact, "on the ancient trade-route between India and Afghānistān and is even now the largest and the most prosperous commercial town in the Western Punjāb". (I.G. *s.n.*). "The two great routes of the caravans from the Salt Range diverged at Bhera and here also was the most frequently used ferry on the Jhelum". (Cunningham, A.G.I. 155). We know that the river was crossed at Bheda by the Chinese pilgrim Fa Hian. (Beal, Buddhist Records, I. xxxi). Bhera has also figured prominently in the history of all invasions of India from the north-west. It is recorded among the conquests of Chingiz Khān's general Turtāi, who sacked it

and afterwards proceeded to beleaguer Mūltān. (*Tārīkh-i Jihān Kushā*, 392 *infra*). Raverty was of opinion that the island on the Jhelum from which Shihābu-d-dīn Tamīmi vainly attempted to repel the advance of Tīmūr was near Bhera. (Mihrān, 279 note). Bābur notes that Bhera was on "the border of Hind" and he captured and held it to ransom in his very first invasion of 1519 A.C. (*Tūzuk* in E.D. IV. 230, 233). Elsewhere, he speaks of Bhera as if it was the furthermost outpost on the Hindustān Frontier. "The Kingdom of the Lody Afghāns," he writes, "*extended from Bhera to Bihār*" (*Tūzuk-i-Bāburi* in E. D. IV. 259) and he exultingly records that "*the countries from Bhera to Bihār* which were under his dominion yielded a revenue of fifty crores". (*Ibid.* E. D. IV. 262).

When Humāyūn fled to the Punjāb after the rout of Qanauj, it was at Bhera that the treacherous Kāmrān and 'Askari deserted him as they wanted to march to and take possession of Kābul. (Ṭ. A. 203. l. 9=E. D. V. 206). Bhera was sacked by Bābur's grandson, Mirzā Muḥammad Ḥakīm also, during his invasion of Hindustān. (*Akbarnāma*, Tr. III. 508, Note).

Again, when Prince Aurangzeb was sent to reconquer Qandahār, in 1059 H. with S'adu-lla Khān the Vazīr as his colleague and director, he was ordered to march from Multān to Bhera, where S'adu-lla was to join him with his own army and they were to proceed from that base to Kābul *via* Bangash. (*'Amal-i-Ṣāliḥ*, Text. III. 72, l. 6; *Shāh Jahān Nāma* in E. D. VII. 89). Bhera, in fact, was a conspicuous *point d'appui* in the North-western Punjāb and the spot from which military operations could be most advantageously conducted. It was the thoroughfare of every invading army—a key-position, or strategic pivot the importance of which is demonstrated by historical facts which it will not do to ignore.

II. 30, Foot-note. *Firishta says 280 [elephants were captured] and Mīrkhond 120, but does not notice that this was the* personal *share of the Sultan.*

Neither of these authors takes notice of the point because it does not stand in need of any. The question of the 'personal share' of the Sultan does not at all arise. Elephants were not allowed, at this time, and for long afterwards, to be retained by private individuals or subjects, and every animal which was captured in battle, fell *ipso facto* to the share of the Sultan. See *infra* 40, where 'Utbi explicitly states that after the sack of Thānesar, "*all* the elephants were driven into the camp of the Sultan, except one which had fled and could not be found". Reynolds' rendering is, "they were *all* brought to the Sultan's halter-place". (*l.c.* 395). Amīr Khusrau tells us that after the conquest of Deogīr in 706 H., Malik Kāfūr gave orders that "the soldiers should retain the booty they had acquired, with the exception of horses, *elephants* and treasure, which were to be reserved for the Sultan". (*Khazāinu-l-Futūḥ* in E.D. III. 77. See also *ibid.* 91-2). All the elephants captured by Balban from Ṭughril

and by Prince Ulugh Khān in the raid of Jājnagar are explicitly stated by Barani to have been reserved for the Sultan. (E. D. III. 120 and 235). All the elephants captured by Firūz Tughlaq in his campaigns in Bengal and the jungles of Orissa or sent to him as gifts or tribute by Sultan Sikandar and the Rājā of Jājnagar are said, by Shams-i-Sirāj, to have been led and mustered before the Sultan and carried off along with himself to Delhi. (*T. F.* 175, l. 16; E. D. III, 316).

Budāuni says in illustration of Islām Shāh Sūri's ambition to establish an absolute autocracy and one-man rule, that he "would not allow any Amir to keep more than a sorry female elephant, adapted only for carrying baggage". (Text I. 384. Tr. I. 496=E. D. V. 487). The author of the *Wāqiāt-i-Mushtāqi* also declares that in the last two or three years of his reign, Islām Shāh did not present to any of his Amīrs a single elephant. (E. D. IV. 504 note). Elephants were occasionally bestowed by the Sultans of Dehli as marks of special favour on their subjects and great Amīrs and leaders of armies do appear to have kept them, but it was a regal privilege which was jealously guarded and its assumption without permission was regarded as an overt act of treason or rebellion. (*Ṭabaqāt-i-Nāṣiri* in E. D. II. 338, 343 *post*; Text 192, l. 8, 198, l. 10; Raverty's Tr. 650 note, and 662). The gift of an elephant was a special favour. (*Ibid.* 252, l. 19).

But evidence still more direct is available. It appears from a *Qaṣīda* of the contemporary poet, Farrukhi, that the rule was to divide the booty collected after a battle in the presence of Sultan Maḥmūd himself. Ordinary articles were, after valuation by experts, distributed among the soldiers, but "all precious stones, arms and *elephants*, to the value of *one fifth of the total spoils were set apart for the Sultan*". (M. G. 138). Baihaqi also explicitly states that all the elephants were under the direct control of the Sultān Mas'ūd, (349, 488) and that they were annually reviewed by him in person. (M. G. 139). Indeed, Niẓāmu-d-dīn Aḥmad explicitly states that in those early days, no one had the right to keep elephants except the Bādshāh. (Ṭ. A. 33, l. 10; see also F. I. 69, l. 9).

Dr. Nāẓim gives the purport of 'Utbi's words thus: "He ['Utbi] states that the booty was so immense that the share of the Sultan alone amounted to 120 elephants, besides, gold, silver and arms." (M. G. 101). Altogether, only 120 were captured and all of them formed part of the Sultan's share. Not one went to anybody else. The words used by 'Utbi are خص السلطان and there is no qualifying epithet corresponding to 'personal' or 'special' in the Arabic text. (Dehli Lith. 260, l. 8). Reynolds' translation is "a hundred and sixty (*sic*) elephants augmented in this victory the stables of the royal stud, with an enormous booty in money and weapons." (p. 324). All that Gardezi states is that 280 elephants were captured. (Z. A. 67, l. 9).

II. 31, last line. *He [Abi-l-Fatūḥ Dāūd] determined ...to load all his property on elephants and carry it off to Sarandīb,*

and he left Multān empty.

This asseveration is, on the face of it, so preposterous, that Raverty hazarded the almost equally amazing conjecture that 'Sarandīb' must stand for Kachh Bhuj. (Mihrān, 325n). But as he has not advanced any reason for the pronouncement, it seems scarcely necessary to discuss it. Dr. Nāẓim makes Dāūd fly to "an island in the Indus". (M. G. 97). It seems futile to indulge in further speculations and surmises, but if it is at all worth while to do so, 'Debal-Sind' would appear to be a more plausible restoration. Muḥammad-i-Qāsim is said to have sent the prodigious treasure acquired at Multān to Debal by boats with a view to its ultimate transportation to Baghdād. (*Chachnāma* in E. D. I. 207 and note).

The Qarāmaṭa rulers of Multān were closely associated with Debal and Manṣūra. In fact, the Ism'āīli heresy seems to have found its way into Sind and the Punjab mainly through Debal, which was the great *entrepot* of commerce with other parts of Asia. Maḥmūd of Ghazna is known to have led a punitive expedition against Khafīf, the ruler of Manṣūra, because he was "an apostate Muḥammadan" or Qarmaṭian. (249 *infra*). Khafīf was most probably a Sūmra and the letter from the chief of the Druses to Shaikh Ibn *Samar* bin Rājā Bal exhorting him to "bring back Dāūd the Younger, into the true religion" indicates clearly that the Qarmaṭians of Multān were closely connected with the Sūmra chiefs of Upper as well as Lower Sind, *i.e.* with Manṣūra as well as Debal. (See Elliot's Note, 491 *infra*). 'Utbi, though learned in the history of Islāmic conquest, was almost entirely ignorant of Indian geography and he seems to have mixed up 'Sarandīb' with 'Sind-Debal' or 'Debal-Sind'.

Firishta [I. 24, l. 1 f. f.] speaks of Abi-l-Fatḥ-i-Dāūd as the grandson of Shaikh Ḥamīd Lody, and the error is reproduced and propagated in C. H. I. III. 14, although it had been demonstrated and denounced long ago by Raverty. (Mihrān, 325 note). 'Lody' must be a miswriting of لوی Lawi, who was the son of Ghālib. Mas'ūdi (*Prairies*, I. 377; Sprenger, 384; E.D. I. 21), Iṣṭakhri (Ed. Goeje, 175, l. 7] and Ibn Ḥauqal (E. D. I. 36) all say that the rulers of Multān were descended from Usāma *bin* Lawi *bin* Ghālib, an *Arab* of the tribe of Quraish, the same to which Muḥammad belonged. The Lodis are known to have been Afghāns and "there were no Lodis, nor Lodi rulers", as Raverty incisively states, "in Multān, at this time nor centuries afterwards".

II. 33, *l.* 13. *Victory near Waihind.*

Nothing more specific than this can be gathered from the Chronicles, but it is stated in the Official Gazetteers of the districts of Attock and Rāwalpindi and by Delmerick also in his History of the Gakkars (J. A. S. B. XL. (1871), p. 71) that, according to a tradition still current in the locality, this battle was fought in the plain of Chach between Hazro and Aṭak. Waihind, which is fifteen miles above Aṭak on the left bank of the

Indus, is, by its position on the river, a place of strategetical importance, and Alexander The Great is generally thought to have crossed the Indus at Waihind. (Smith, E.H.I. 55). It appears to have been regarded as a military station of consequence even so late as the reign of Akbar. During the campaign against the Raushanāis or Tārīkis in 994-5 H. (1586-7 A.C.), Mādhav Sinha, the brother of Rājā Mān Sinha of Amber, was stationed at Waihind with a well-appointed army and was, consequently, able on a critical occasion, to come to Mān Sinha's assistance and rout the Afghāns. (B. II. 355, Tr. II. 366; see also Ṭ.A. in E.D.V. 455 note).

Raverty, misled by a blundering gloss of F's, confounds Waihind with Bhāṭinda, and avers that Bhāṭinda was the capital of Jaipāl, whose kingdom he extends to the Hakra or Wahinda, (N. A. 320; Ṭ. N. Tr. 79-80 note), but both these assertions are demonstrably erroneous. The nameless Hindu History of Kashmīr which he relies upon so implicitly and cites so frequently (Ṭ. N. Tr. 453, 455, 460 Notes) is a modern compilation of no value.

II. 33, *l.* 7 from foot. *Brahmanpāl, son of Andpāl.*

I venture to say with some confidence that برحمنپال is a misreading of ترجنپال. 'Utbi and his copyists do not appear to have ever known what to make of the outlandish name Tarojanpal (Trilochanapāla). Here it is written Brahmanpāl, elsewhere (47, 48, 50 *infra*), it assumes the form 'Purū Jaipāl' and in some Mss. of Jurbādhaqāni's translation 'Perou Hebāl'. (*Ibid.* 47 note). Even Dr. Nāẓim has not been able to escape the pitfall. He says that Ānandapāla's army was placed under the command of Brahmanpāl his son and defeated in the battle of Waihind in 399 H. (M. G. 90), but برحمنپال (Delhi lith. 279, l. 3 or Lāhor lith. 224) is, like 'Perou Hebal' and 'Purū Jaipāl', really nothing but ترجنپال with the *Nuqṭas* misplaced.

II. 34, *l.* 5. *Capture of Bhīmnagar.*

F. calls it the 'Fort of Bhīm' (I. 26, l. 4 f. f.). B. confuses it with Thāna Bhīm or Thāna Bhawan which is a place in Muẓaffarnagar district. (Constable 25 B c). 'Unṣuri asserts that the treasure had accumulated since the time of the Paṇḍava Bhīma. (*Dīwān*, p. 60, verse 3; E.D. IV, 173 note). Reinaud surmised that the place must have derived its name, not from that mythical giant, but from Bhīmadeva of the Shāhiya dynasty, while Elliot was inclined to think that "this town of Bhīm was on the spot called Bhawan, which lies about a mile from the fort [of Nagarkot] and Bhīm is a mistake arising from its presumed foundation by the heroic Bhīm". (445 *infra*).

All these conjectures are unhistorical. The correct name was probably *Bhīmānagar*. Nagarkot is not specially associated in Hindu tradition with the Pāṇḍava giant and the name may have been derived from *Bhīmā*, one of the names of the Devi who is the consort of Mahādeva. The explanation has suggested itself to me in the course

of a study of the Travels of Hiuen-Tsiang who writes: "To the north-east of the city × × × × 50 li or so, we come to a high mountain on which is a figure of the wife of Ishvara Deva.....This is *Bhīmā Devi*. All the people of the better class and the lower orders, too, declare that this figure was self-wrought. It has the reputation of working miracles, and therefore is venerated (*worshipped*) by all, so that from every part of India men come to pay their vows, and seek prosperity thereby. Both poor and rich assemble here from every part, near and distant". (Tr. Beal, I, 113 note; see also *Ibid.* II. 214, where there is a reference to the worship of the foot-print of Bhīmā, *i. e.*, Durgā, Pārvati, Bhavāni, Kāli etc.) in another place also.

The temples in the fort itself as well as in Bhawan are dedicated to the worship of Bhīmā as Ambā or Vajreshwari Devi, and the name 'Bhavan' is merely due to the fact that *every temple raised to a female deity or Shakti is called 'Bhavan'*, as Elliot himself says. (445 *infra*). The temple at Nagarkot is said, by the author of the *Wāqiāt-i-Mushtāqi*, to have been sacred to Devishankar (E. D. IV. 554) and Niẓāmuddīn Aḥmad also observes that Bhavan was an idol-temple of Mahāmāyā, (Ṭ. A. 303, l. 8, E. D. V. 358), another name of the same goddess. The Devi [of] Shankara and Māhāmāyā are synonymous with Bhimā or Bhavāni, Pārvati, Bhairavi, Durgā, Kāli, Ambā, Jagdhātri etc.

II. 35, *l.* **13.** *Among the booty was a house of silver, like to the houses of rich men, the length of which was thirty yards and the breadth fifteen. It could be taken to pieces and put together again. And there was a canopy.....supported on two golden and two silver poles which had been cast in moulds.*

This yard (ذرع) must be the cubit of about eighteen inches. The canopy must have been what the old Jaina annalists of Gujarāt call a *Maṇḍapikā*. The author of the *Sukṛitā Sankirtana*, a Jaina chronicle written in 1227 A.C., states that the King of Sapādlaksha, *i.e.* Sāmbhar, presented to Ajayapāla Chālukya, King of Gujarāt, a silver *Maṇḍapikā* as a feudatory's offering to his suzerain. (B. G. I. 194). A *Maṇḍapikā* of gold is also said to have been captured in battle by Damara, the general of Bhīmadeva Chālukya from Karṇa, the King of Chedi, and to have been presented by Bhīma to the god Somanāth. (*Ibid.* I. i. 163).

'Unṣuri also speaks of this 'house of silver,' but calls it a throne of pure silver which had belonged at one time to the Pāṇḍava Bhīma, from whom, he supposed or surmised that Bhīmnagar had derived its name. (*Dīwān*, Lucknow Lith. of 1922 A. C., p. 60, verse 11). But 'Utbi's description is more graphic and precise and indicates that it was a folding pavilion made of silver for being used in royal journeys and progresses, and not a throne.

II. 38, *l.* **2.** *Arslānu-l-Jāzib [was posted] to the left wing.*

Is the sobriquet 'Jāzib' [جاذب] or 'Ḥājib'? Raverty contends that

'Jāzīb' is an "error on the part of some early copyist for 'Ḥājib,' and which has been blindly followed by Firishta and other modern authors." (Ṭ. N. Tr. 118 Note). But he is evidently speaking without book. The sobriquet is clearly spelt as 'Jāzib' more than once by 'Utbi as well as Gardezi (Z.A. 68, 85, 89) and Baihaqi (71, l. 7; 98, last line; 156, l. 3 f. f.; 158, l. 1; see also 135 *infra*). 'Awfi also writes 'Jāzib' (186 *infra*). Minhāj explains that *Jazabi* [جذبی] in the Mongol tongue signifies a *Ḥājib* حاجب (Ṭ.N. Text 340, l. 3; 356, l. 5=Raverty's Tr. 979, 1047).

II. 39, *l.* 18 and Footnote. *A stone was found there in the temple of the great Budda [at Nārdīn].*
It [the word 'Budda'] cannot be meant for an idol, as that word is Persian. (*Foot-note*).

The foot-note is likely to mislead, and should be read in connection with what Elliot himself says at E. D. I. 507. 'Utbi does not mean that the temple was a Buddhist shrine or dedicated to the worship of Gautama, the Buddha. 'Budda' here is really the generic Persian term for 'idol', بت, in Arab guise. It is frequently used for 'idol' and 'idol-temple' in Bilāduri who says that "the Indians give the name of *budd* to an idol". (E. D. I. 120). See also Ibn-al-Athīr, 246 *infra*.

On line 20, 'Fifty thousand' is a slip for 'forty thousand', which is found in Jurbādhaqāni. (Reynolds, 392). The old Dehli lithograph of 'Utbi also has اربعین الف سنه (335, l. 10). See also F. (I. 31, l. 17).

II. 40, *l.* 3. *In the country of Thānesar there were elephants of the Sailamān (Ceylon) breed famous for military purposes.*

There can be little doubt that the readings 'Muslim', 'Musalmān' and 'Sulaimāni' are copyists' errors. (*Vide* Elliot's Note 455 *infra*). Tavernier states that the elephants of Ceylon were famous for their courage, and for that reason, much sought after in India even in his day. (Travels. Tr. Ball. I. 276). His contemporary, Thevenot, also bears witness to the great esteem in which they were held. (Travels into the Levant. Eng. Tr. of 1687. Part iii. 45). The fame of the species is of ancient date. The trade in elephants between Ceylon and the mainland is mentioned by Aelian in the Third Christian century, Cosmas Indikopleustes in the Sixth, (Cathay, I, 230), Odoric in the Fourteenth, 'Abdu-r-razzāq in the Fifteenth (E. D. IV. 111) and Ribeiro in the Sixteenth. The last author observes that King Dharmapāla of Ceylon (*c.* 1597 A.C.) used to "sell 20 or 30 elephants every year to the Mogor at a very high price". (Barbosa, Tr. Dames, II. 41 and 113-4 Note).

The name of the island is written صیلان by 'Utbi's copyists, but the contemporaneous poet Mas'ūd S'ad Salmān's spelling is سیهلان (E. D. IV. 519). It is not improbable that 'Utbi himself wrote صیلهان and that the scribes have altered the 'hā' into a 'mim'. Qazvīni writes 'Sailān' (Gildemeister, *Op. cit.* 61, 293), Rashīdu-d-dīn and 'Abdu-r-razzāq (E. D. I. 70 and E. D. IV. 103), 'Sīlān'.

In this connection, it may be worth while also to draw attention to

the fact that wild elephants were found, in former times and are, even now, in the Siwālik range in the neighbourhood of Thānesar. Thornton states in his article on Hastināpur, the traditional capital of the Kauravas, which lies about 20 miles N. E. of Meerut and 60 miles south-east of Thānesar, that " these animals abound in the forest about 50 miles north of Hastināpur, at the south-western base of the Siwālik range". Hastināpur itself is said by him to derive its name from *Hasti*-Elephant. (Gaz. 401). May it not be that these 'Sailamāni elephants' of the Rājā of Thānesar were those found in the *Siwālik* Hills close to Thānesar? Ceylonese elephants are generally *Muknās*, that is tuskless (Yule, H. J. s. v. Mukna), and perhaps all that is really meant is that these Thānesar elephants resembled the Ceylonese species in that respect.

II. 42, *l.* 3. *Sabli, son of Shāhi, son of Bamhi* × × × × *came forward, offering his allegiance and his services as guide.*

As the variants are جبلی, خبلی and جنکی, he may be the Jangi, Japki or Chapki, who is said to have been governor of the fort of Kālanjar in the hills, by Baihaqi. (61 and 92 *infra*). The Jakki or Chakki Hindu, who is again mentioned in the same author's account of Mas'ūd's expedition against Hānsi as the commander of a fort near Jhelum, may perhaps be the very same individual. (140 *infra*; Text, 88, 169, 211, 664). 'Bamhi' is spelt بحمی Bīhmi in the Dehli lith. (397, l. 10) and the name may be read as Bhīmi. The infamous Kashmīr queen Didda was the maternal grand-daughter of Bhīma Shāhi of Waihind and her father was a Prince of Lohar (Duff, C. I. 91). It is possible that a son or grandson of Bhīma Shāhi had also married into the Lohar family and that this Sabli, Japki or Janki was the issue of that union and thus related to both families.

This fort of Kālanjar appears, (Baihaqi, Text, 664, l. 3 f. f.), to have lain north of the Jhelum in the pass leading into Kashmīr. Sir A. Stein has identified it with Koṭli in Kashmīr, Lat. 33°-38′ N., Long. 78°-58′ E. Koṭli lies to the north of Jhelum and in the hills to the north-west of Punch. These hills were held, till early in the nineteenth century, by petty chiefs known as the Rājās of Koṭli. (*Art.* on Ancient Geography of Kashmīr in J. A. S. B. 1899, p. 129; *Rājatarangiṇi*, Trans. II. 433 Note). Gardezi, Niẓāmu-d-dīn and F. inform us that Khwāja Aḥmad Ḥasan, the Vazīr of Maḥmūd, was imprisoned in the fort of Kālanjār of which Janki was the governor. (Z. A., 96, l. 16; Ṭ. A. p. 11; F. I. 40, l. 4 f. f.).

The man was probably a cadet of the ruling family of Lohar, not the Rājā himself, as is suggested in the C. H. I. (III. 18), but a brother or nephew who aspired to oust his relative and pave his own way to the throne. He was, in fact, one of those domestic traitors who have always been common, both before and since, in all ruling dynasties. He had gone over and offered his services to the invader only with that object. But when Maḥmūd had to retire discomfited from Lohar, this Sabli, Janki or Chakki was consoled and had to be content with the governorship of Koṭli, the nearest frontier fortress of the province, as the prize for which

he had staked everything was out of reach.

II. 42, *l.* 17. *He arrived at the fort of Barba.....in the country of Hardat.*

Elliot notes the variants 'Barma' and 'Burdur', but the name is clearly written بَرَنَه 'Barana' by Gardezi (Z. A. 75, l. 4), whose work was not accessible to him and there is no doubt now as to the situation of the fort. A copper-plate inscription relating to this ruling family has been found at Baran or Bulandshahr. Haradatta's name is explicitly mentioned in this record as that of the seventh of the line of Ḍor (Doḍa Chauhāṇ) Rājās of the town. The inscription is dated V. S. 1233= 1177 A. C. and is edited in J. A. S. B. 1869, Pt. i. 21-27. See also Growse, Bulandshahr, 40.

II. 43, *l.* 5. *Capture of Kulchand's Fort.*

Gardezi gives the name of the fort as Mahāwan (Z. A. 75, l. 9) and 'Unṣuri calls it Mahāwīn (*Dīwān*, p. 101, verse 2). See also Ṭ. A. 7, l. 5 f. f. Kulchand (Kulachandra) is a common Hindu name and it has been supposed that he was some subordinate of the Rājā of the country and merely the castellan or governor of the fort. But the manner in which 'Utbi speaks of him militates decisively against any such supposition. Whatever the correct form of the name may really be, it seems certain that he was one of the greatest and most powerful sovereigns of his day in India. The description which follows leaves little room for doubt on that head. He is said to have been "a Satanic leader who *had assumed superiority over all other rulers, defeated, put to flight every one he had fought with* and possessed a great army, numerous elephants and strong forts, which were secure from attack and capture". This means, if words have any meaning, that he was not a second-rate territorial chief or governor, one of the small fry of feudatories and vassals, but a real Triton among the minnows, a man who represented one of the five or six Great Powers of Continental India in his day. And this inference is corroborated and confirmed by the concrete fact, that after his defeat, Maḥmūd was able to capture no less than 185 of his elephants. 'Utbi, Gardezi (Z. A. 75, l. 14) and Khwāndamīr (E. D. IV. 178) agree in this statement, and it indicates that he must have possessed and brought to the battle-field many more, as some must have been able to make their escape.

The number of elephants which an Indian Rājā could command in those days, provides a fairly reliable criterion, if not absolutely crucial test, of the extent and magnitude of his power. Thus, when Maḥmūd encountered Jayapāla, the latter is said to have brought 300 elephants to the theatre of war (Z. A. 66, l. 2) and surrendered 50 as the price of peace. (27 *ante*). The Sultan's defeat of Bīji Rāi of Bhatiya yielded one hundred and twenty (30 *ante*), and the capture of 270 after the final rout of Trilochanapāla on the Rāhib must have helped to seal the fate of his dynasty. (51 *infra*). The great strength of Gaṇḍa, Rājā of Kālanjar, lay in a battalion of 640 war-elephants, of which 580 fell into the invader's hands after his pusillanimous flight. (Z. A. 77, l. 11; 78, l. 8;

T. A. 7, l. 20). The petty Rājā of Baran was let off with a tribute of thirty elephants and the equally powerless Kachhwah chief of Gwālior was able to secure immunity by yielding thirty-five (Z. A. 79, l. 6 f. f.), but Gaṇḍa was so plentifully supplied with them that he was supposed to be able to spare 300 and mulcted in that number. (*Ibid.* 80, l. 6). Similarly, we are told at a later period, that when Jayachchandra, the great Rājā of Banāras, was defeated and slain at Chandawār, 100 or 300 elephants were captured by the victor (223, 297, *infra*) out of a total of 700 which he is said, by another authority, (251 *infra*), to have been able to muster and bring to the field.

Moreover, 'Utbi declares (l. 3 f. f.) that in this battle "nearly fifty thousand of Kulchand's followers were killed or drowned", which, even if overstated, indicates that he must have been one of the greatest among the rulers of his times.

In view of these facts, I venture to offer the suggestion that this name كل چند should be read as ككل چند 'Kakalla (or Kokalla) Chīd' or as 'Kal-Chīdi, or [Kalachari?]. He took up his position in the great jungle near Mahāban, with a view to intercept the invader. This town is situated at a strategic point near the Jumnā and has often figured in later military history. "A short distance west of it", writes Thornton, "the Jumna is passable by a much frequented ford, by which Jaswant Rāo Holkar fled from the Doāb", after the rout of his great army by General Lake at Farrukhābad in 1804; and here also in 1805, "Amir Khān crossed in his incursion into the Duāb and subsequently recrossed, in his flight from the British army". (Gaz. 640).

Chedi is one of the many Sanskrit names of the Jumnā and that river formed the boundary between the empire of Qanauj and the kingdom of the Kalachūris or Chedis of Tripura in the south-east, from very early times. (Vaidya, H. M. H. I., II, 105, 134). The Chedi country lay, according to Mr. Pargiter, "along the south bank of the Jumnā, from the Chambal on the north-west to Karwi on the south-east. Its limit southwards was the plateau of Mālwā and the hills of Bundelkhand". (J.A.S.B. 1895, Pt. I, 253). The Kalachūris have been inseparably associated with the Jumnā from the very inception of their power and they are indebted for the alternative designation, Chedi, to the fact of their sway having extended to the Chedi, *i. e.*, the Jumnā. This accounts also for Kakalla Kalachūri or Chedi having posted himself at Mahāban, which lies near the left or eastern bank of the Jumnā. (I. G. XVI. 427). He had done so with a view to obstruct the progress of Maḥmūd and prevent him from crossing over and sacking Mathurā which lay on the opposite side of the river. As Kakalla II is believed by experts to have reigned from about 1000 to 1020 A.C. (Duff. C.I. 105, 293; Vaidya. H.M.H. I., III. 188), the chronology offers no difficulty. His son Gāngēya is explicitly said by Alberūni to have been reigning in or about 1030 A.C. and we have it from another Musalman contemporary, Baihaqi, that Banāras formed a

part of his extensive dominions in 424 A.H.=1034 A.C. A Hindu record also found at Piāwan shows that Gāngeya was in power in 1038 A.C. and there can be little doubt that he reigned from about from 1020 to 1040 A.C. (Duff. 118, 121 *apud* C.A.S.R. XXI. 113 ; Epig. Ind. II. 304). The fact of the matter is that this Gāngeya Chedi is no other than the Chand Rāi, *i.e.* Chīd (چید) Rāi of 'Utbi and Gardezi and their copyists. And this will stand out clearly if we bear in mind that 'Utbi speaks of him as "*one of the greatest kings of Hind*, who in his pride and self-sufficiency, thought that he held the Pleiades in his hand even while sitting". The site of Sharwa, [Terva, Tevar?] the fort in which he took refuge and from which he was obliged to fly has not been fixed, but the most probable opinion is that it, and also the lofty hills and impenetrable jungles to which he was pursued by Maḥmūd, lay somewhere in the Chedi country. I have shown elsewhere that the great Hindu king who was a neighbour of Gaṇḍa of Kālanjar and *master of one thousand elephants* and who sought to placate Maḥmūd by sending him some most extraordinary presents must be this Chand Rāi, Chīd Rāi, or Chedi Rāi. His name 'Kābakana Najdah' [کابکنه نجده] is, I think, a miswriting of گانگیه چیده Gāngeya Chedah.

II. 45, *l.* **2.** *There was a sapphire.....the weight of which was 450 miskāls.*

This statement has stumped the commentators. Sir Wolseley Haig refuses to believe in the existence of a sapphire "weighing over sixteen pounds and a half" (C.H.I. III. 19) and Dr. Nāẓim also remarks that 450 misqāls is "an impossible weight for a precious stone". (M. G. 108 note).

The real question is, was the stone a sapphire at all, as modern mineralogists understand that term? "The sole criterion of the old lapidaries", Mr. C. W. King warns us, "was the eye. Their system of nomenclature was also utterly unsound". (Natural History of Precious Stones, p. 63). Although we now possess chemical, microscopic, optical and other scientific tests, it is not infrequently difficult to place a precious stone in the proper class and even competent experts differ on the point. Many semi-precious stones are, even now, liable to be confused with and pass for their really precious congeners. The grey hyacinth is said to be occasionally mistaken for the diamond and its red variety for the ruby. (Emanuel, Diamonds and Precious Stones, 140). Spinels also are often wrongly classed as rubies. (*Ibid.* 105, 108).

Many Oriental writers appear to have had very foggy notions on these matters. Minhāj assures us that M'uizzu-d-dīn Sām had amassed "1500 *mans* of diamonds which are the most precious kinds of gems" [یك هزار و پانصد من الماس كه نفیس ترین جوهرها است], (T. N. 125, l. 3). Mīrkhwānd asserts that Maḥmūd of Ghazna possessed more than a hundred *ratls* of precious stones." (E. D. IV 135). See also Amīr Khusrau in E. D. III. 92.

Tavernier observes that even professional jewellers in the East were so ignorant that "they called all coloured stones rubies. The sapphire is a blue ruby, the amethyst a violet ruby, the topaz a yellow ruby." (Travels,

Tr. Ball. II. 101). Ibn Baṭūṭa naïvely states that "in Ceylon, some of the rubies are red, some yellow and some blue." (Gibb. 257).

This particular stone is called یاقوتِ ازرق 'blue ruby' by 'Utbi, Mīrkhwānd and Firishta, while Gardezi speaks of it as 'a ruby of the colour of antimony', یاقوتِ کحلی (76, l. 1) and Khwāndamīr as a 'purple ruby' یاقوتِ کبود (H. S. II. 4, p. 23, l. 3 f. f.). The sapphire is a variety of corundum of different shades of blue, and when possessing an amethyst or purple colour is known as the Oriental amethyst. Mr. Emanuel complains that even jewellers confound the *ordinary*, *i. e.* semi-precious amethyst with the Oriental variety. (*Op. cit.* 114, 157). It would seem that this stone was not a real sapphire but a very fine specimen of the semi-precious amethyst, which is *found in large blocks* in Ceylon, (Tennent, Ceylon, I. 544) and many other places. (Dana, Mineralogy, II. 196).

The weight of the stone also has been greatly overstated in the C. H. I., probably on account of some arithmetical error. The real weight appears to have been only about 4 2/3 lbs. The *miṣqāl* was equal to about 72 grains. (C. P. K. D. 161; Poole, Coins of the Shahs of Persia, Introd.; Alberūni, Tr. I. 160; *Tārīkh-i-Rashīdi*, Tr. 256, 469 notes). 450 *miṣqāls* would be 32400 grs. *i. e.* about 4 2/3 lbs. Avoirdupois or 5 5/8 lbs. Troy, not 16½, as the C. H. I. makes it.

Again, Sir Wolseley Haig observes that the quantity of gold yielded by the idols "may very well have been over 548 lbs. as is recorded." But the weight recorded by 'Utbi, B. (I. 15, Tr. 25), and F. (I. 29, l. 2 f. f.) is 98300 *miṣqāls*, *i. e.* more than 1010 lbs. Avoirdupois, not 548 only.

The name of the ruler of Qanauj was Rājyapāla (راجال in 'Utbi), not Jaipāl as it is here on l. 4 f. f. There is no authority for calling him Jaichand. (C. H. I. 19). He is called Rājyapāla in several inscriptions. (V. Smith in J. R. A. S. 1908, p. 791; E. H. I. 354 note; Duff, 105, 113-4).

II. 46, *l.* 11 from foot. *Capture of Munj.*

Elliot identified Munj with Majhāwan, on the Pāndu river, ten miles south of Kānhpur (Cawnpore), Asni with a town ten miles north-east of Fatḥpur and Sharwa with Sriswāgarh on the Pahūj or with Seunrā on the Ken. (458-9 *infra*). Dr. Vost was for locating Munj at Manaich, which is *said to have been* the old name of Ẓafārābād near Jaunpur and for placing Asni also in its vicinity. (J. R. A. S. 1905). Sir Wolseley Haig accepts Dr. Vost's hypothesis. (C. H. I. III. p. 20). Dr. Nāẓim differs from them all. He postulates that Māḥmūd captured these forts not on his direct route, but on the *return march* from Qanauj to Ghazna and locates Munj at 14 miles north of Etāwa, Asni at Asai Ghāt 6 miles west of it and Sharwa at Sarsāwa 13 miles west of Meerut. (M. G. 109).

II. 50, *l.* 14. *Battle of the Rāhib.*

Elliot (462-3 *infra*), Sir Wolseley Haig (C.H.I. III. 21), and others are agreed that the battle took place somewhere between Qanauj and Bāri on the Rāmgangā or the Sye. Dr. Nāẓim, however, contends that the site was near Afẓalgarh in Bijnor. (M.G. 95 and note).

The reason he gives for this opinion is that "the Rāmgangā is known as the Ruhut *in the upper part only of its course*, according to the I. G. XXI. 175." (M. G. 94 note). But this argument is almost decisively invalidated by the fact that, however correct the statement of the I. G. may be, in regard to *modern usage*, it is not at all borne out by what we find in the historical literature.

Alberūni explicitly states that the waters of the Ganges, *the Rahab*, the Gūdi and the Sarju meet near the city of Bāri, which he places at three days' march eastwards of Qanauj. (E. D. I. 49-50, 54 = Sachau's Tr. I. 199, 201). The author of the *Tārīkh Mubārakshāhi* (written about 850 H.) tells us that in 817 H., Tāju-l-mulk, pursuing the course of the Rahab, arrived at Sargdwāri, and crossing the Ganges there, attacked the infidels of Khor and Kampīla. (Text. 184, l. 9=E. D. IV. 47). This statement is also found in the Ṭ. A. (134, l. 10). Again, Ni'amatulla writes that when Buhlūl Lody invaded Jaunpur, Sultan Ḥusain, being unable to resist, retired towards Bahrāich, towards which place Sultan Buhlūl likewise directed his foot-steps and *they met on the banks of the Rahab.* (E.D.V. 89=Dorn. I. 53. See also Ṭ. A. 158, l. 10; B. I. 311=Tr. 409; F. I. 178, l. 7). The last of these passages seems decisive and indicates that the designation was not confined, in the fifteenth century, to the upper course only of the Rāmgangā, but *was applied to its lower course also.* The fact is that the name Rāmgangā is not found anywhere in the older chronicles and appears to be modern. The original name of *the entire stream*, from its source in Kumāon to its confluence with the Ganges opposite Qanauj, appears to have been Rahab or Rahat.

It may be worth while to note that Gardezi, the only other contemporary authority, places this battle on the Ganges and also states explicitly that the eight men who crossed the river proceeded to Bāri and finding it empty, sacked and looted it. (Z. A. 72, l. 2). This is manifestly inapplicable to Afẓalgarh or to the *upper* course of the Rāmgangā. The Ṭ. A. (9, l. 8) and F. (I. 31, l. 3) have substituted the Jumnā, but this is one of the numerous blunders into which these compilers have fallen.

II. 53, *l.* 7 from foot. *The portion [of Baihaqi's work] relating to Mahmūd's history was called Tāju-l-Futūh as is evident from 'Unsuri's Kasāid.*

But 'Unṣuri died either in 431 H. or 441 H. (F. I. 39, l. 9 f. f.; Beale, Oriental Biographical Dictionary, *s. n.* and as Elliot himself states, E. D. IV. 515). Baihaqi explicitly informs us that he *began to write his annals*, only in 448 H. (Text, 79, l. 5 f. f.) and his work could not have been published at all before 455 H. as Sunday, 11th Rajab 455, is mentioned in this passage as the actual date of writing. It is, therefore, impossible for 'Unṣuri to have made any reference to Baihaqi's Chronicle. The name of the author of the '*Tāju-l-Futūḥ*' is not certainly known, as the work is not now extant. Dr. Nāẓim ascribes it to 'Unṣuri himself on the ground that

the poet refers to it "in glowing terms" repeatedly (M. G. p. 1 note), but the reason advanced for the conjecture is hardly convincing and it seems neither fair nor charitable to accuse him gratuitously of puffing himself so impudently.

II. 56, *l.* **6.** *Most people love silly stories,.....as where the narrator says that in a certain sea, 'I saw an island on which people landed.....and it then moved away, and we saw it was a fish.'*

It is strange to come across in Baihaqi (Text, 836, l. 1) this ancient sailor's yarn, which is referred to by Milton (Paradise Lost, I. 200) and has been traced by his commentators to Olaus Magnus' History of Scandinavia. The tale is told in Hakluyt's Voyages (I. 568) also and is the theme of Sindbād's Fourth Voyage. The legend of the old woman who turned a man into an ass by witchcraft is another hoary mythus. It is Apuleius' story of the Golden Ass which was written in the second century, in imitation of one of the works of his Grecian contemporary, Lucian.

II. 59, *l.* **5.** *Abul Fazl mentions in his Āyīn-i-Akbari that Sultan Mahmūd twice visited Benares.*

Abul Faẓl's authority on such a point is of little or no weight, especially as both the contemporary historians, 'Utbi and Gardezi, say nothing about it and as all the other later compilers also are silent. It is true that such silence proves nothing but there is in the work of Alberūni a categorical statement which clearly implies that the 'Holy City' had been never harried by the iconoclast Sultan of Ghazna. Writing in 1030, he observes that "Hindu sciences have retired far away from those parts of the country which have been *conquered by us*, and have fled to places *which our hand cannot yet reach, to Kashmir, Banāras* and other places." (Sachau's Tr. I. 22). Alberūni's statement read side by side with Baihaqi's (123 *infra*) is decisive.

II. 65, *l.* **14.** *The Amīr said, 'I will entrust him with all the duties excepting such as respect conviviality, wine-drinking, fighting, the game of Chaugān and Chank-kabak*

Dowson has left the word قبق in چنگ قبق (Text, 173, l. 14) untranslated. چنگ here may mean 'harp', *i.e.*, music and musical entertainments. قبق literally signifies 'gourd', hence 'archer's mark or target'. The game called قبق افگنی is thus described in the *Ghiyāṣu-l-Lughāt*. "A pole 40 or 50 *gaz* [yards] long was fixed in the ground, to which in olden times, a gourd (کدو in Persian and قبق in Turki) and in later days, a tray (طشت) was hung. The players were mounted on horse-back and shot arrows at the قبق or طشت while riding". Bābur says of his uncle, Sultan Aḥmad Mirzā, that "he drew a good bow and as a rule hit the gourd (*qabāq*) in riding across the maidan". (B. N. Tr. Beveridge, 34; Erskine's Tr. 21). Abul Faẓl records that Akbar once showed his skill in shooting at the *Qabaq* before Humāyūn and Bairam Khān composed an ode in honour of

the event (A.N. Text, I. 335=Tr. I. 613). See also *Ibid.* I. 218, where the phrase بازار قبق گرم بود—"the *Qabaq bāzār* was hot, *i.e.* archery was keen"—(Tr. I. 440) arrests attention. The games of چوگان بازی and قبق اندازی are mentioned twice in connection with Humāyūn's sojourn in Persia in the *Maaṣiru-l-Umarā.* (I. 374, 395). See also S'adi, *Gulistān*, Ch. III. Story xxviii; Houtsma, E. I. II. 592, *s.v.* Kabak. Richardson says in his Dictionary, (*s. v.* دار) that دار کدو is "a tall post from which they suspend cups of gold as marks and prizes for archers who shoot riding at full speed".

The Bibl. Ind. Text reads قبق چنگ, but Dowson has read جنگ و قبق and the meaning may be that the conduct of military operations was to be outside the Minister's province. The words may be also read as جنگِ قبق with an *iẓāfat* and mean 'the contests for the *Qabaq*'—the Archery Matches.

II. 65, *l.* 21. *I will write down some points which must be taken to-morrow to his Majesty.*

173, l. 4 f. f. مواضعه نویسم تا فردا بر رای عالی عرضه کنند 'I will write down the deed of agreement (containing the conditions or terms on which I will accept the Vazīrship), that it may be submitted the next day to His Majesty'.

It was customary for the Grand Vazīr to submit a written statement clearly defining his own powers, his authority in relation to and as against the other ministers and high officials, and even as against the Sultan himself. It appears from the context that the Sultan was to formally signify his acceptance of every one of those articles or conditions, and then the Vazīr had to take orally and also write out with his own hand an oath of allegiance to his master. (66-7 *infra*). Similar agreements or مواضعه were indited and signed by some of the other ministers, and the terms and conditions laid down in those relating to the inferior officials were settled and determined by the Grand Vazīr himself. The مواضعه was, in fact, a Covenant or Contract of Service, in which the duties, obligations, rights and privileges of both the employer and the employee were precisely defined. A few lines higher up on this page, the Khwāja is made to say that he "must be fully informed of the duties of his office and have authority to offer such advice and counsel as may be necessary".

The word occurs frequently in Baihaqi. At 86 *infra*, خط مواضعه (Text 197, l. 9) is rendered as 'bond' (for the fine imposed on Ḥaṣiri) and at 136, (Text 661, l. 4) it is translated as 'engagement'. But at 123 *infra*, خراج و مواضعه (Text 497, l. 9) is rendered as 'revenue and tribute'.

II. 68, *l.* 1. *When Khwāja Ahmad had gone to Hirāt, the Amīr..... said, 'There is none fitter than he ['Abdu-s-ṣamad] for his office'.*

176, l. 11. چون خواجه احمد گذشته شد بهرات "When Khwāja Aḥmad [ibn Ḥasan Maimandi, the Grand Vazīr] *died at Herāt*—passed away

(گذشته شد) or went from Herāt to the 'bourne from which no traveller returns'. It is clear from what follows that the subject of the Sultan's cogitations was the appointment of a capable and trustworthy successor in the place of the deceased Prime-minister.

II. 71, *l.* 9 from foot. *Bu 'Abdul-lla Pārsi was chief of the royal messengers at Balkh and lived in great splendour.*

صاحب برید بلخ بود. 180, l. 9. The *Ṣāḥīb-i-Barīd* was rather, the Post-master-general, Head of the Department of Political Intelligence and Chief Informer or News-Reporter rolled into one. His duty was to keep the Sultan informed of every important event in every district and of the conduct and proceedings of the civil and military officials. (M. G. 146). He occupied a position of great trust and responsibility. (See 119 *infra*). 'Utbi the historian, as well as Ibn Khurdādbih the geographer, had been Ṣāḥīb-i-Barīd in his day and two of Maḥmūd's Vazīrs, Abul-'Abbās Faẓl and Ḥasan bin Muḥammad [Ḥasnak of Baihaqi] had been 'Masters of the Post' before they rose to the highest station in the Sultān's service. Originally, the word 'Barīd' was used for the post-mule, then for the courier who rode it and lastly for the distance from one postal station to another. The word is said in the Arabic Dictionaries to be derived from Pers. • بریدہ cut, as the mules had their tails cut or docked (Sprenger, Tr. Mas'ūdi, 331 note), but Yule traces it to the Latin 'Veredus', a post-horse, a courier's horse, and this appears to be the correct etymology.

II. 72, *l.* 1 from foot. *So he ordered ten thousand dināars,..... five horses.....and ten 'Abdūs camels to be taken to him. When the camels brought the presents before the Khwāja, he rose up.....The camels then returned.*

The Munshi who translated these extracts from Baihaqi for Dowson has made a mess of the passage. 'Abdūs camels' is sheer nonsense.

پنج مرکب خاص و ده اشتر عبدوس نزد او برد چون عبدوس با این کرامت بنزدیك خواجه رسید خواجه برخاست.....و عبدوس بازگشت 182, l. 1.

'Five horses of the class reserved for the Sultan's own use and ten camels were taken by 'Abdūs to him. When 'Abdūs, with these presents, approached the Khwāja, the Khwāja rose up.....and 'Abdus [not the camels] then returned'.

'Abdūs was the favourite personal attendant of the Sultan. He is frequently mentioned in these extracts, *e. g.* on 62, 90, 91, 92, 101 *infra*. His full name is given by Gardezi (98, l. 8 f. f. and Ṭ. A. 11, l. 6 f. f.) as Abu S'ad 'Abdūs bin 'Abdū-l-'Azīz.

II. 73, *l.* 4. *The next day, ... the Khwāja attended the Court. The Amīr was very severe and the day passed in great pomp and splendour.*

امیر مظالم کرد و روزی سخت بزرگ بود. 182, l. 4. "The Amīr [Sultan

Mas'ūd] held a Court of Justice, to hear the complaints of those who had been oppressed or wronged, and it was a very great (or eventful) day."

مظالم is the plural of مظلمه 'oppression, tyranny' (Richardson). The دیوان مظالم was the Tribunal of Justice presided over by the Sultan himself to hear and redress the grievances and complaints of the masses as well as the classes. Baihaqi has just said on the immediately preceding page (72, l. 5 *supra*) that Khwāja Aḥmad Ḥasan, the Prime Minister, had ordered all complainants متظلمان (Text, 181, l. 4) and suitors to be called. Gardezi says of Sultan Mas'ūd that, soon after taking his seat on the throne, he sat in the Court of Justice (بمظالم نشست), heard what the subjects had to say and dispensed justice. (95, l. f. f. See also 42, l. 1). At *Ibid*, 93, l. 5, the synonymous phrase کارهای مظالمی ساخت is used and also explained by him. Baihaqi states in another passage that Sultan Mas'ūd announced that a مظالم would be held twice a week in the palace, the doors of which would be open to all and every individual who had to complain of tyranny [مظالمی] should speak out freely and without restraint, so that perfect justice might be awarded. (40, l. 7). Elsewhere, he declares that Sultan Ibrāhīm Ghaznavi listened to the complaints of the oppressed and gave them justice on the very first day of his accession in 451 A.H. سخن متظلمان شنید و دادبداد. (168, l. 8 f. f.). Minhāj-i-Sirāj also uses مظالم, 'redress of grievances' and عدل گستری, 'dispensing of justice', as synonymous expressions (Ṭ. N. 275, l. 2) and speaks of ردّ مظالم 'dispelling of tyranny and injustice' (64, last line). Elsewhere, he describes the *Diwān-i-Muẓālim* as the "place where disputes are decided and grievances remedied". (3, l. 3). The phrase also occurs in the *Maāṣir-i-'Ālamgīrī* of Muḥammad Sāqi who notes that Aurangzeb ordered the 'Dīwān-i-'Adālat' to be called 'Dīwān-i-Muẓālim'. (460, l. 11; see also *Ibid*, 473, l. 6 and 520, l. 9). There is a reference to this order of Aurangzeb's which was issued in the 46th year of his reign, [1114 H.] in the *Maāṣiru-l-Umarā* also. (I. 314, l. 15).

II. 73, *l.* 10. *The business of reporting matters was not properly conducted.....*

The words in the original are: که شغل عرض با خال است. 182, l. 8.

"The department of Military Affairs (*lit.* of the Muster-master-general) is in disorder or confusion, [for want of a capable man at the head]". The duties of the *'Āriẓ*, as the author of the Ṭ. A. (138, l. 17) explains, corresponded to those of the *Bakhshi* in the days of the Mughal Emperors of Delhi. He was the head of the military administration. He recruited and reviewed the army, directed all arrangements for the payment of the troops, kept a muster-roll, and was also the controller of the commissariat department in war-time. The designation, which literally signifies 'Petitioner', is said to be derived from the fact that "it was his special business to bring into the presence of the Emperor any one seeking for employment or promotion and there to

state the facts connected with his case". (W. Irvine, Army of the Indian Moghuls, 38).

Dr. Nāẓim maintains that the شغل اشراف مملکت, to which, the other minister Ḥamdūni is said to have been appointed, was not the "control of financial affairs", as Dowson calls it (p. 74, l. 5 *infra*), but the Department of Secret Intelligence, Secret Service or 'Political Police' as the French now call it. It was so called, he says, because it employed a large staff of spies under inspectors or overseers or *Mushrifs*. It was their business to keep a sharp look-out on the conduct of foreign princes, courtiers, ministers and even the Sultan's own sons and submit confidential reports to this department. (M. G. 144-5). Baihaqi himself describes the Ghaznavide system of espionage at 101 *infra*, in connection with the arrest and imprisonment of Ariyāruq, and uses جاسوسان و مشرفان as synonymous expressions. (Text. 154, 328).

II. 76, *l.* 20. *He repeated the matter.....making it ten or fifteen times worse to him.*

حال باز گفت بده یازده زیاده. 186, l. 5. 'He related the circumstances, exaggerating them in the ratio of ten to fifteen, *i. e.*, fifty per cent.' The phrases ده چهل, ده سی, ده بیست, ده یازده, ده دوازده, ده یازده and similar collocations are idiomatic expressions which have been often incorrectly understood by some European writers. Thus ده بیست does not mean, as Dowson says, (E. D. VI. 354), 'ten times and twenty times' but 'double', *i. e.*, 'in the ratio or proportion of ten to twenty'. So ده یازده should not be rendered 'one-tenth or one-eleventh' as Mr. Morland and Mr. Dewhurst do, (Agrarian System of Northern India, 42-3, 227), but 1/10, or ten per cent, the difference between 11/10 and 10/10. ده یازده by the same rule, signifies as 'ten is to fifteen,' (15/10-10/10), *i. e.* 5/10 or fifty per cent more. Similarly, ده دوازده which occurs in the T. J. (5, ll. 1, 2, 3) means twenty per cent, (12/10-10/10). ده یازده is spoken of by Minhāj in the Ṭ. N. (275, l. 18) as a customary perquisite or fee exacted by the Chief Justiciaries of the Empire from suitors. Raverty has wrongly read this phrase as ده یازده and translated it erroneously as 'ten per cent or fifteen per cent' (Tr. 790). ده یازده cannot be the correct lection in this passage, as a fee of fifty per cent on the value of suits is unthinkable. It is due to Messrs Rogers and Beveridge to say that they have understood these expressions correctly in their version of Jahāngīr's *Tūzuk*. They have rendered ده‌دوازده by 'an increase of 20%' (I. 10, 11, 111), ده‌یازده by 'one of fifty per cent' (*Ib.* 10) and ده بیست by 'one of one hundred per cent.' (I. 10, 417). The phrase ده دوازده occurs also in the *Akbarnāma*. Abul Fazl states that a ده‌دوازده remission of the land revenue in the Punjab was sanctioned in 1007 H. 1599 A. C., on account of a fall in the prices of agricultural produce. Mr. Beveridge's rendering is "in the proportion of ten to twelve, *i.e.*, 'two in ten' or 20%". (Text, III, 747; Tr. III. 1117.) ده چهل و ده پنجاه is found (*Ibid.*

Text. I, 299) and is rendered as 'four or five times'. (Tr. I, 562). So ده سی و ده چهل in the *Bāburnāma* is translated by Mrs. Beveridge as "thirty or 40 on 10, *i. e.*, 300 or 400 per cent". (202 and note).

II. 88, *l.* 14. *Execution of Amīr Hasnak.*

Ḥasnak's real name is given as Ḥasan bin Muḥammad-al-Mīkāili by Gardezi. (96, l. 6 f. f.). F. says it was Aḥmad Ḥasan bin Mīkāil, (I. 38, l. 11 f. f.), but 'Utbi speaks of him as Abu 'Ali Ḥasan bin Muḥammad bin 'Abbās. (Lāhor lith. 329; Reynolds' Tr. 479). Khwāndamīr follows 'Utbi and calls him Abu 'Ali Ḥusain [*recte* Ḥasan] bin Muḥammad. (*Dastūru-l-Wuzarā* in E. D. IV, 151). 'Ḥasanak' is the diminutive or familiar form of 'Ḥasan'.

II. 88, *l.* 9 from foot. *It is some years since Khwāja Bu Suhal Zauzani passed away, and was placed in the prison for the answer which he gave.*

و خواجه ابوسهل زوزنی چند سال است تا گذشته شده است بپاسخ آنانکه ازوی گرفتار و مارا بآن کار نیست. 207, l. 12.

If گرفتار signifies 'imprisoned', the meaning may be that he was imprisoned, as a punishment or retribution (پاسخ) for the deeds he had done (*lit.* that which proceeded from him). It was Abu Sahl who had advised Sultan Mas'ūd to compel the army and the courtiers to refund the douceurs they had received as largesse from his brother, Muḥammad, at the time of the latter's accession. Mas'ūd incurred great odium in consequence, and Abu Sahl fell out of favour. Some time afterwards, he is said to have again misled the Sultan by false representations in regard to the conduct of the Khwārizm-shāh Altūntāsh and he was deprived of all his offices and imprisoned in the fort of Quhanduz in 422 H. (Baihaqi, Text, 311, 351, 389, 402). At 508-9 *infra*, Elliot notes that the story told there on the authority of Baihaqi's *Tārīkh-i-Nāṣiri* explains the "unintelligible allusion to Abu Sahl on p. 88". Abu Sahl was subsequently appointed head of the *Diwān-i-Risālat*, Department of Correspondence, (in which Baihaqi was Deputy or Under-Secretary), after the death of Abu Naṣr Mishkān in 431 H. Baihaqi complains of having been treated unkindly by him. But the reference is, most probably, not to imprisonment or punishment in the earthly life, but to retribution for sins in the next.

II. 92, *l.* 7. *We marched towards Māwarāu-n-Nahr and visited it with Kadr Khān.*

ما قصد ماوراالنهر کردیم و باقدر خان دیدار کردیم. 211, l. 8. 'We marched towards Māwarāu-n-Nahr and had an interview with Qadr Khān'. Maḥmūd's march was an invasion and he did not visit Transoxiana in the company of Qadr Khān. The interview took place early in A. H. 416. (Baihaqi, 246, l. 14). Gardezi has a lengthy chapter on the *Mulāqāt* or meeting between Maḥmūd and Qadr Khān. (82, l. 12; see also Ṭ. A. 11, l. 7; B. I. 17 =Tr. I. 27 and F. I, 31, l. 1 f. f.) who put the event, not quite accurately

into 415 H. Qadr Khān was the ruler of Turkestān or Māwarāu-n-Nahr itself and it is manifestly wrong to speak of Maḥmūd "visiting his country with him".

II. 92, *l.* 14 from foot. *Tell the Khwāja to issue such orders as may be proper.*

خواجه را بگوی آنچه واجب است فرموده آید. 211, l. 4 f. f. "Tell the Khwāja that all such orders as are proper will be issued", (by the Sultan, not by the Khwāja). The context shows that no orders were passed by the Khwāja. He said he knew nothing of the rights and wrongs of the matter and afterwards did everything he could to stay the execution of Ḥasnak.

II. 93, *l.* 6 from foot. *Until at length Mahmūd obtained the Farmān.*

تا امیر محمود فرمان یافت. 213, l. 4, *i. e.*, "until Amīr Maḥmūd received the summons or call (from the Almighty which every mortal has to obey" *i.e.*, until Maḥmūd died. Waṣṣāf uses the same phrase: "Bahrām Shāh had died, having received the order of God" (E. D. III. 37), where the meaning is correctly given, but that is because the passage was translated by Sir H. Elliot, not by Dowson's *Munshi*.

The phrase occurs very frequently in Baihaqi who repeatedly speaks of the event of Maḥmūd's death in these identical terms. (Text, 27, l. 11; 95, l. 2; 234, l. 8; 236, l. 9; 301, l. 9). Gardezi also informs us that the Prince Mas'ūd was in Gūzgānān when Sultan Maḥmūd فرمان یافت (92, l. 2 f. f.).

The idiom or periphrasis is used and also explained in the highly rhetorical passage in which Abul Faẓl records the death of his brother Faiẓi: "On 21st Mihr, Saturday, 10 Ṣafar 1004 H., the order came to the King of Poets, Shaikh Faiẓi, my elder brother, and that high-souled and enlightened one, on *receipt of the Call for the Last Journey*, proceeded with open brow to the Holy City". (*Akbarnāma*, Tr. Beveridge, III. 1034; Text, III. 673). B. also uses it in speaking of the death of Maḥmūd's father, Subuktigīn. (I. 9=Tr. I. 15).

II. 94, *l.* 7. *The wise Amir sent there the Commander-in-chief of the army and Nasr Khalaf.*

و امیر دانشمند بنیه [منبه variants نبیه or] و حاکم لشکر و نصر خلف را آنجا فرستاده 213, l. 12.

There is no *iẓāfat* after امیر and the و seems redundant. "And the Amīr sent the learned theologian Baniya [or Nabiya or Munabbih] and the Commander of the Army, [and] Naṣr-i-Khalaf there". دانشمند is frequently used as the title of theologians or jurists and this Dānishmand Baniya (or Nabiya or Munabbih) is mentioned elsewhere also by Baihaqi (54, l. 11), and at 216, l. 9, he is spoken of as the "Faqīh [lawyer, jurist] Baniya" [variants, Munabbih or Nabiya]. Elsewhere, he speaks of the Dānishmand Ḥaṣīri, (51, l. 13) and he is also styled *Faqīh* Bu Bakr Ḥaṣīrī. (*Ib.* 52, l. 13). Shaikh Lādan *Dānishmand* is said to have been the 'Imām', 'Religious Director' or 'Keeper of the Conscience' of Sikandar Lody,

(*Tārikh-i-Dāūdi* in E. D. IV. 470; see also *Ibid.* 538). Mullā Niẓām Dānishmand was one of the persons burnt along with Shīr Shāh at Kalanjar. (Ṭ. A. 232, l. 15; B. I. 372 = Tr. 482; F.I. 228, l. 17). The Dānishmand was really a jurisconsult or jurisprudent, a 'Counsel learned in the Law' of Islam.

II. 96, *l.* 9 from foot. *An account of this assembly was given to the Amīr by the governor of the city and the lawyers.*

و این مجلس را حاکم لشکر و فقیه بنیه (منبه or نبیه *var.*) با میر رسانیدند. 216, l. 9. "And the proceedings of this assembly were reported to the Amīr by the Commander of the Army [Naṣr-i-Khalaf] and the lawyer [or jurist فقیه] Baniya (or Munabbih or Nabiya)." Munabbih was the name of one of the remote ancestors of Muḥammad-i-Qāsim. (Alberūni, India, Tr. Sachau, I. 21, 116). Mas'ūdi also says that when he visited Multān in 300 A. H., it was ruled by Abū-Dilhāt bin *Munabbih* bin Asad al-Quraishi as Sāmi. (Sprenger, 385 = *Prairies.* I. 376; E. D. I. 454). Munabbih occurs also as the name of the father of a historian named Wahb. (*Ibid. Prairies*, I. 10 and Sprenger, 8. See also Houtsma, E. I. IV. 1084). The 'Amīd 'Abdur-razzāq to whose father Abu Sahl is said to have paid a visit on the day before the execution of Ḥasnak (last line) was 'Abdu-r-razzāq, the son of the Grand Vazīr, the great Khwāja, Aḥmad *ibn* Ḥasan Maimandi.

II. 99, *l.* 1. *Let the prayers of the Nīshāpūrians be made for me, but they were not made.*

مرا دعای نیشابوریان بسازد و نساخت. 218, last line. "He said '[I hope that] the prayers of the people of Nishāpur will serve (save, protect or avail) me', but they did not avail him (in fact)". The remark is Baihaqi's. Ḥasnak had been the *Raīs*-head of the civil administration of Nishāpur, before his appointment as Prime Minister (Baihaqi, 765, l. 3; M. G. 136 *apud* 'Utbi, Lāhore Text, 329-333), and the meaning seems to be that he had become very popular there, and earned the prayers and good wishes of its inhabitants by his just and sympathetic sway.

II. 100, *l.* 13. *She [Ḥasnak's mother] then exclaimed, 'What a fortune was my son's? A king like Mahmūd gave him this world, and one like Mas'ūd the next'.*

An equally biting and pathetic retort is ascribed to the mother of the 'Amīdu-l-mulk Al-Kunduri—the Vazīr of the Seljūq Sultan Ṭughril, when he was put to death by Ṭughril's nephew, Alp Arslān. "Lo, a fortunate service hath your service been to me", he cried out in bitterness of heart, "for thy uncle gave me this world to rule over, whilst thou, giving me the martyr's portion, hast given me the other world. So by your service, have I gained this world and that". (Ibn-al-Athīr, *sub anno* 450 H. Ed. Tornberg. X. 11, quoted by Browne, L. H. P. II. 174). As it is not likely that either author borrowed from the other, the close coincidence in phraseology between these *tu quoques* is not unworthy of note.

II. 101, *l.* **8.** *These two generals had two clever, wise and experienced men to conduct their business.*

What the author really says is just the reverse.

The Bibl. Ind. Text (262, l. 8) reads a negative which has been inadvertently dropped in the translation. What Baihaqi means is that the counsellors and managers [كد خدا] of these Turki generals were neither wise, clever nor experienced. As he states, a few lines lower down, that they were "servants of little worth and low position", and also 'despicable base persons', he would be stultifying himself if Dowson's rendering was correct. The masters themselves were simpletons like other Turks and as their counsellors and guides were equally lacking in prudence and experience, their affairs went naturally to ruin.

Ghāzi's name was Āsightigīn (Baihaqi, 97, l. 5 ; 286, 10 ; 'Utbi, 35 *ante* ; Delhi Lith. 281, l. 8), not Āṣaftigīn as it is written in C.H.I. 28.

II. 106, *l.* **5.** *Various dishes were ordered and brought in.*

As statements throwing light on society or manners are very rare in Oriental histories, this gastronomic allusion deserves comment.

267, l. 12. ولاكشه ورشتهٔ پلا فرموده بودند بياوردند. Richardson says that لاخشه or لاكشه or لاخوشه means 'vermicelli or long slices of paste put into broth'. رشته is spaghetti, a kind of maccaroni. رشتهٔ خطای *Lit.* [China or Cathay Thread], apparently resembling vermicelli, is mentioned along with other sweets and delicacies in Abu-l-Faẓl's account of Humāyūn's entertainment in Persia (A. N. Text, I. 208) and Mr. Beveridge quotes a description of it from the great lexicon of Vullers. It is there said to be made of rice flour and in appearance like thin silk thread, and flavoured with almonds, pistachios or rose water. (A. N. Tr. I. 423 note). These رشته خطائی 'Threads from Cathay' are also known as پشم.

II. 112, *l.* **5.** *Who still survives and lives at the Kandi inn.*

The word translated here as 'inn' is رباط which was used at this time, not in the sense of an 'inn' or a 'hostel,' but for a "frontier place exposed to the invasions of those who have not embraced Islam. In order to form, in such places, an armed population for the defence of the Moslem territory, some worldly advantages, all possible privileges in heaven and the title of مرابط were attached to a resident in them." (Sprenger. Tr. Mas'ūdi, 241 note). These *Ribāṭs* or "fortified barracks constructed on the frontiers of the Empire" as Dozy describes them (B. I. Tr. 44 note), afterwards came to be used also as stations for the post, where the horses were changed and later still, became inns and hostelries. See also the article on 'Ribāṭ' in Houtsma, E. I. III. 1150-3, where it is said that life in the 'Ribāṭ' was spent in devotional and religious exercises, but also in doing military duty and keeping guard. The *Ribāṭ* was both a monastery and a fortified picquet.

Alberūni gives the latitude of Kandi, or the 'Guard Station of the Prince' (رباط امير) as 33°-55′, that of Kābul being 33°-47′, of Ghazni 33°-

35′, and of Dūnpūr (near Jalālābād) 33°-45′ N. (S. Tr. I. 317). Elsewhere, he mentions a place called Kīri and states that it lies opposite to the country of Swāt. Sachau (*Ibid.* II. 182, 397) thinks that Kīri is a misspelling of Kandi کندی, which he suggests may be Gandāmak. (Text. Introd. p. xii-iii). But in the Bibl. Ind. Text of Baihaqi کیری occurs at pp 546, l. 3 f. f., 829, l. 2 and 867, l. 13. کندی is mentioned only in this passage. (Text. 274, l. 11). On p. 829 (=E. D. II. 150), Baihaqi mentions, 'Waihind, Marmināra, Barshor and Kīri' in juxtaposition. This would indicate that Kīri was somewhere near Peshāwar and Waihind, whereas Kandi was situated to the north of Kābul, as it was eight minutes of latitude more to the north.

I venture to suggest that Kīri, which is explicitly said by Baihaqi to have been in Hindustān (546, l. 3 f. f.), and appears to have been near Mārgala, may be Shāhbāz-Gīri or Kapur-da-Gīri, which lies about 40 miles north-east of Peshāwar. Shāhbāz-Gīri is a place of great antiquity and one of the seven recensions of the Fourteen Rock Edicts of Asoka has been found there. (V. Smith, E. H. I. 156 note). It was "on the ancient circuitous route to India from the Kābul valley which lay through Peshāwar, Chārsadda, Hoti Mardān, and Shāhbāzgīri to Waihind." (*Ib.* 55 note). Kapur-da-Gīri, means 'Infidels' Mount' or 'Gīri of the Infidels,' and must have been a place of note in ancient times. It is only one mile distant from Shāhbāz-Gīri and the two places are practically identical.

II. 114, *l.* 11 from foot. *When the bridge was so destroyed that no one could pass over it, that holy personage (Amīr Mas'ūd) constructed the present bridge of one arch of such excellence and beauty.*

چون از سیل تباه شد عبویه بازرگان آن مرد پارسا با خیر *** چنین پلی یك طاق برآورده بدین نکوئی و زیبائی 316, l. 11. "When it was destroyed by the flood, that pious man 'Abūya, the merchant, erected the fine and beautiful Bridge of One Arch [which is now extant]". It is clear from the context that the rebuilder was not Sultan Mas'ūd, but a godly or devout and philanthropic merchant. Mas'ūd, whose outrageous carousals and drunken orgies are described with ill-concealed disgust by Baihaqi, was not and is not likely to have been belauded by that author as 'a holy personage' (پارسا). It would appear from the words, 'no one could pass over it' in the translation, that the name of the merchant, عبویه, was wrongly deciphered and written as عبوره by the copyist and misunderstood in consequence. This پل یك طاق 'Bridge of One Arch' in Ghazni is mentioned by Minhāj at 289, 292 *infra*.

II. 118, *l.* 5 from foot. *First came the golden girdle which was of the value of one thousand* kānis *and with it * * a cap * * prepared at the expense of the same sum.*

326, l. 8 f. f. و پیش آمد کمرزر هزار گانی بسته وکلاه بادو شاخ و ساختش هم هزار گانی بود

The word is clearly printed as گانی *gāni* in the text, and the real meaning

is that it was worth one thousand *dirhams* or *miṣqāls* of gold or silver. هزارگان is the collective plural of هزار 'thousand'. A similar phrase کمر زر هفتصدگانی occurs elsewhere in Baihaqi (Text, 182, l. 7 f. f.) and is more correctly rendered as "a girdle worth (not 'with' as in the print), seven hundred pieces of gold" at p. 73 *supra*.

We again hear of کمر زر پانصد مثقال, a girdle worth 500 Miṣqāls (Text, 24, l. 3 f. f.), of a کمر هفتصدگانی and a کمر هزارگانی in connection with a presentation of Khil'ats (Text, 417, l. 13 and 462, last line). Neither of these passages is translated by Dowson, but in another, Dowson himself says that when Khwāja Ḥasan Maimandi was appointed Prime Minister, he received a rich Khil'at, a long chain and *a girdle of one thousand Miṣqāls* (p. 69 *supra*; *Kamar-i-hazār Miṣqāl* in Text, 177, l. 15).

'One thousand Kānīs' has no meaning, as *Kāni* is not a monetary or ponderary unit in Persian and the real meaning in all these passages is the same—a girdle weighing or worth so many hundred or a thousand *dirhams* or *Miṣqāls*. The question is discussed more fully in my article in Num. Suppl. No. XLII to the J.A.S.B. Vol. XXV, 1929, pp. 46-54.

II. 124, *l.* **3 from foot.** *He crossed the river Ganges and unexpectedly arrived at a city which is called Benares and which belonged to the territory of Gang.*

و از آب گنگ گذاره شد ... ناگاه بر شهری زد که آنرا بنارس گویند از ولایت گنگ بود 497, l. 9 f. f.

The 'territory of Gang' must mean here 'the Kingdom of Gangeya' (Chedi), who was at this time at the height of his power. Alberūni also mentions him and states that Dahāla, the capital of which was Tiauri, *i. e.* Tevar near Jabalpur, was, at the time he wrote the *Indica* (1030 A. C.), ruled by Gangeya. (S. I. 202=E. D. I. 58). We know also from inscriptions that Gangeya was ruling in 1038 A. C. (E. H. I. 362, 369; Duff, 118).

I have shown elsewhere that this Gangeya گانگیه is the 'Kābkana', [کابکنه] who sent the extraordinary presents to Maḥmūd which are mentioned by Ibnu-l-Athir (Ed. Tornberg. IX, 234), Qazvīni, Firishta and others.

II. 124, last line. *Wrote these letters from Indar-dar-bandi.*

Dowson notes that Elliot's Mss. read 'Indar-bedi' and that form is certainly less incorrect. Alberūni speaks of the Duāb as 'Indra-vedi'. (S. I. 211 and note at II, 321). 'Antarvedi' is the old Hindu name of the Lower Duāb from about Etāwah to Allāhābād and it is sometimes loosely used for the whole Duāb also. The name is said to be derived from the *Sansk. Antar*, within and *vedi*, altar, hearth or earthen platform in the courtyard of a house. (Elliot, Races. II. 10). But others say it means 'between the waters'. (I. G. XI. 364).

II. 125, *l.* 2 and Footnote. *Here occurs the lacuna mentioned in the Bibliographical Notice at p. 54.*

Dowson, following Morley, states that "about a page and a half of

matter is missing" at p. 498 [not 408] of the Bibl. Ind. Text. This seems to me to be an estimate so conservative as to be utterly misleading. The *lacuna* is much more extensive and *embraces the chronicle of no less than eleven months.* The record of the occurrences of the year 424 H. commences on l. 13, p. 446 of the B. I. Text. The latest event of that year which finds mention is the death of Abu-l-Ḥasan 'Uqaili on the 4th of Rajab (491, l. 4 f. f.). The next four pages relate to some events which had taken place at Nishāpur in the summer and this is followed by the account of Aḥmad Nīāltigin's conquests in Hindustān. (pp. 496-8). This is where the lacuna is found, but the event recorded on the immediately following page relates to Friday, 4th Jumādi II [425 H.]. Then we have references to Tuesday, 15th Jumādi II, middle of Rajab, 1st Sh'abān and 5th Sh'abān on p. 506 and 16th Sh'abān and 1st Ramaẓān on p. 509. Along story of Hārūn-al-Rashīd and the Barmecides intervenes on pp. 512-522 and then there is an explicit reference to the arrival on Monday, 10th Ramaẓān 425 H., of bad news from Khwārizam on p. 522, l. 8. The diary of the rest of the year then proceeds as usual and a regular series of dates in the three subsequent months arrests attention at pp. 524, 526, 528, 531, 536, winding up with Wednesday, 21st Ẕī-l-ḥijja at p. 538. Baihaqi then notes that the 1st of Muḥarram 426 fell on a Saturday. (540, l. 10). He had meticulously registered before, the week day on which the 1st of Muḥarram of 422, 423 and 424 had fallen (pp. 103, and also 168, 353 and 446). The fact that there is no such record for the initial day of 425 H. proves beyond doubt that the events of the latter half of 424 and the first five months of 425 H. find no place in the extant portion of his History. This also explains why the Expedition to Hindustān and the siege and capture of Sarsūti in 424-5 H. which is descri bedin some detail by Gardezi (Z. A. 99, l. 8), the Ṭ. A. (11, l. 2 f. f.), and Firishta (I. 41, l. 10 f. f.) is apparently ignored there, altogether.

II. 125, *l.* 8 from foot. *Insurrections have also broken out in Khatlān and Tukhāristan.*

Khatlān or Khutlān was the country of the Haiātāla, Hephthalites or Ephthalites and its capital Hulbak, was near the modern Kolāb. (L. E. C. 438). Tukhāristān lay to the eastward of Balkh, stretching along the side of the Oxus as far as the frontiers of Badakhshān and was bounded on the south by the mountain ranges north of Bāmiyān and Panjhīr. The towns of Khulm, Samangān, Andarāba, Walwalij and Tāyiqān were all included in Tukhāristān (L.E. C. 426-8) and the province corresponded *roughly* to the Afghān Turkestan of our maps. The derivation of the name from the Sansk. *Tushār*, 'cold or snow', does not sound convincing.

II. 126, *l.* 15. *The Amīr sent a Persian Secretary to Tilak.*

و عراقی دبیر را پوشیده نزد تلك فرستاد. 501, l. 5 f. f. 'He sent 'Irāqi, the secretary, privately to Tilak'. 'Irāqi was the *nisba* or surname of the Secretary. 'Irāqi the Secretary (دبیر) is frequently mentioned by Baihaqi who gives his full name as Abul Ḥasan-i-'Irāqi. (Text, 618, 622;

see also 549, 617). The death of Abul Ḥasan-i-'Iraqi the Dabīr, on 6th Sh'abān 429 H, is also recorded. (*Ibid*, 672, l. 6).

II. 127, *l.* 9 from foot. *This Tilak was the son of a barber.*

ابن تلك پسر حجامی بود. 503, l. 5. This is what is said in the Bibl. Ind. Text, but F. (I. 42, l. 10) calls him '*Tūlak* the son of Ḥusāin', while the Ṭ.A. (12, l. 13) prefers '*Talak* the son of 'Ḥusain', and still another perversion 'Jaisen' is found in one of Elliot's manuscripts. (60 *supra*). Baihaqi does not give the name of Tilak's father at all, but Gardezi states that he was the son of 'Jahlan' جهلان. (Z. A. 102, l. 6.). This would indicate that 'Ḥusain' and 'Jaisen' are both mistranscriptions of 'Jahlan'. 'Jalhaṇa' or 'Jahlaṇsi' is an old name found in dynastic lists and inscriptions. (Duff. C. I. 192, 297; I. A. XVIII. 213-4).

II. 134, *l.* 11. *The Amīr arrived at Herāt on Thursday, the middle of Zī-l-hijja.*

The month is given but the year is not specified in Dowson's translation. It was 425 H. (538, l. 4). The next event mentioned—the appointment of Prince Maudūd as Governor of Hindustān on Saturday 6th Ẓī-l-q'ad—is also recorded without any mention of the year. It was 427 H. (622, l. 4).

15th Ẓī-l-ḥijja 425 H. was Thursday, 31st October 1034 A. C. 6th Ẓi-l-q'ad 427 H. was Tuesday, 31st August 1036. But 3rd Ẓi-l-q'ad 427 H. was Saturday, 28th August 1036. The printed text has سوم '*third* of Ẓī-l-q'ad,' not ششم sixth, as in Dowson.

II. 134, *l.* 9 from foot. *And S'ad Salmān to be accountant and treasurer.*

This S'ad-i-Salmān was most probably the father of the poet Mas'ūd-i-S'ad-i-S'almān. Mas'ūd says in a Qaṣīda written in the reign of Ibrāhīm Ghaznavi that his father had been in the service of the dynasty for sixty years. (E. D. IV. 521). Sultan Ibrāhīm died in 492 H. The statement is repeated in another of this poet's حبسیات or 'Prison-rhymes', where the father is said to have done service for fifty years and to have been rewarded with large estates, which after descending by inheritance to Mas'ūd, had been taken away from him on account of the intrigues of his adversaries. (*Ib.* 526).

II. 135, *l.* 14. *On another day of the 'Id.*

'Another day of the 'Id,' is hardly intelligible. بدیگر روز عید (660, l. 9) means 'On the day *after the 'Id,' i.e.*, after the 'Id-i-Qurbān, 10th Ẓi-l-ḥijja 428 H. The event next recorded, the investiture of the Commander-in-chief, 'Ali Dāya, with a robe of honour, is referred to Thursday, the middle, *i.e.* 15th of Ẓi-l-ḥijja. As the 'Id or 10th had fallen on a Saturday (Text 659, last line), 15th, Thursday is serially correct. The 17th is stated to have been a Saturday. (138 *infra*).

II. 136, *l.* 1. *Tūs, Kohistān Hirāt, Ghurjistān.....are well garrisoned.*

قهستان in Text, 661, l. 1. Quhistān is the *specific name* of a hilly

district which lay north-west of the Zarah lake and on the border of the Great Desert. Its chief towns were Tūn and Qāīn. Tūn was one of the strongholds of the Assassins. Qāīn was the central town of Quhistān. Tūn (Lat. 34° N., Long. 58° E.) lay about fifty miles westward of Qāīn (Lat. 33° N., Long. 59° E.). (Browne, L. H. P. II, 458). Birjand has now taken the place of Qāīn as the chief town of Quhistān. They are all shown in the Map appended to Holdich's Gates of India.

Gharjistān lay north of Ghor and to the east of Bādghīs, at the head of the Upper Murghāb. (Le Strange, L. E. C. 415; Houtsma, E. I. II. 141). It should not be confused with Gurjistān or Georgia, as it has been in the Index to Raverty's Translation of the Ṭ. N. and elsewhere.

II. 137, *l.* 8. *After the Sultan has subdued Re, Khurāsān and the Jabbāl (Hills).*

Jibāl (not Jabbāl) does not mean here 'hills' in general, but is the specific or *proper name* of a district which corresponds roughly with the Media Atropatene of the old Greek and Roman geographers or the 'Irāq-i-'Ajam of the Arabs. It was called 'Pahlev' or 'the Hilly' region in Sāssānian times. 'Jibāl', lit. 'mountains', is the Arabic rendering or substitute of 'Pahlevi'. The boundaries of the province were rather ill-defined. "Sometimes Āzarbāijān and the Caspian provinces were considered to form part of it, sometimes, they, as well as Rai and Isfahān, were considered as being outside of it". (Houtum-Schindler, Eastern Persian Iraq, p. 5). Elsewhere, the Jibāl is described as "the mountainous district from Isfahān to Zanjān, Qazvīn, Hamadān, Dinawar and Kirmisin". Ḥasan-i-Sabaḥ was indebted for his sobriquet of Shaikhu-l-Jibāl —'Old Man of the Mountains'—to this district. (*Āīn.* Tr. III. 396 note).

The 'son of Kāku' (l. 8) was 'Alāu-d-daula J'afar *bin* Kākūya. 'Kākūya' signifies in Turki 'maternal uncle' and this Prince was so called because he was the maternal uncle of Majdu-d-daula Dilami. (Khwāndamīr, Ḥ. S. in E. D. IV, 195).

II. 137, *l.* 9. *The chief of the Ghāzis, the army of Lāhore.....might undertake the business.*

'Chief of the Ghāzis' was the official designation at this time of 'Abdulla Qarātigīn, who is mentioned under his proper name at 119 *supra.* (Text, 802, l. 3). The warriors (Ghāzīs) who are said at 123 *supra* to have sided with Aḥmad Niāltigīn in his struggle with Qāẓi Shirāz were under the command of this 'Abdulla Qarātigīn. (Text, 497, l. 1). Qarātigīn had been one of the favourite Ḥājibs of Sultan Maḥmūd Ghaznavi. (M. G. 139 note). These *Ghāzīs* were men who had volunteered for service in India. Mr. Gibb points out that "though the old feeling for *Jihād* had cooled down by this time, the inducement of paradise held out as the reward of the martyr was still strong enough to maintain a steady movement of volunteers to the theatres of war against infidels. These volunteers lived on the frontier in forts or fortified lines called 'Ribāṭ' which means literally 'Pickets' and were known as *Ghāzīs* or

Murābiṭs, "Mounted Frontiersmen". (Ibn Baṭūṭa. Introd. 33. See also Houtsma, E.I. III. 1150-3). The *Sālār-i-Ghāziān* was their Commander-in-chief. "Twenty thousand volunteers from Māwarāu-n-nahr, who were anxious to be employed in some holy expedition" had taken service under Maḥmūd when he invaded Qanauj. ('Utbi, 41 *ante*; see also 31, 49 *ibid.*). There is another reference to them in Ibnu-l-Athir's account of the Somanāth expedition also, where the invading force is stated to have consisted of "30000 horse, *besides volunteers*". (469 *infra*).

II. 139, *l.* **9.** *He appointed Khwāja Bu Nasr Noki, my preceptor, to be in attendance on him [Amīr S'aīd, the son of Sultan Mas'ūd].*

خواجه بو نصر نوكي را استاد نامزد كرد بفرمان 664, l. 9.

He [the Sultan] appointed Khwāja Bu Naṣr Noki, *as the preceptor [of his young son* Amīr S'aid, who was left in Ghazni, as the representative of his father while Mas'ūd was away on the expedition against Hānsi]. Noki was never the استاد preceptor or superior of Baihaqi. استاد is here used in the sense of 'guide, director, manager, virtual administrator'. Abu Naṣr Mushkān was Baihaqi's *Ustād* and Head of the Correspondence Department upto his death in Ṣafar 431 H. (Text, 748-749), when Abu Sahl Zauzani succeeded him. (*Ibid.* 753, l. 16). Abu Naṣr Noki was employed in the same department, and Baihaqi was, in fact, the senior officer. (*Ibid.* 332, l. 1).

II. 139, *l.* **8 from foot.** *He encamped on the banks of that river [Jailam] near Dinārkotah.*

This camping ground has not been identified, probably because the 're' and 'kāf' have been transposed by the scribe. The place meant is, most probably, Dhangrot or Dangrot on the Jehlum, still a well-known place of mahseer fishing on that river. It is now in Jehlum district and is mentioned in the I. G. (XIV. 151). It is also called Tangrote and is close to Dinā, a railway station eleven miles north of Jhelum town. Dinā is in Lat. 32°-40′ N.; Long. 73°-50′ E. Constable, 24 E c. This Dhingrot or Dingrot should not be confused with Dīnkot or Dhankot (Lat. 32°-58′ N.; Long. 71°-40′ E.) which is mentioned sometimes in the Mughal Chronicles. Dīnkot was situated on the *Indus*, about seven miles above Kālābagh. It has been now washed away by that fickle river. (Wood, Journey 76).

II. 140, *l.* **6 from foot.** *He came through the pass of Sakāwand, where so much snow had fallen that it was beyond calculation.*

Le Strange says Sagāwand was one of the three chief towns of the district of Bāmiyān. (L. E. C. 418). Bābur describes it as one of the villages of Luhugar [modern Lohgar] which was one of the *tumāns* (subdivisions) of the Kābul district proper, and locates it near Charkh. (B.N. Tr. 217). Dowson (578 *infra*) places it at or near Jālālābād and speaks, on the authority of Idrīsi, of its *warm* climate, in which snow did not fall! It is obvious that this last remark is inapplicable to the

place under notice. The fact is that this Sakāwand was not near Jalālābād at all, but lay about 50 miles south of Kābul, and about 35 miles north-east of Ghazni. The Sagāwand Pass lay along the *direct* route from Ghazni to India, (by way of Iriyāb, Kurram, Shanūzān and Naghar), which was followed by Maḥmūd Ghaznavi as well as Shihābū-d-dīn Ghori and other early Musalman invaders of India. (Raverty, N. A. 72-4). The Sajāwan Pass is shown in Constable 24 C a.

II. 141, *l.* 7. *The commanders and officers of the garrison of the five forts also returned to Ghazni.*

The B. I. text says nothing specific about the number of the forts. و بنها و عزیزان و خداوندان که بقلعهای سبیخ بودند و باز آمدند 665, l. 2 f. f. "And the families and the honoured ones and the other great persons (who had retired for a time) to the forts came back." سبخ means 'retiring' and قلعهای سبیخ may mean "fortresses to which people could retire". But Richardson says that سپنج [*sipanj*] also means 'a place to which one retires to take *rest for a few days.*' Elliot's Ms. appears to have read پنج [*panj*] instead of سپنج [*sipanj*], but there is no specific reference to 'five' forts anywhere in the preceding context. It would appear that when Mas'ūd marched to India, the palace establishments, the women, the servants, etc. who did not accompany the Sultan were sent away to rusticate during his absence in certain fortresses, which, from their natural position or capability for defence, were regarded as secure places of refuge in critical times.

II. 141, *l.* 14. *On Tuesday, the 3rd of Jumāda-l-awwal, the Amīr celebrated the festival of New Year's Day.*

There must be some error here, as we have just been told that Mas'ūd returned to Ghazni on Sunday, the 3rd of Jumādiu-l-awwal (140, l. 7 f. f.) and stayed for one week at the old palace of Maḥmūd. (141, l. 4). According to the B. I. text, the festivities connected with the Naurūz commenced, not on Tuesday, the 3rd, but when four days remained of Jumāda-l-awwal, روز سه شنبه چهار روز باقی ماند ه ازماه جمادالاولی (666, l. 4). Calculation proves that this day, *i.e.* the 26th Jumādi I, was Tuesday, 6th March 1038. This reckoning is also serially correct, as if the 3rd was a Sunday, the 26th must have been a Tuesday.

II. 143, *l.* 7. *The author out of employ.*

There is nothing corresponding to this caption in the printed text and its interpolation here is uncalled for and misleading. *Baihaqi does not speak here of himself at all.* The person who is here said to have been thrown out of employ and ordered to remain as a sort of prisoner in his own house was not Baihaqi, but Khwāja Abul Fath Mas'ūd, the son-in-law of the Sultan's Vazīr, Khwāja 'Abdu-s-Ṣamad. This man had been appointed 'Kad-Khudā' of the Prince Maudūd, through the influence of his father-in-law, as is related only a few lines lower down. He appears subsequently to have fallen out of favour and what Baihaqi says is that *this*

Masū'd was, at the time when he wrote this paragraph in 451 H., 'out of employ' and kept as a prisoner in his own house by the command of Sultan Ibrāhīm. Baihaqi then moralises in his platitudinous way upon the vicissitudes of earthly things and the changes brought about by the whirligig of time in men's conditions. Baihaqi also explains the causes of the man's downfall in subsequent times. He observes that this Khwāja Mas'ūd was a handsome and elegant youth of good family, but he was totally inexperienced in practical affairs and the ways of the world. He had been brought straight from his domestic circle and his school to the foot of the throne without any training and so "had afterwards to see what he saw and bear what he bore." (Text. 822, l. 13; 823, l. 9).

Baihaqi does appear to have been dismissed from office in the latter part of the reign of 'Abdu-r-Rashīd and was out of employ also in the fifty-seven days' usurpation of Tughril. He appears to have been reinstated after the accession of Farrukhzād, but again sent into compulsory retirement towards the end of his reign. He does not appear to have been "out of employ" at any time during Mas'ūd's reign, (see Text, 754), though he is said to have been sent to prison, for some misdemeanour by a Qāzi, in that of Maudūd. (Barthold, Art. in Houtsma, E. I. I. 593).

II. 144, *l.* 5 from foot. *A sumptuous feast was prepared and messes of potage were placed round.*

This is another allusion to good living and gastronomy. The word used is هریسه (824, l. 12). It occurs again on 825, l. 2, and is translated by Dowson as 'dinner' at 145 *infra*. But 'Harīsa' really signifies a sort of ragout, a delectable viand like potpourri and not 'dinner'. Abul Faẓl gives the recipe for making it thus: "Take ten seers of meat, 5 seers of crushed wheat, 2 seers of ghee, ½ seer salt and 2 *dāms* weight of cinnamon". (*Āīn*, Tr. I. 60). Steingass says 'Harīsa' is made by boiling bruised wheat to a consistency and adding to it meat, butter, cinnamon and other aromatic herbs. 'Harīsa' is mentioned by Firdausi as a rich dish placed before Bahrām Gor when he found shelter in a *dihkān's* house after losing his way in the chase. (Turner Macan's Ed. of the *Shāhnāma*, III. 1514, l. 19). Budāuni tells us that Shāh Fatḥ-ullah Shirāzi died, because he "treated himself by eating *Harīsa*, when he had a burning fever and however much the Ḥakīm 'Ali forbade it, he would not be prevented". (Text, II, 369, Tr. 381).

II. 147, *l.* 17. *He sent me a sealed answer by the hands of the Sikkadār or seal-bearer.*

و سبك جواب نوشت سوی من باسکدار 826, l. 3 f. f. The word is اسکدار 'Askudār' and it is used by Baihaqi at 363, l. 4, 392, l. 7, 424, l. 6, 451, l. 9, 494, l. 7, and 694, l. 9, either for a courier or for his post-bag. Sprenger states that "in the post-office (دیوان البرید), every letter or parcel put to post or come by post was entered in a list, which was called الاسکدار in Arabic, that is to say, از که داری. In this list, the number of letters

and parcels was named and the address of every one of them specified." (Tr. Mas'ūdi, 331 note). The derivation from از کہ داری is only one of the many etymological enormities of the Arab lexicographers and is absolutely worthless. In the very same note, Sprenger tells us that the *postal station* where the mules and the horses were changed was also termed سکہ and اسکدار. Richardson says اسکدار signifies 'courier.'

II. 147, *l.* **9 from foot.** *During the night, Amīr Muhammad was brought from the fort of Naghar.*

Dowson notes that "Elliot read the name as 'Naghz,' which must be wrong, as the author probably "means the fort of Nagarkot". But the context shows that Elliot was right. This Naghar (or Naghz) was not so very far from Ghazni itself. Gardezi, in the counter-part passage, calls the fort 'Barghand' برغند and states that the Prince Yazdyār, who is here said to have brought Muḥammad, had been sent shortly before on a punitive expedition to the [Foot-hills or] 'Koh pāyeh-i-Ghazni,' as the Afghans in that region had been again refractory and truculent. (Z. A. 109, l. 3; B. I. 29, Tr. 44). I venture to suggest that this is the Naghar or Naghz which is mentioned in the *Ẓafarnāma* of Yazdi (E. D. III. 522) and the *Maṭlau-s-Sʿadain* of 'Abdu-r-Razzāq. (Ib. IV. 93). It was near Iryāb, and situated in close proximity to, if it was not identical with, what is now called Baghzan or Bazghan. Gardezi's برغند appears to be only another form of بزغند or برغن. Bazghan "is the chief place in Iryāb" and lies thirty-five *Kuroh* or about seventy miles south-east of Kābul. (Raverty, N. A. 68). Bāyazīd Biyāt also speaks of Gardez (65 miles south-east of Kābul,) Naghz and Bangash in juxta-position. (Memoirs, Tr. J. A. S. B. (1898), LXVII, 299). Naghar or Baghzan is now in the Kurram Political Agency.

II. 149, *l.* **18.** *They asked Hurra Khutali, the mother of the Sultan, to interfere in the matter.*

از حرهٔ ختلی والدهٔ سلطان درخواستند تا درین باب سخن گویند. 828, l. 13. The Bibl. Ind. text also reads the sentence thus, but there must be some error and a و or copulative conjunction must have been inadvertently dropped out by the copyist. Baihaqi repeatedly states that Ḥurra-i-Khutali was the *aunt* عمه of Sultān Mas'ūd and *not his mother*. (Text, 12, l. 9; 18, l. 8; 136, l. 5). On p. 18, l. 8, Baihaqi explicitly speaks of the Sultan's mother *and* Ḥurra-i-Khutali as two different persons. والدهٔ امیر مسعود و عمش حره ختلی. At p. 80, l. 10, he mentions them again والدهٔ سلطان مسعود و دیگر حرم و حره ختلی, 'The mother of Sultan Mas'ūd and other ladies of the harem and Ḥurra-i-Khutali.' The mother of the Sultan is frequently mentioned by him as *Sayyīda*. (Text, 3, l. 4 f. f.; 5, l. 16; 125, l. 10).

II. 149, *l.* **20.** *But she replied that any one who wished to fall into the hands of the enemy might remain at Ghaznīn.*

It was not the lady or ladies who gave the reply. It was the Sultan who rejected the request and used these angry words in doing so.

ایشان گفتند و جواب شنودند که هر کسی که خواهد که بدست دشمن افتد بخزنین بباید بود 828, l. 14. "They spoke [to the Sultan] and heard in reply that whosoever wished to fall into the hands of the enemy should stay in Ghaznīn".

II. 149, last line. *I have determined to go to Hindustān and pass the winter in Waihind and Marminâra, and Barshūr (Peshāwar) and Kīri.*

Waihind, Ohind or Hund, as it is now called, lay about fifteen miles north of Aṭak. Marminâra has not been identified and the name of the place is probably spelt wrongly. It may be the معبر مهناره 'The Ford' [of the village] of 'Mahanâra', which is mentioned by Alberūni. "Swelled by these affluents", he writes, "the river Ghorvand, [*i. e.* the Kābul river] is a great river opposite the town of Purshāvar, being there called the *Ford*, from a ford near the village of *Mahanâra*, on the eastern bank of the river", and it falls into the river Sindh .....below the capital of Alqandahār [Gāndhāra], *i.e.* "Vaihind". (Sachau's Tr. I 259). It is not unlikely that this ـر is a copyist's error or local corruption for معبر. There is still a place called 'Prata'h Minâra', signifying in Pushtu, 'the Fallen Minâra' [or Tower], in this neighbourhood and Bāyazīd Biyāt states that Hūmāyūn crossed the Indus somewhere near it in 950 A. H. = 1551 A. C. (Raverty, N. A. 93; J. A. S. B. 1898, p. 305). Elsewhere also, Raverty says that Prata'h Minâra lies "on the west bank of the Indus, above Aṭak." (T. N. Tr. 78, 1043 notes). Peshāwar is 43 miles W. of Aṭak (Attock).

Kiri or Giri is probably, Shāhbāz-Giri, or Kāpur-da-Giri, '*Giri* of the Kāfirs', 40 miles north-east of Peshāwar (Vincent Smith, Asoka, note) and 20 miles north-west of Waihind. (Beal. Buddhist Records, I. 114 note). Peshāwar is 22 miles N. W. of Waihind. See my notes on II. 112, l. 5 *ante* and 273, l. 8 *post*.

II. 154, *l.* 6. *And of my being appointed to the government of Khwārizm and of my losing it and going to Re and of Altūntāsh. All this I will mention.*

و ولایت از دست ما شدن و خوارزم و التونتاش و آن ولایت از چنگ ما رفتن و رفتن سوی ری تمامی بگوئیم. 833, l. 3. As Baihaqi is not known to have been appointed governor of Khwārizm at any time, he could not have lost the governorship and he was certainly not responsible for the loss of that kingdom. What the sentence means is, "I will relate fully how the kingdom went out of our [*i.e.*, Sultan Mas'ūd's) hands and speak of Khwārizm and Altūntāsh and how that province [Khwārizm] passed out of our [Sultan Mas'ūd's] grasp and of our [Sultan Mas'ūd's] march towards Re."

This tenth volume of Baihaqi's work is entirely devoted to the affairs of Khwārizm and contains a detailed account of its history from the days of Abu-l-'Abbās Māmūn to the year 432 H.

Khwāndamīr informs us that in 426 H., Mas'ūd marched with a great army to Jurjān and Ṭabaristān, because his governor in 'Irāq had im-

plored help from him against the Seljūqs. The inhabitants of Qum and Sāwa also had rebelled and Abu Sahl Hamdūni, his Governor of Rai, had been driven out by 'Alāu-d-daula bin Kākūya. (E.D. IV. 196-7; see also Gardezi, *Z.A.* 99-100). Mas'ūd had to march again to Rai in H. 430, as the Seljūqs had besieged that town. Baihaqi himself refers to the event at 137, 141-2, *ante*.

II. 155, *l.* **8.** *The author was Maulānā Nūru-d-dīn Muhammad 'Ufi.*

Dr. Niẓāmu-d-din has pointed out that 'Awfi's real *laqab* was Sadīdu-d-dīn and not Nūru-d-dīn, as Elliot and other writers have given it on the authority of Ḥamdulla Mustaufi. Very few of the facts of 'Awfi's life-history have been ascertained with precision. All that can be said is that he was born between 1171 and 1176 A.C. in Bukhārā and died about A.C. 12 3 2-3. Besides composing the *Jawāmi'a* and the *Lubābu-l-Albāb*, he made in 620 H. a translation of Tanūkhi's *Faraj b'adu-sh-shidda*, which takes priority over the better known version of Dihistāni. The latter was made about 650 H. and, before its discovery, was supposed to be the earliest. (J.Ḥ. 14-19).

II. 159, *l.* **20.** *So he [Bahrām Gaur] placed his army and country in charge of his brother Zasi.*

زسی is an error for نرسی Narsi (Narses). (Rogers, Tr. *Shāhnāma.* 414, 415; Rawlinson, Seventh Oriental Monarchy, 296, 298).

II. 160, *l.* **17.** *'I am that ferocious lion; I am that huge elephant; My name is Bahrām Gūr, and my patronymic Būjabala'.*

The original words are:

منم آن شیر شله و منم آن بیریله منم آن بهرام گور و منم بوجیله

This story, as well as the distich, is held by modern scholars to be spurious, though it is sponsored by Th'alibi (*Ghurar*, Ed. and Tr. Zotenberg, 556-7), who quotes it on the older, if not more respectable authority of Khurdādbih. Browne says that this tale of Bahrām Gor is only "one of many apocryphal legends relating to the origin of Persian poetry, which the authors of the *Taẕkirahs* delight to tell. Daulatshāh relates still another anecdote ascribing the invention of the Persian couplet to the joint efforts of Bahrām Gor and his mistress Dilārām. (*Taẕkira*, Ed. Browne, 28-29). According to others, the first *Bait* in the language was inscribed on the Palace of Shīrīn, ... or was the graceful utterance of a young son of Y'aqūb ibn Laiṣ ..... or composed by 'Abbās of Merv in praise of the Khalīf Māmūn..... All these tales are unworthy of serious attention and entitled to little or no credence". (L.H.P.I.12-14). See also Berthels in Houtsma. (E.I. III. 1058-9).

Perhaps the most curious and arresting thing in the couplet is the word 'Būjabala,' which Bahrām says was his patronymic. 'Bujabala' or 'Abu Jabala' may mean in Arabic, 'Father of the Mountain,' but 'Bujabala' also bears a close phonetic resemblance to the Sanskrit *Bhujabala*, 'strong-armed'—a name or epithet actually borne by more than one Hindu king. (Duff, C. I. 155, 160).

II. 161, *l.* **8 from foot.** *The Solis of Persia.*

'Soli' is a miswriting of 'Lūli' or 'Lūri,' which is generally derived from Lūristān, the district from which the Persian gypsies are believed to have originally come and spread over other parts of Asia. Th'alibi speaks of them as 'Luriy-yūn'. (*Ghurar*, 564-9). The interchange of 'r' and 'l' is very common. Lūristān is in Lat. 34° N., Long. 47° E. Dames says that the Loris or Lolis of Persia are really the same as the Ḍoms or Mirāsis, the hereditary minstrels of Indian villages. (The Baloch Race, 17).

II. 162, *l.* **2 from foot.** *Muhammad 'Ufi, the compiler of this work ..... had once been in Kambāyat (Cambay).*

Dr. Niẓāmu-d-dīn's comments on this incidental personal reference are more imaginative than historical. "Soon after this", we read, "he ['Awfi] was sent as the Chief Judge at the behest of Qabācha to the recently acquired country of Gujarāt or Nahrwāla, as it was then called". (J. H. Introd. 14). And again, "We gather that he ['Awfi] was the judge of that place (Kambāyat) in the province of Nahrwāla,.....then a dependency of Malik Nāṣiru-d-dīn Qabācha". (*Ibid*, 8). Now, it is common knowledge that Nahrwāla or Gujarāt was an absolutely independent Hindu kingdom upto 1298 A.C. and that it came really under Muḥammadan sway only in that year. If Qabācha ever invaded any part of the country, it was only a lightning raid like Maḥmūd's in 1026 or Aibak's in 1199 A.C. This learned writer seems to me to have completely misunderstood the real position of 'Awfi and the nature of his duties. Iṣṭakhri and Ibn Ḥauqal tell us that "from Kambāya to Saimūr is the land of the Balharā and in it there are several Indian kings. It is a land of infidels, but there are Musalmans in its cities and none but Musalmans rule over them on the part of the Balharā. There are Jām'a Masjids in them." (E.D.I. 27, 34. See also Idrīsi, *Ib.* 88). Elliot, commenting upon this, states: "The Musalmans in these parts were treated with great consideration by the native princes. They were governed by men of their own faith, as the traveller (Ibn Ḥauqal) informs us, *was also the case with Musalmans in other infidel dominions*, as among the Khazars on the Volga, the Alans of the Caucasus and in Ghāna and Kaugha in Central Africa. They had the privilege of living under their own laws, and no one could give testimony against them, unless he professed the Muhammadan faith". (*Ibid.* 457). 'Awfi was sent as Chief Judge only to decide cases among the Musalmāns who had resorted for commerce and trade to the country, which was still held firmly in the grasp of its Hindu kings. His functions were like those of Consuls in our own times. The author of the *Kitābu-l-'Ajāib al Hind* informs that the Hindus punished theft in a Hindu with death, or a heavy fine or with confiscation of property. But "if the thief is a Musalman, he is judged by the *Behermen* of the Musalmans, who pronounces sentence according to the laws of Islam. The *Behermen* takes the place of the Qādi in a

Musalman country. He can only be chosen from those who have made a profession of Islam.'' (Book of the Marvels of India, Eng. Tr. 140. See also *Ibid*, 120-1). "In every one of the cities of China", writes Ibn Baṭūṭa also, "there is always a Shaikh-al-Islām, to whom all matters concerning the Muslims are referred, *i.e.* who acts as an intermediary between the government and the Muslim community, and a Qādi to decide legal cases between them". (Gibb, 290).

II. 163, *l.* 3. *In this city, . . . was a body of Fire-worshippers as well as the congregation of Musalmans.*

The word rendered as 'Fire-worshippers' is گبر (164 *infra*, note), which Dowson himself translates as 'Buddhist' at 311 *infra*. He states that it "means Christianity as well as Fireworship" and is applied probably to "any established religion other than Muhammadanism." Raverty also tells us that according to the Dictionaries, "it is very widely applied, to signify a Christian, also a worshipper of fire or Gabr, a pagan, an infidel or any unbeliever". (Tr. ṬN. 567 note). Vullers and Steingass both give 'Lamaism' as one of its many meanings and there can be little doubt that *Dīn-i-Tarsāi* is employed by Minhāj for Tibetān Lamaism or Shāmānism in the passage translated at 311 *infra*.

Moreover, two statements are made by 'Awfi himself in the course of the narrative which militate with considerable force against the 'fire-worshipper' interpretation. "None of the courtiers of the Rāi", writes 'Awfi, "paid any attention to him [the complainant, Khaṭīb 'Ali] or rendered him any assistance, *each one being desirous to screen those of his own persuasion*". And again he informs us that the "Rāi then told them [his courtiers] that he had felt unable to place implicit confidence in any one, because *a difference of religion was involved in the case*".

Now, if these words have any meaning, they must imply that some at least of the courtiers of Siddharāja were Pārsis or Indian Zoroastrians, and that they possessed such influence, that he was apprehensive of their suppressing and distorting the truth. In other words, these *Tarsā* must have constituted not only a numerous and dominant element in the population of Cambay, but a powerful party or faction in his own court, whose clannishness he distrusted and whose bigotry he disliked. No one who knows anything of the history of the Indian Parsis can entertain any such supposition for a moment and the unavoidable conclusion must be that these *Tarsā* must have belonged to some other Indian sect, *e. g.* the Jaina, whose tenets bore a striking resemblance to those of the Buddhists. Now the similarity between these two creeds is so close and remarkable, that European scholars are still divided in opinion as to their historical relation and philosophical connection. Some hold that the Jainas are a mere offshoot of the Buddhists, while others are sure that they are an independent sect, "which sprang from the same period and the same religious movement, in opposition to Brahmanism." The political connection of the Jainas with the rulers of Gujarāt also dates from very

early times and it is common knowledge that not only the councillors and ministers, but the commanders and leaders of the armies of the Chālukyas were Jainas. (B.G.I. i. 169-171; Forbes, *Rās Mālā*, 139-41). These *Tarsā* were, I think, Jainas. I leave the matter here as I have discussed it more fully in the Journal of the Cāmā Oriental Institute, VIII. 1926, pp. 19-37.

II. 164, *l.* **9 from foot.** *But when the army of Bāla invaded Nahrwāla, they [the mosque and minarets] were destroyed.*

Dowson notes that 'Bāla' is also written 'Balwā' and 'Mālū' [Mālwa ?]. An invasion of Gujarāt by a king of Mālwā named Subhaṭ Varman (died *c.* 1211 A. C.) in the reign of Bhīma Deva II (1178-1241 A.C.) and another by his son Arjuna Deva are mentioned in contemporary inscriptions. (Duff, C.I. 162, 177). The Jaina chronicles of Gujarāt also state that *Ballāla*, the King of Mālwā, invaded Gujārāt about 1145 A.C. in the reign of Kumārapāla and that Kumārapāla took the war into the enemy's country, beheaded Ballāla and reduced the rulers of Mālwā to their former position of vassals of Gujarāt. This statement is confirmed by several epigraphic records. (B.G.I. i. 185; Ind. Ant. LVI. 1927, p. 10). The name of Ballāla is not found in the dynastic list of the Paramāras of Mālwā (Duff, 300), but it may have been the familiar or contemptuous appellation of some king who appears in the list under a more pompous or dignified designation. In any case, it is certain that the Chālukyas and the Paramāras were at constant war with each other and their invasions of each other's territories were frequent. The destruction of the mosque in one of these incursions is, therefore, not at all improbable.

A king named Devapāladeve also ruled in Dhār about 1218 A. C. (C. I. 178, 185; H. M. H. I. III. 176) and he may be this Bāla.

II. 165, *l.* **5.** *The Rāi of Daur, who was the head of all the Rāis of Hindustān.....sent ambassadors.*

Dr. Niẓāmud-dīn reads 'Dwārkā' here, but Dwārkā was probably included in Siddharāja's own territories and even if it was not, its petty chief was not "the head of all the Rais of Hindustān" and he would not have dared to send such an insolent and minatory message to a great king like Siddharāja. The conjecture is also ruled out by the fact that the king of 'Daur' is said to have been *a great king* whose territory was *at a great distance* (176 *infra*), which is inapplicable to Dwārkā. Dowson suggests 'Dravara,' *i.e.* the Dravida country. A Jaina chronicler does relate a story in connection with an embassy sent by a Sinda or Kadamba king named Permādi of Kalyānakaṭaka (B.G.I. i. 173-4) to Siddharāja, but the narrative relates to what is really a conjuring trick founded on and interwoven with the prevalent belief in necromancy and hardly deserves discussion.

It seems to me that 'Daur' is not Dwārkā or Dravara but Dhār, the metropolis of the Paramāras of Mālwā who were the hereditary rivals and implacable foes of the Chālukyas. We know that Siddharājā Jayasinha

invaded and sacked Dhār about 1120 A. C. and confined in an iron cage its king, Yashovarman, whom he had taken prisoner. (Ind. Ant. X. 159; Duff, C. I. 134; Vaidya, H.M.H.I. III. 172). He may have been provoked to do so by some such truculent embassy. The war between them is said to have lasted for twelve years. (B.G.I. i. 177-8). There are several references to the ancestral feud between the two dynasties in the Gujarāt chronicles. Munja, who ruled at Dhār, *circa* 1000 A.C., is said to have insulted the Chālukya Rājā Chāmunḍa and to have taken away his umbrella when the latter was passing through Mālwā on pilgrimage to Banāras. (B.G.I. i. 162). A general of Munja's nephew, Bhoja, is stated to have invaded Aṇahilvāḍ and sacked the capital, when Bhīma I was engaged in a war against the King of Sindh. (*Ib.* 163). Yashovarman's predecessor, Naravarman, is also stated to have continually raided and harassed the *Gurjjara-Maṇḍala*. (*Ib.* 172-3).

II. 168, *l.* 5 from foot. *There was a Rāi of Nahrwāla named Gūrpāl ..... Before he had been raised to throne, he had passed many of his days in beggary..... and endured all the miseries of travel.*

Dr. Niẓāmu-d-dīn reads 'Kūrpāl', but makes no attempt to identify him. I venture to say with some confidence, that he is no other than 'Kumārpāl' [or Kuvarpāl] Chālukya who ruled from 1143 to 1173 A. C. He was bitterly hated by his predecessor, Siddharāja Jayasinha, who is said to have repeatedly tried to seize and make an end of him. Several stories of his wanderings in remote places and hair-breadth escapes are related with much gusto and wealth of detail by the Jaina chroniclers, Hemachandra, Merutunga and others. (Forbes, Rās Mālā. Rep. 1874, pp. 138-41; B.G.I. i. 182-3). 'Kuvar' is the Gujarāti form of the Sanskrit *Kumāra*. Gurpāl is a miswriting of گوربال.

There is a curious parallel of the story related by 'Awfi in the *Bappa Bhaṭṭi Charita*, a biography of a Jaina saint so named, which is incorporated in the *Prabhāvakacharita* of Chandraprabhāsūri, written in 1277 A. C. The tale told there is that Āmarāja, who reigned at Qanauj after his father Yashovarman in the first quarter of the 9th century, was so charmed with the beauty of a low-caste Mātāngi (Māng) dancing girl that he gave himself up to her embraces. At last, the Jaina saint, Bappa Bhaṭṭi, who is said to have lived from 800 to 895 A. C., made him realise the grievousness of his sin. The exponents of the Hindu *Dharmashāstras*, on being asked by the king to prescribe the proper penance, decided that adequate expiation could be made only by the Rājā embracing a red-hot copper image of the woman—as she was a Chaṇḍāla. As this meant certain death, Bappa Bhaṭṭi, who was the king's friend and counsellor, pointed out that the sinful deed had proceeded only from sinful thought, that if he would keep his mind free from sinful thoughts, there would be no sinful deed, and that the best mode of expiation was the eschewing of all sinful thought. The king

was delighted with this reasoning, and agreed to follow his advice. (Dr. S. K. Ayyangar's art. on the *Bappa Bhaṭṭi Charita* in J.B.B.R.A.S. 1927, p. 112). 'Awfi's anecdote seems to be a replica of this old Jaina legend, with a change in the name. Bappa Bhaṭṭi is said to have converted Āmarāja to Jainism, just as Hemachandra is stated to have brought over Kumārapāla from Shaivism to the faith of Mahāvīra.

II. 172, *l.* **3.** *Rāī Kamlū and the Governor of Zābulistān.*

Kamalū's date is fixed by the fact that his adversary 'Amr [not 'Amru] bin Laiṣ reigned from 265 to 287 H. = 878-900 A. C. Sachau suggests that Kamalū must be a *hypokoristikon* of some such name as Kamalavardhana (Alberūni's India, II, 361 note), but R. B. Dayārām Sāhni has recently published an inscription of Bhīma, the father of Jayapāla, from which it appears that the full name was Kalakamalavarman. (Arch. Surv. Rep. 1917, p. 20; Vaidya, H. M. H. I. III. 21). According to the *Rājataraṅgiṇi* (V. 232-3), the Kashmīr king Gopālavarman deposed Sāmantadeva, the rebellious ruler of Udabhāṇḍapura (Waihind), and gave his kingdom to Toramāṇa, son of Lalliya, (Kallar of Alberūni, 12 *ante*), with the title of Komaluka. (Duff, C. I. 83 and the authorities quoted there; I. G. XIX. 150). This 'Komaluka' must be the Kamalū of 'Awfi and Alberūni. The British Museum possesses the unique coin of a king called 'Shri Kamara' or 'Khamarayaka' which has been attributed to the Shāhi Kamalū. (Cunningham, Coins of Mediaeval India, 59; Smith; I.M.C. I. 243-4). Kamalūka was succeeded by Bhīma and he by Jayapāla, the antagonist of Subuktigīn and Maḥmūd.

The name Fardaghān (l. 6) is read as 'Furu'ān' or 'Furūghān' by Dr. Niẓāmu-d-dīn (*loc. cit.* 164). I suggest that the correct form is Farūkān or Farūkhān. We know that Ardashīr Bābakān or Pāpakān, the founder of the Sāsānian dynasty, married the daughter of a Persian noble named Farūkān or Farrukhān. Farrukhān was also the name of one of the Ispahbads of Ṭabaristān, who ruled from 709 to 722 A. C. (Houtsma, E. I. II. 69; Browne, Tr. of Isfandyār's History of Ṭabaristān, 99). Farrukān or Farrukhān was, in fact, a very common name at this time and Justi gives details about no less than twenty well-known men who bore it. (*Iranien Namenbuch.* 94-5). 'Sanjari' is an error for 'Sijizi', *i.e.* of 'Sijistān' or 'Sīstan.'

II. 176, *l.* **18.** *Rūsal.*

There is a veritable plethora of variants, Ratbal, Ratbil, Rasal, Rātsal, Rānbal, Zanbīl, Rūnabil, etc. As the name occurs continuously in the Arab Chronicles in some corrupt shape or other, for more than two hundred years beginning from A. H. 43, it seems clear that it was not the name of an individual, but the designation of a dynasty or a hereditary regal title. The Arab writers give one and the same name, Rotbīl, Ratbal, Ranbal etc. to the 'Kābul Shāh' or the Shāh of Sijistān throughout this period of more than two centuries. H. H. Wilson thought it must be Ratanpāl (Elliot's note, 417 *post*), while Raverty could not make

up his mind between Ratanpāl [Ratna-pāla] and Raṇapāla (N. A. 62), but neither of these emendations has found favour with other writers. It seems unprofitable to indulge in further conjectures, but it may be permissible to offer the suggestion that it may be رنزبل Ran-zabal or ریزبل Rai-zabal, *i.e.* Rānā or Rāi of Zābul, the old name of Sīstān. Toramāṇa, the father of Mihirakula and the leader of the White Huns of Zābul who conquered Sind and Mālwa about 500 A. C., is often styled Toramāṇa Jauvula. The name of 'Rajuvula' or 'Ranjubula' is found on Indo-Scythian coins (Smith, I. M. C. I. 56 note, 191 and 196) and there are monetary issues of the Ephthalites also in the name of Shah Zobola, 'Shāhi Jabula,' 'Shāhi Janabula' or 'Shāhi Jabuvla'. (Cunningham, Coins of the Later Indo-Scythians, 95-97 and 108-110). It is possible that the clue to the 'Rūsal' puzzle lies here and that under it is disguised some such name or title as 'Rā-juvala', 'Rāi Jabula,' or 'Rāno Jabula', *i.e. King of Jābul, Jāvul or Zābul.* It is possible that the name of the country itself is eponymous and that 'Jauvula' or Zobola was the name of some old Ephthalite king of great renown. (Ib. 108-9). Indeed, the name Rājuvala or Raṇjubula seems to be older than the rise of the Ephthalites and some coins on which it is inscribed have been assigned to an Indo-Scythian Mahākshtrapa who reigned about 110 B. C. (Smith, *loc. cit.* 196).

II. 189, foot note. *It appears from a statement of Ibn Hauqal that the Sultans used to reserve a large portion of indigo to themselves as a sort of royalty.*

Indigo was, in the old days, a highly-prized substance and Pliny says that it used to sell for twenty *Denarii* the pound. (Tr. Philemon Holland. II. 531). Baihaqi states that Sultan Mas'ūd sent, on one occasion, twenty-five thousand *mans* of indigo along with other presents to the Khalif of Baghdād and the members of his court. (361, l. 10). Mr. W. H. Moreland thinks that this *Man* must be the small *Man* of only two pounds, as having regard to the scale on which the trade in indigo was carried on and the great money value of the article, twenty-five thousand *mans* or twenty-two tons of indigo would be a very substantial figure for those days. ('Notes on Indian Maunds' in Ind. Ant. LX. 1931, p. 202).

Daulatshāh also relates that when Sultan Maḥmūd sought to make tardy reparation for his niggardliness to Firdausi, he sent him twelve camel-loads of indigo. Unluckily, the beasts arrived at one gate of Ṭūs only when the poet's coffin was being carried out of the town by another gate. (*Taẕkira*, ed. Browne, 54).

The point of the anecdote in the text is not very clear. The name of the minister was not Ḥasan Maimandi but *Aḥmad* ibn Ḥasan Maimandi. When the father of the scamp begged the Vazīr to forgive his son, because the son was an *Aḥmaq*, احمق (fool), whose name was Aḥmad, he would seem to have unwittingly alluded to the vulgar gibe or word-play, that "Every Aḥmad is an Aḥmaq," *i.e.* Fool. See the version in Niẓāmu-d-dīn, J. Ḥ. III. xi. i., p. 222.

II. 193, *l.* 14. *Destruction of robbers by Sultan Masʿūd.*

This story can be traced to the *Siyāsatnāma* of Niẓāmu-l-mulk, the Vazīr of Malik Shāh Seljūqi, which was composed in 485 H. 1092 A.C.—long before ʿAwfi's *Jawāmiʿa*. The anecdote which follows about the poisoned apples is also related there, but with many variations. (Ed. Schefer, 58-65; Bombay Lith. Pt. i. 69-78). As Masʿūd was governor of Herāt about 408 H. (Z.A. 74, l. 18), the first story must relate to that period. In the *Tārīkh-i-Guzīda* and the *Zīnatu-l-Majālis* (506 *post*), the hero of the apples anecdote is Maḥmud himself, but there is no real difference, as the Prince Masʿūd was appointed Governor of Irāq by Sultan Maḥmūd soon after its conquest in 420 A. H. Maḥmūd was king, Masʿūd his lieutenant or viceroy and it is even said in the Ṭ. N. by Minhāj that Maḥmūd "placed Masʿūd on the throne of that country". (272 *infra*).

II. 193, *l.* 18. *In the desert of Khabīs there was a body of Kafaj and Bulūchis who robbed on the highway.*

Khabīṣ lies on the edge of the Great Persian Desert (called Lūt), which separates Kirmān from Khūrāsān. (Dames, Baloch Race, 31, 33). It was the northern sub-district of Bardasīr, one of the five divisions of the Kirmān province. Lat. 30°-26′ N., Long. 57°-42′ E. (L. E. C. 299, 322). The Kūch (written Qufṣ by others) were a lawless and most truculent Kurdish tribe which dwelt in the mountains of Kirmān from very early times, down to the seventh century of the Hijra. They, are said to have been finally exterminated only by Qūṭbu-d-dīn, the Qarā Khiṭāi ruler of Kirmān, who reigned between 651-655 H. (*Tārīkh-i-Guzīda*, Gibb Series, 180, 399, 418, 530). They had been severely trounced and almost decimated before by ʿAẓudu-d-daula Dilami also. (J. Ḥ. 80 note).

There are two places called Ṭabas and it is far from easy to decide which of the two is meant. (1) Ṭabas-i-Gilaki or Ṭabas-i-Tamr, *i. e.* Ṭabas of the Date. It lies on the border of the Great Desert of Lūt, where many of the roads meet, for which reason Balādhuri calls it the 'Gate of Khurāsān.' (L. E. C. 359-60). It is also described as a town in the Desert between Nishāpur, Ispahān and Kirmān. (*Ain.* Tr. III. 67 note). Lat. 33°-40′ N., Long. 56°-54′ E. But the Ṭabas of the text, the place to which some of the persons attached to the mission fled after the attack is, probably, the other Ṭabas—*Ṭabas-i-ʿUnnāb*, Ṭabas of the Jujubes or Ṭabas-i-Masinān, which lies some fifty miles east of Birjand (L. E. C. 361-2) and two marches from Qāin. (Iṣṭakhri, *loc. cit.* 285, l. 10). Lat. 33° N., Long. 60° E. Khābiṣ, Birjand and the two places called Ṭabas are shown in the map prefixed to Holdich's Gates of India. See also Houtsma, E. I. IV. 582.

II. 196, *l.* 14. *He showed favour to Abu Suhail Rāzihi and they conspired against the great Khwāja ʿAbdu-r-Razzāq. He quarrelled with Ahmad Maimani and had him suspended and called to account.*

There is some blundering here. The same story is translated again by Dowson from the *Zīnatu-l-Majālis* (512 *infra*), where the sentence

runs thus: "Among these, he supported Abu Suhal Rāzikī, whom he pitted against the good Khwāja, 'Abdu-r-Razzāq, son of (Aḥmad) Hasan Maimandi," and it appears to be more correct. At any rate, this Tūmān could never have quarrelled with Aḥmad Maimandi, as the latter had died so long ago as 424 A.H., 17 years before the accession of 'Abdu-r-Rashīd. The person 'suspended and called to account' was really 'Abdu-r-Razzāq his son and it is the latter who is said in the *Zīnat* to have been dismissed and heavily fined by 'Abdu-r-Rashīd. The father and son have been mixed up with each other in the version of the story in this part of the volume. Mubārak Marde's sobriquet should perhaps be read as مروی or مروزی, *i.e.* 'of Merv.' Rāziki راضقی or راضحی 'Rāẓiḥi' also is dubious as Abu Sahl is always styled 'Zauzani by Baihaqi. Can it be a miswriting of *Rāfiẓi* رافضی which is used as a term of reproach for a Shī'a as a heretic?

Dowson says here and also at 511 *post*, that he was unable to find this story in the Mss. of the *Jawāmi'a* which he had used. But it does occur in those which were consulted by Dr. Niẓāmu-d-din, J. H. Introduction, 63.

II. 202, *l.* **15.** *Abū Rihān mentions.....that there exists an animal called Sharū.*

Read '*Sharva.*' The last letter in the name is a consonant and the 'animal' is the Sanskrit 'Sharabha,' a mythical beast which is described as a lion with an elephant's trunk. The Purāṇic story is that when the Narasimha *avatār* of Vishṇu had destroyed the giant Hiraṇyakashipu, his fury was so great that it began to destroy the whole world. The gods appealed to Shiva, who then transformed himself into the 'Sharabha', the terror of the lion. Vishṇu then changed himself into the Gaṇḍabheruṇḍa—another mythical monster apparently resembling a double-headed eagle, which can devour the 'Sharabha', the elephant and all living creatures. 'Awfi's paraphrase of Alberūni's account is not quite accurate. The animal is said by Alberūni to be found, not in the country "east of the Ganges" or in "the forests of Oudh," but in "the plains of the Konkan called Dāng." (Sachau's Tr. I. 203; see also E. D. I. 61). کنگ is a misreading of کنکن Konkan. Dr. Niẓāmu-d-din's Ms. of 'Awfi's *Jawāmi'a* also reads 'Konkan' and 'Dānak' (Introd. p. 37; IV. xxiii. No. 2057, p. 257), but his gloss that 'Dānak' is a "sea-coast place situated to the south of Samhita in India," is incomprehensible and founded on some misapprehension or inadvertent error. The Dāng is a wild forest-region now included in the Khāndesh district of the Bombay Presidency. It is shown in Constable 31 D a.

II. 215, *l.* **8 from foot.** *The Rāi of Ajmēr.....appears to have been detected in some intrigue, which is very obscurely indicated.*

Hasan Niẓāmi is at times so intoxicated with the fumes of his own magniloquence that his speech is no more than a stutter, and Elliot

appears to have been unable to make much sense out of his verbiage. It may be therefore pertinent to cite the following statement from the *Hammīra Mahākāvya.* "When Udayarāja, a great friend and ally of Prithvirāja, heard of his captivity, he sat down before Delhi and besieged it. During the siege, a courtier of the Ghori Sultan suggested to his master that it would be becoming on his part to release the Chauhān. M'uizzu-d-dīn, it is said, was so incensed by the proposal that he denounced the adviser as a traitor and ordered Prithvi Rāja to be imprisoned in the citadel, where a few days afterwards, he breathed his last." (Ed. Kirtane, Introd. 20-21). Can this have been the obscure intrigue of the text?

II. 217, *l.* 9 from foot. *The accursed Jatwān....had raised his hand in fight.....against Hānsi.*

The name is a puzzle. It has been conjecturally interpreted as 'a body of Jats.' But this will not bear to be looked into, because, as Elliot points out in the note, the singular is used throughout, and Jatwān himself is explicitly stated to have been killed. Elliot seeks to evade the difficulty by suggesting that Jatwān must be supposed to have been "a mere leader of the Jat tribe which still maintains its position in the neighbourhood of the scene of action". But this quibble or supposition has not found much favour. I venture to think that جتوان is a mistranscription of چهوان *Chahwān.* The insurgent was a Chauhān, a member of the same tribe to which Prithvi Rāja belonged, perhaps one of his paladins. Ḥasan Niẓāmi did not know his name or had not troubled to ascertain it. It was enough for him that he came of the same 'accursed stock' as the 'Kola Pithaura.'

This confusion between جتوان and چهوان is not uncommon in Mss. On E.D.III. 109 and also on 245, Dowson and the B. I. text of Barani's *Tārīkh-i-Firūz Shāhi* read 'Jatwān' [Jats], (65, l. 4 f.f.; 483, l. 4 f.f.) but the *Ṭ. A.* (104, l. 8) and F. (I. 137, l. 4 f. f.) write 'Chauhān' in the counterpart passages. Jatwān is said to have wrested the fort of Hānsi from its Musalman commander. Now we know that Hariāna—the district round Hānsi and Ḥiṣār—had been under the sway of the Chauhāns for many years before this and the fact is explicitly mentioned in two inscriptions of V. S. 1337 (1280 A.C.) and 1384 (1327 A.C.), in which it is stated that several generations of Chauhāns had ruled there before the Muḥammadan conquest. (J. A. S. B. XLIII. 104; Epig. Ind. V. App. p. 34; *Ibid.* I. 93). A very large number of Chauhāns are still found on the site of their old kingdom near Karnāl and Ambālā. F. (I. 61, l. 11) makes Jatwān one of the relatives or connections of Bhīmadeva, the Rājā of Aṇhilwār, and states that he fled to Gujarāt after this defeat by Aibak in 589 H., although Ḥasan Niẓāmi explicitly declares that he was killed. Elsewhere again, F. avers that Jatwān was the Commander-in-Chief of the Rājā of Aṇhilwār and that he was routed and killed in attempting to repel Quṭbu-d-dīn from before the fort of Anhilwāra *two years later in 591 H.* (I. 62, l. 3). He does not cite any authority and his assertions cannot

be accepted as they are in conflict with the contemporary chronicle. In the C. H. I. Jatwān is made "the leader of an army of Jats" who owed allegiance to Rājā Bhīm, but F.'s statements about his escape and flight are rejected and he is said to have lost his life at this time. (III. 41).

II. 218, *l.* **3.** *The soldiers of Islam came up to the army of Hind on the borders of Bāgar.*

"The Bāgar tract stretches from the south and south-west of Sirsa along the western border of Ḥissār district through Sirsa, Fathābād, Hissār and Bhiwāni, gradually widening towards the south." (I. G. XIII. 149). The southern and eastern parts of modern Bikāner are included in this sandy region. (*Ib.* VIII. 20). Hānsi was the capital of Hariāna, which was a part of Bāgar. It was in the centre of the old Chauhān kingdom of Sapādalaksha, or Siwālik. (I. A. XLI. 17-19).

II. 219 and note. *The rebellion of Hiraj, brother of the Rāi of Ajmer.*

The real name is neither Hīraj nor Dhīrāj, nor Bhūraj or Bahraj as Raverty (Ṭ. N. Tr. 517 note) will have it, but Harirāja. This is now known from the *Prithvirāja Kāvya*—a Sanskrit poem written by a contemporary Kashmīri author. (J. R. A. S. 1913, pp. 275, 278-9). According to another work also, the *Hammīra Mahā-Kāvya*—a poetical biography of Hammīra Chauhān of Ranthambor, composed by Nayachandra Sūri about 1430 A. C.—Harirāj was the brother of Prithvirāj. On hearing of his death, he abandoned himself to despair, took no thought of the government and passed his time in the company of women and musicians. But when Shihābu-d-dīn invaded his country, he performed the *Sak* and ascended the funeral pile with all the members of his family. (Kirtane's Edit. Introd. 21-22).

II. 220, *l.* **17.** *The son of Rāi Pithaura.....sent abundant treasure..... together with three golden melons, which with extreme ingenuity had been cast in moulds etc.*

The name of this son is said, by Nayachandra Sūri, to have been Govindarāja but others give it as Rainsi. The things sent were not 'melons' but *kettle drums.* Fakhruddīn Mubārakshāh also states that there were four *Kharbūzas* which weighed three hundred *mans* and that Quṭbu-d-dīn sent them all to the Sultan M'uizzu-d-dīn Sām, who presented one of them to his brother Ghiyāṣu-d-dīn. The latter had it conveyed to Herāt and the *Jām'i* Mosque in that town was constructed out of the proceeds of the *Kharbūza.* (Ed. Ross, 22-23). A similar statement is found also in Minhāj's Ṭ. N. (91, l. 8 f. f.=Raverty, Tr. 404). The word خربوزه does not here mean 'melons', but 'kettle drums' or *Nagāras* shaped like melons, and Minhāj speaks of them as کوس زرین 'golden drums.' A کوس is, according to the *Ghiyāṣu-l-Lughāt,* a نقارهٔ بزرگ 'a great drum or *Naqāra.*'

II. 224, *l.* **13.** *Hisāmu-d-dīn 'Ulbak.*

The right reading is 'Ughlabak' اغلبک, as in the Ṭ. N. Bibl. Ind. text, 178, l. 10, and at 305 *infra.* Raverty has Āghūlbak (Tr. Ṭ. N. 627) and he is followed in the C. H. I. (III. 42).

Ḥisāmu-d-dīn is mentioned by 'Awfi in the *Jawāmi'au-l-Ḥikāyāt* and the title is read there as 'Aghlabak.' 'Awfi says that Ḥisāmu-d-dīn was falsely accused by Jamāl Pārsāi and Qāẓi Muḥammad Gardezi of extortion in connection with the affairs of Miyāna [Bayāna?] and that when those charges were found, on investigation by Niẓāmu-l-Mulk Junaidi, the Prime Minister of Iltūtimish, to be baseless, the slanderers were publicly disgraced. (J. Ḥ. III. xix, 9 = No. 1729, p. 228). *Ughli* in Turki is said to mean 'Prince' or 'General' and the title may signify 'Chief of Princes or Generals'.

II. 225, *l.* **13.** *Jihtar, supported by an army, hastened to the borders of Dehli.*

Elliot notes that the name is written 'Jihtar' and 'Jhitar.' I submit that it stands for 'Jaitra Sinha'—a form which occurs, not infrequently, in the dynastic lists of Hindu principalities. In the C.H.I. III. 43, and Raverty's Tr. of the Ṭ. N. (519 note), he is called 'Jhat Rāi,' but this is an impossible name for a Hindu. There is a somewhat similar name in the *Chachnāma*, where it is spelt variously as 'Jhatra,' 'Chatera' (E.D.I. 141 and note), 'Jetar' or 'Chitra' (Kalich Beg's Translation, 31) and this may be meant for some such form as Jaitra (Sinha) or 'Chhatra' (Sinha). In any case, Jhat Rāi, Jihtar and Jhitar are alike untenable. It is not easy, in the absence of any other clue than the name, to identify the person meant, but the conjecture may be offered that this 'Jihtar' may be the Mahārājaputra Jayanta Sinha of an inscription at Bhinmāl, which is dated in V.S. 1239-1183 A.C. (B.G.I. i. 470, 474). There is a temptation to identify him also with the Jaitsi Paramār of Ābu whose daughter's beauty is said by the bards to have been the cause of the disastrous feud between Bhīma Chālukya and Prithvi Rāja. (Forbes, Rās Mālā, Ed. 1924, I. 202 note and 215). But the tale told by Chand Bardai seems to be a fiction, and the existence of Jaitra Paramāra is more than doubtful. This Jayanta Sinha of Bhinmāl was the Chauhān ruler of Nādol who reigned there between *c.* 1249 and 1262 V.S. = 1192 and 1205 A.C. He was the son of Kelhaṇa, eleven of whose inscriptions ranging from 1221 to 1249 V.S. = 1164 to 1192 A.C. have come to light. (Epigr. Ind. XI. 46-52). Jayantsinha was succeeded by his son Udayasinha who was Rāja of Jhālor and ruled *circa* V.S. 1262 to 1305 = 1205 to 1249 A. C. (*Ibid.* 73; Tessitori, Bardic Survey of Rajputānā, J.A.S.B. 1914, pp. 406-7. See also my note on l. 16, p. 236 *infra*).

II. 226, *l.* **24.** *They marched towards Thangar.*

This name is written Thankar, Bhankar and Bhangar at 297 and 304 *infra*. Ranking (B. I. 51, Tr. I. 71 note) and the writer of the Article on Budāon in the I. G. are mistaken in identifying it with Bangarh near Budāun. F. (I. 59, l. 2) asserts, in his characteristically careless way, that it is now known as Bayāna and Raverty has reiterated and disseminated the error. (Ṭ. N. Tr. 471 note). But Thangar is really 'Tahangarh,' a fort lying about *15 miles south of Bayāna*. (Seeley, Road Book of India,

19). Minhāj states that it was *in the country of Bayāna.* (304 *infra*). It was built by Tahanpāl [Tribhuvanapāla] Jādon, the ancestor of the Rājās of Karauli. (I. G. XV. 27). The contemporary writer Fakhru-d-dīn Mubārak Shāh calls it تهنكيرى Tahank(g ?)īri, and says it was taken in 592 H. (*Tārīkh*, Ed. Ross, 23, l. 5 f. f.). Tahangarh is now in the State of Karauli and lies 24 miles north of Karauli town. Bayāna is now in the State of Bharatpur. (I. G. XV. 27, 34). The Rājā of Bhangar [*Recte* Tahangar] is mentioned in the *Tārīkh-i-Mubārakshahi* also. (E.D. IV. 62, l. 9 f. f. *q. v.* my note). Tahangarh was a place of importance even in Bābur's days and is mentioned by him in his *Tūzuk.* (B. N. Tr. 538). It is marked in the Oxford Indian School Atlas of John Bartholomew, Pl. 24, and also in the I. G. Atlas, Pl. 34, E 2. The local pronunciation now seems to be Timangarh.

II. 229, last line. *The people (of Pāli and Nādūl) had collected under their leaders, Rāi Karan and Dārābars in great numbers at the foot of Mount Ābū.*

'Rāi Karan' is called 'Kunwar Pāl' in the C. H. I. III. 43, but contemporary inscriptions of the Gujarāt Chālukyas and other ruling dynasties now enable us to restore both the names correctly. كرن is an error for كيرت Kirat, *i. e.*, Kirtīpāla Chauhān of Nādole, who is known to have wrested Jālor from its former rulers, the Paramāras. (I. G. XIV. 301).

The Chauhāns of Nādole were a branch of the ruling family of Sāmbhar and were feudatories of the Gujarāt Chālukyas. The first king of Nādole was Lakshmaṇa, a younger son of Vākpatirāja. One of his descendants, Āsarāja had a son Alhaṇa who had two sons, Kelhaṇa and Kirtipāla. Several of their inscriptions dated in the 13th century V. S. have been found. (Epig. Ind. XI, 72, 77; Vaidya, H. M. H. I. III. 302; G. H. Ojhā's Hindi Tr. of Tod's Rājasthān, 40; Ray, D. H. N. I. 1123-1132).

Udayasinha his grandson submitted to Iltūtimish (236 *infra*) about 1215 A. C. Dārābars is Dhārāvarsha Paramāra, Chief of Ābū, who was the son of Yashodhaval. He was the general of the Gujarāt army both in the battle of 1178 and of 1197 A.C. The Paramāra rulers of Ābū had been feudatories of the Gujarāt Chālukyas ever since the reign of Siddharāja (1094-1143 A. C.), if not earlier. (B. G. I. i. 160). Fifteen contemporary epigraphs prove that Dhārāvarsha ruled at Ābū from 1163 to 1218 A. C. as the feudatory of four kings of Gujarāt. (Ojhā, *loc. cit.* 384; Vaidya, *l. c.* III. 301-2; Duff, C. I. 175, 220; Rās Mālā, I. 225, 255; I. A. XI. 220: LVI. 47-48).

F. gives the names of the leaders of the Gujarāt army as 'Wālan and Dārabsi' (I. 62, l. 9 f. f.). 'Wālan' must be a miswriting of بالن or بالن *i. e.*, Pāhlan, the short form of Prahlādanadeva—the younger brother of Dhārāvarsha. The town of Pāhlanpur near Ābū is said to have been founded by and named after this Prahlādana or Pāhlan Deva. (Forbes, *loc. cit.* 261-2). 'Dārābsi' is only a perversion of Dhārāvarsha.

The battle is said to have taken place on Sunday, the 13th of Rab'īu-

l-awwal 593 A. H. The Julian equivalent of 13th Rab'i I. *Ḥisābi*, 3rd February 1197, was a Monday. The date given may have been the 18th according to the 'Hilali,' the 'Ruyyat' or orthodox system, as it was a Sunday.

II. 231, *l.* **19.** *His Dīwān, or Mahtea Aj Deo was not disposed to surrender so easily.*

F. (I. 62, last line) calls him 'Jadah Dev' جدہ دیو. The real name was probably Baj Deva or Vaj Deva. We know that Bach Deva or Bachharāja or Vachharāja [Vatsarāja] was the prime minister or Amātya of Parmardi-deva, 'the accursed Parmār' of this author. He was a poet and wrote six dramas entitled *Rūpaka Shaṭkam*, which have been published in the Gāikawāḍ's Oriental Series. Bacchon, a small town about fifteen miles north-east of Ajaigarh, is said to have been founded by this Baj Deva or Bachha Rāj and an inscription dated V. S. 1376 (1320 A. C.) has also been found near an old tank in which the town is called Vacchiun. (I.G.V. 130). Baj, Bachha, Vachha are vernacular forms of the Sanskrit *Vatsa*, Calf.

II. 231, *l.* **12 from foot.** *On Monday, the 20th of Rajab 599 H. [Kalanjar surrendered].*

20th Rajab 599 H. = 4th April 1203, Friday.
8th Rajab 599 H. = 23rd March 1203, Sunday.
20th Rajab 598 H. = 15th April 1202, Monday.

Fakhru-d-dīn Mubārakshāh puts the event into 599 H. (24, l. 1 f. f.) and so does F. (I. 62, l. 4 f. f.). Ṭ. A. and B. do not specify the year. The I. G. (XIV. 312) and Mr. Vincent Smith (O. H. I. 222) vote for 1203 A.C. but Sir Wolseley Haig favours 1202 (C. H. I. III. 47). If 599 H. is right, the correct date must be 8th (not 20th) Rajab (*Ruyyat*) 599 H. = Monday, 24th March 1203. بست and هشت are often confused in the Semitic script and 20th Rajab may be an error for 8th Rajab [*Ruyyat*]. But the week-day works out correctly with 20th Rajab, [*Ḥisābi*] 598 also.

II. 233, *l.* **11.** *He went immediately to Amīr Dād Hasan, the lord of a standard.*

'Amīr-i-Dād' (Chief Justiciary) was the designation of his office and Ḥasan only and not 'Dād Ḥasan' was his personal name. The Amīr-i-Dād was also called 'Dādbak' at this period, just as the 'Ariẓ' was also called Mīr-i-'Arẓ or 'Arẓbegi.' Barani says Niẓāmuddin was the *Amīr-i-Dād* of Sultān Mu'izzu-d-dīn Kaiqubād (T. F. 148, l. 12) and he speaks of him elsewhere as *Dādbak* (126, l. 5 = E. D. III. 126), which shows that the two official titles are identical. The same author states that Malik Tāju-d-dīn 'Irāqi was *Amīr-i-Dād-i-Lashkar*, Judge-Advocate-General of the Army, in the reign of 'Alāu-d-dīn Khalji. (358, l. 1; 361, l. 17).

II. 234, note. (*The river*) *Sodra is so called from the old town of that name on its eastern bank.*

It is more correctly described as the 'River *of* Sodra,' just as the Rāvi is spoken of as the 'River *of* Lāhore' and it is arguable that the town was founded and named *after* the river. The old Hindu

name of the Chināb was Chandrabhāga and Abul Faẓl says that it is made up of two streams, the Chandrā and the Bhāgā, which unite near Khatwār [Kishtwār]. (*Āīn.* Tr. II. 310). 'Utbi speaks of it as the 'Chandrāha' (E. D. II. 41) and so also Baihaqi (*Ib.* 120; Text, 328, l. 3) and Alberūni. (E. D. I. 68; Tr. Sachau, I. 206, 259). The mutation of the Sanskrit 'Cha' into 'S' or 'Sh' is very common and Chandrāha would become Sandrāha, Sandra, Sondra and Sodra. The town of Jandarūz (Chandrūr or Chandrawar) which was on the banks of the river of Jandarūd (the Chanda-rūd, *i.e.* Chand-āb or Chīn-āb) is mentioned by Ibn Ḥauqal (E. D. I. 40), and this is most probably no other than the town of Sodra. Sodra must have been originally Chandrāpura, then Chandrāwar, Chandror, Sandror and Sodra by the metathesis of the vowel. Sangwān which is said to be within the borders of Multān may be Sanawān in Muẓaffargarh, Punjāb, *q. v.* Constable, 24 D b.

II. 236, *l.* **3.** *Some impious men..... inflicted five or six desperate wounds upon him* [*M'uizzu-d-dīn Sām*].

The word used in the original is ملاحده (Raverty, Ṭ. N. Tr. 485 note) which indicates that in this author's opinion as well as in that of Minhāj, who speaks of them as فداءی ملاحده 'Malāḥida Fidāīs or desperadoes' (Ṭ. N. Text, 124, ll. 2, 3), the assassins were *Fidāīs* of the Bāṭini or Ism'āiliya order. M'uizzu-d-dīn Sām had been at war with these heretics throughout his life. He had driven them out of Multān in 571 H. (Ṭ. N. 243 *post*) and in 595 H., he had routed and expelled them from Khurāsān, where they had established their sway. The sect had developed assassination into a fine art and Yule gives a list of nearly twenty distinguished men—Khalīfs, Ruling Princes and their Vazīrs (including two Europeans, Raymond Count of Tripoli and Conrad of Montferrat, titular King of Jerusalem)—who were murdered by its emissaries in the course of the century intervening between 1092 and 1191 A. C. (Tr. Marco Polo, I. 145) and there is still another long list of their victims in Browne (L. H. P. II. 311-2). Baiẓāwi (E. D. II. 258) and Ḥājji Dabīr also state that the assassins were Malāḥidas of the Ism'āili sect. (Ẓ. W. 682, l. 16).

Firishta is chiefly responsible for the dissemination of the error that the assassins were Gakkhars. He has been followed by Elphinstone (p. 367), Thomas (C. P. K. D. 12) and others. But his account is enriched with so many adventitious details, that it looks more like a dramatic reconstruction of the scene by a poet or painter than real history. The number of the conspirators was, if we are to believe him, just twenty. One of them wounded the Sultan's gatekeeper with a knife and fled and when the other attendants were all gathered round him, some others cut open the tent in which M'uizzu-d-dīn was lying down and inflicted just twenty-two knife-wounds upon his person. (I. 60, l. 7). F. does not state his authority. But it would appear that the idea of ascribing the assassination to the Gakkhars is not older than the 16th century. Yaḥiya bin 'Abdu-l-Laṭīf

who wrote the *Labbu-t-tawārīkh* in 1541 A. C. seems to have said that the conspirators were هندی فدائیان 'Hindi *Fidāīs*'. Qāẓi Aḥmad Ghaffāri who compiled the *Nusakh-i-Jahānārā* in 972 H. then turned this phrase into فدائیان کوکری 'Khokhar *Fidāīs*' (cited in Elliot, Bibliographical Index to the Historians of Muhammadan India, 1849, Persian Extracts, pp. 34, 37). This was followed in the Ṭ. A. (20, l. 1) and the *Tārīkh-i-Alfi* (Ṭ. N. Tr. 486 note). F. then copied this gratuitous conjecture, but at the same time perverted the name 'Khokhar' into 'Gakkhar.' The Gakkhars are not mentioned by any of the older historians and their name occurs for the first time only in the Memoirs of Bābur (16th century). Most modern ethnologists are agreed that the two tribes are quite distinct. (Raverty, Ṭ. N. Tr. 455 Note). See also Mr. H. A. Rose's Art. in the Ind. Ant. XXXVI (1907), p. 4.

II. 237, *l.* 10 from foot. *This army.....was drawn out.....near the Bāgh-i-Jūn (the Jamna Garden).*

So also in the Ṭ. N. (Text, 170, l. 12; 323 *infra*), where the battle is said to have been fought in the plains (صحرا) of the Jumna, but the better copies have جود and this is the preferable reading. (Raverty, Tr. 606 and note). See also my note on 357, l. 10, *post.*

II. 238, *l.* 16. *Udi Sāh the accursed, took to the four walls of Jālewar.*

We may safely identify this Udi Sāh with Udaya Sinha Chāhamāna (Chauhān), who is called ruler of Jāvālipura [Jālor] in the Kolophon of a Manuscript of the *Viveka-vilāsa* of Jinadatta, who flourished under him about 1220 A. C. Udaya Sinha was the grandson of the Kirtipāla Chauhān of Nāḍole—Rāi Karan of p. 230 *ante*—and ruled between 1206 and 1249 A.C. He was a contemporary of Vīradhavala Vāghelā of Dholkā and Viradhavala's son Vīrama was married to Udayasinha's daughter. (Bhandārkar, Report on the Search for Sanskrit Mss. 1883-4, p. 156; I. A. VI. 190; B. G. I. i. 474-6; Duff, C. I. 179, 185; Epig. Ind. XI. 55-57).

II. 239, *l.* 18. [*Shamsu-d-dīn Iltutimūsh*] *advanced with a large army to Sāmānd which he reached on Monday, the 3rd of Shawwāl 612 H.*

This *was Monday*, 25th January, 1216 A. C. Minhāj says the battle was fought near Narāin or Tarāin, 324 *infra*. Sāmānd may be Samāna in Patiāla, which lies about 40 miles north-west of Tarāin or Tirāuri.

II. 241, *l.* 22. *Conquest of Kālewar (Gwālior).....Behār and Bārah.*

Bārh (or Barr, as Thornton calls it) is a town on the right bank of the Ganges, 44 miles east of Dīnāpore, which last is 10 miles west of Paṭna. Constable, 29 A c. It is now the headquarters of the north-eastern sub-division of the same name in Paṭna district. (I. G. VII. 15). Bakhtyārpur which is named after Muḥammad-i-Bakhtyār is now in Bārh. I. G. *s. n.*

II. 242, *l.* 20. *Nāsiru-d-dīn died shortly after of grief and the boat of his life was drowned in the whirlpool of death.*

Whether Qubācha was drowned by accident or by design is not

quite clear. The author's words are equivocal and may imply either death by misadventure or deliberate suicide. Minhāj states explicitly (304 *infra*) that "he drowned himself in the Indus" خود را در آبِ سنده غرق کرد. (Text, 144, l. 15). F. merely says that he "got into a boat and was drowned in the sea (or river)" (I. 66, l. 7) and the Ṭ. A. (28, l. 7 f. f.) is even more obscure. It may be therefore pertinent to draw attention to the fact that 'Awfi speaks not only of his having deliberately committed suicide, but quotes a *Rub'āī* which he is said to have recited, before throwing himself into the river. The verses are:

گر سودِ تو هست در زیان چو منی
کم بادت ایام نشان چو منی
موئی نپسندم که شود آلوده
دست چو توئی بخونِ جان چو منی

The quatrain is cited on the authority of 'Awfi by Ḥājji Dabīr also. (Z. W. II. 696, ll. 22-3).

In view of the expli cit declarations of these contemporary authors—both of whom had been in the service of Qubācha—it seems safe to hold that Qubācha did commit *felo de se*. It should be noted that Minhāj mentions the event in two passages and the second is even more emphatic than the first قباچه از حصار بهکر خود را در آبِ سنده غرق کرد (173, l. 11). Raverty translates it thus: "He threw himself from the walls of the for tress of Bhakarin to the waters of the Panj-āb and drowned himself" (p. 614). Minhāj and 'Awfi were both present on the spot and the latter gives the exact date of the suicide as Thursday, 19th Jumādi II, 625 H. (202 *ante*). The Hijri date corresponds to Friday, 26th May 1228 A. C.

The question is left open in the C. H. I. (III. p. 54) and no opinion is pronounced, but the contemporary evidence points clearly to premeditated self-immolation and not to accident or misadventure. The non-committal verdicts of the later compilers carry little or no weight, as they had no other contemporary sources of information than those we possess.

II. 246, *l.* **14.** *Hijra 160, A. D. 776, Conquest of the town of Barada.*

Bilāduri also mentions an expedition by boats against Nārand or Bārbad (نارند or ماربد) in the days of the Khalīf Manṣūr, who reigned from 136 to 158 A. H. (E. D. I. 127). Elliot notes that the Manuscript in the British Museum reads 'Barbad' and surmises that 'Barbad' may be the Barḍā Hill district of Jaitwār near Porbandar in Kāṭhiāwāḍ. (E. D. I. 125, 444). Alberūni states that soon after Manṣūra was founded, Ranka, a disaffected subject of 'Balaba' (Valabhi), persuaded the Arab lord of Manṣūra to send a naval expedition against that town. The king of 'Balaba' was killed in a night attack and his people and town were destroyed. Alberūni gives no date, but as Manṣūra was founded about 750 A. C. and as the latest Valabhi copper-plate is dated in 766 A. C., it has been suggested that this expedition to 'Bārbad' which was des-

patched by sea in 776 A. C. may be the one referred to by Alberūnī. Dr. Bhagvānlāl Indraji tells us that in some Jaina chronicles, the destruction of Valabhi is said to have taken place in the year 826 of some Era, which he thinks must be that of Vikrama, *i. e.* in 770 A.C. (B.G.I. i. 94-6 and note). But the two dates do not exactly tally and the whole question is enveloped in doubt. The Hindu accounts give several other conflicting and discordant dates for the destruction of Valabhi which are cited by Dr. Bhagvānlāl, but which it would be infructuous to repeat here, as they really lead nowhere. The actual cause of the destruction of the town of Valabhi also—fire, flood or foreign invasion—has been the subject of dispute and the truth seems past finding out, as nothing decisive can be inferred from the ruins on the spot.

II. 249, *l.* **15.** *He fined the inhabitants of Multān 20000 dirhams.*

'Utbi says (Text, 363, l. 3=E. D. II. 32) that the amount was twenty *thousand thousand* dirhams. Gardezi states that Abu-l-Futūḥ Dā'ūd bin Naṣr was compelled to paya tribute of twenty thousand thousand dirhams annually. (Z.A. 97, last line). Maḥmūd's dirhams were silver pieces weighing from about 40 to 50 grs. (Rodgers, Catalogue of Coins in the Indian Museum, Part IV ; Catalogue of Dr. White King's Collection of Coins, Part III. Sect. XXIV). 20000 dirhams would have contained only about as much silver as 6000 of our rupees, which appears to be an absurdly small war-indemnity for a kingdom like that of Multān—a kingdom which is said by Mas'ūdi, though with some exaggeration, to have contained 120000 villages. (E. D. I. 23; Tr. Sprenger, 384). Influenced most probably by some such consideration, F. (I. 25, l. 8) turns it into an *annual* tribute of 20000 *gold dirhams* درهم سرخ and he has been followed in the C. H. I. (III. 15), but there is no warrant for the whittling down of the amount or for the substitution of 'gold' for 'silver', in either of the two contemporary historians, 'Utbi or Gardezi. The discrepancy between the primary authorities and the later compilers is most probably due to the omission by some scribe of the second هزار or 'thousand'—a frequently recurring error.

II. 249, *l.* **18.** *Bhīm, the chief of Anhalwāra had gone to the fort of Kandahat.*

Variants, Khandama, Khandabā (*q.v.* 473 *infra*), Kandana, Khandana etc. The location of this mysterious fort has taxed the ingenuity of the commentators and at least five identifications bearing a superficial phonetic resemblance have been suggested. Dr. Bühler was in favour of Kanthkoṭ in Vāgaḍ (East Kachh), Watson of Gāndhvi on the Kāṭhiāwāḍ coast, a few miles north-east of Miāni near Porbandar, Reinaud of Gandhār at the north of the Dhādar river near Broach, and Elliot of Khandādhar at the north-east angle of Kāṭhhiāwād. (473 *infra*; B.G.I. i. 167 and note). Sir Wolseley Haig thinks that it must be Bet Shankhodhār at the north-western extremity of Kāṭhiāwāḍ (C. H. I. III. 25), though he admits that the description is not applicable to Shankhodhār and he is obliged to add

that "if the chronicles are to be credited, it was possible in those days to reach the island on horseback at low tide, though it cannot be done now." As there is no evidence to indicate that any great change has taken place on this coast, his suggestion may be safely dismissed.

The only clue to a correct solution is the statement that the ford near Kandahat was so exceedingly treacherous that "if the wind blew a little, all would be submerged" or, as the *Tārīkh-i-Alfi* expresses it, "if the tide should rise a little at the time of their passing, it would drown them all." (473 *infra*). *This is the real crux of the matter* and the phenomenon to which reference is made must be a Bore—"a tidal wave of great height and force which appears in certain rivers at the period of high or spring tides. Rushing from the estuary along the gradually narrowing channel of the river, the impelling force resolves the water into a huge wall or wave which carries everything before it." (Yule, H. J. *s. v.* Macareo). Yule assures us that there are only two places in India, where there is such a Bore, Eagre, Macareo or Mascaret, (as it is variously called), *viz.*, the Bore in the Hoogly and the Bore in the Gulf of Cambay. There is no such 'tidal wave' either at Kanthkoṭ or at any of the places which have been put forward by the authors named. Ibnu-l-Athīr's description is applicable only to Cambay or Kanbahat [كنبهت] and the Bore there. The phenomenon was well-known to Mas'ūdi, who was hugely struck by it. He writes of it thus: "The ebb here is so marked in this estuary that the sand lies quite bare and only in the middle of the bed lies a little water. I saw a dog on the sand which was left dry in the water, like the sand of a desert; the tide coming in from the sea caught him, although he ran as fast as he could to the land to escape, and the poor animal was drowned, notwithstanding his swiftness." (Tr. Sprenger, 278=*Prairies*. I. 255). There is a reference to it in Ibn Baṭūṭa also (Defrémery, IV. 60) and several of the old European writers, *e.g.* De Barros (II. ii. Cap. 9), Varthema (Tr. Badger 105), Barbosa (Tr. Dames, I. 138), Pietro della Valle (Tr. of 1665, p. 33) and Hamilton (II. 33) were greatly impressed by it. The last of these authors informs us that "a body of water comes rolling in on the sand..... and whatever body lies in its way it overturns and no ship can evade its force, but in a moment is overturned." (Yule, *loc. cit.*).

Ibnu-l-Athīr says that 'Kandahat' was about forty *farsakhs* distant from Somanāth. Now Cambay is in Lat. 22°-18′ N., Long. 72°-39′ E. and Somanāth in 20°-55′, Long. 70°-26′ E., a map-distance of about 165 miles. According to Thornton, Cambay is 52 miles south Aḥmadābād (Gaz. 179) and Somanāth 210 south-west of it (*Ib.* 923)—a difference of about 160 miles. Forty *farsakhs* would be equal to about 160 miles at 4 miles to the *farsakh*. Alberūni says Somanāth is 30 *farsakhs* from Cambay, *i. e.*, about 150 miles (E. D. I. 66), as he reckons the *farsakh* at five miles.

II. 251, *l.* 6 **from foot.** *When the elephants were brought before Shihābu-d-dīn.....they all saluted except the white one.*

This wonderful story of Jayachand's white elephant refusing to make the *Salām* to the victor of his master finds a parallel in Manucci's tale of the Emperor Shāh Jahān's favourite elephant, Khāliq-dād, refusing to salute Aurangzeb after his usurpation and of his running amuck when induced to do so by a trick. That animal also is said to have died of grief on the very day on which Shāh Jahān expired. (Storia, II. 10, 127). F. says that as Jayachand's white elephant refused to salute the Sultan, it was given away some days after the battle to Aibak and that it died on the third day after Aibak's death. (I. 61, l. 11 f.f.). Other equally tall stories are told in connection with the *salāming* of elephants. Tavernier assures us that when elephants from India and other parts of the world see a Ceylon elephant, they instinctively pay it reverence by placing the ends of their trunks on the ground and then elevating them. He emphatically assures us that, incredible as it may appear, this statement is quite true. (Tr. Ball. II, 317). His contemporary Fryer goes even further and asserts that "Ceylon elephants *exact homage from all others*, which prostrate themselves submissively before them." (New Account of East India and Persia, Calcutta Reprint, 169). But these asseverations are derided by Sir J. E. Tennant as 'fanciful.' (Ceylon, II. 380).

F.'s story of the tragic end of Jayachand's white elephant must, if Raverty is right, be a fable. It would appear from the contemporary sources cited by him that the animal was really presented after Shihābu-d-dīn's death by his nephew Ghiyāṣu-d-dīn Maḥmūd, to Muḥammad Khwārizmshāh. It was neither turned over to Aibak nor died of grief after his demise. (Ṭ. N. Tr. 258, 402, 470 *notes*). Old histories abound in similar tales of wonder. Aḥmad Yādgār, who is inordinately partial to the fabulous, says that the Rājā of Jhārkhand had a white elephant which never "threw dust upon its head." (E. D. IV. 362 note). Modern zoologists discredit these yarns and have exploded much of the 'mythology of the elephant.'

II. 255, *l.* **1.** *The Nizāmu-t-tawārikh.*

These extracts from Baiẓāwi's History are full of demonstrable errors and serve only to introduce further confusion into the perplexed chronology of the Ghaznavides. E. G. Browne justly says of the *Niẓāmu-t-tawārīkh* that "it is a dull and jejune little book, scarcely worth publishing. It is doubtful if it contains anything new or valuable and it is not calculated to add to the fame which its author enjoys as a jurisconsult, theologian and commentator." (L. H. P. III. 100).

II. 255, *l.* **11.** *Muhammad was taken prisoner and sent to the fort of Balbad.*

The true reading must be 'Balbaj', *i.e.* Walwaj, or Walwalaj. Gardezi (95, l. 8) and Ṭ. A. (11, l. 9) give the name as 'Walaj' and Baihaqi calls the place 'Walwalaj'. (Text, 693, 695, 696). The latter says that it was on the road from Kābul to Balkh. (350, l. 3 f. f.). Iṣṭakhri puts it as two days' journey east of Khulm and four days from Balkh. It was a town in

Ṭukhāristān (Ed. Goeje, 275, l. 6; 286, l. 1; Le Strange L.E.C. 428) and Abul Fidā makes it the capital of that district. (*Vide Āīn*, Tr. III. 88 note). Minhāj calls it Walakh [*Recte*, Walaj]. (Ṭ. N. Text 343, 349, 359). Holdich says it was just north of Qunduz (G. I. 272) and it is shown on his Map. Lat. 37°-0′, Long. 69°-0′. F. states (I. 40, l. 14) that Walaj in which Muḥammad was interned is also called 'Khalaj' and Elliot consequently seeks to identify it with Kelāt-i-Ghilzāi (E.D. IV. 192 note), but the gloss as well as the conjecture must be rejected. Sultan Maḥmūd of Ghazna had a mint at Walwālīj and silver dirhams struck by him at a place, the name of which has been read as والوالين are in the British Museum. (Lane Poole, Catalogue of Oriental Coins, II. p. 148, No. 503; Thomas, J.R.A.S. XVII). I suggest that the right reading is (ولوالیج) Walwālīj.

II. 266, *l.* 10. *Sultan S'aīd Maḥmūd heard from his father.*

Here 'S'aīd' is not a name or part of the name of the Sultan, but a laudatory epithet or benedictory prefix signifying 'Happy, blessed, august.' Sultan Sanjar, Sultan Ghiyāṣu-d-dīn Muḥammad-i-Sām and his brother Mu'izzu-d-dīn as well as Iltutmish are all called 'S'aīd' on pp. 279, 280, 281 and 301 *infra* by Minhāj.

II. 267, *l.* 4 from foot. *Alptigīn.....wrested Ghaznīn from the hands of Amīr Anūk.*

The last name is, as Dowson notes, variously spelt. The correct form seems to be [Abu Bakr] Lawīk. The history of the predecessors of Subuktigīn in Ghazna is obscure and there is considerable divergence of opinion on the subject. *Vide* Khwāndamīr in E.D. IV. 159 and Elliot's remarks there. Raverty has a lengthy note on the subject (Ṭ. N. Tr. 71-73), in which he maintains that Alptigīn reigned for eight *years* and died in 352 H., that Isḥāq his son was in power upto 355 H., that Isḥāq was succeeded by Bilkātigīn whose rule lasted for eight years upto 362 and that his successor Pīrey was defeated and expelled by Subuktigīn in 367 H.

Dr. Nāẓim who has recently re-examined the whole question arrives at the following conclusions:—Alptigīn conquered Ghazni about Ẓī-l-Ḥijja 351 H. after a siege of four months, but died after a reign of only eight *months* (not *years*), on 20th Sh'abān 352 H. Abu Isḥāq, after being driven away by Abu 'Ali, [son of Abu Bakr] 'Lawīk' returned and defeated Abu 'Ali on 27th Shawwāl 354 H. Isḥāq died on 25th Ẓi-l-q'ad 355 H. Bilkātigīn ruled for eight or nine years from 355 to 364 H. and Pīrey from 364 to 27th Sh'abān 366 H. (M. G. 24-27; 175-176). Minhāj is therefore right in saying (269 *infra*) that Sultan Maḥmūd was born in the 7th year of Bilkātigīn.

II. 268, *l.* 15. *On the 27th of Sh'abān A. H. 366, on Friday.....he [Subuktigīn]....was confirmed in the government.*

Faṣīḥ's *Mujmil* (quoted in Raverty, Tr. Ṭ. N. 73 note), F. (I. 18, l. 8 f. f.), B. (I. 8 = Tr. I. 14) and Elphinstone (p. 320) give the year as 367 H., but this must be an error as 27th Sh'abān, 367 H., or 9th April 978 A. C. was a *Tuesday*. Ibnu-l-Athīr (Ed. Tornberg, VIII. 507)

gives the same date as Minhāj. As 27th Sh'abān, 366 H.=20th April 977 A. C. *was a Friday* (Ind. Eph.), it must be correct. The date given in the C. H. I. (p. III. 11) is 9th April 977 A. C., but it must be a miscalculation, as that day was a Monday and its Hijri synchronism was *16th* Sh'abān 366, not 27th.

II. 268, *l.* 2 from foot. *All the sources of internal dissensions in Khurāsān were eradicated [by Subuktigīn].*

و مادهٔ فساد باطنیه از خراسان قلع کرد p. 8, l. 4. "And he uprooted the stock of the heresy of the *Bāṭiniya* from [all parts of] Khurāsān." The Bāṭiniyas were identical with the Qarāmiṭa, Malāḥida, Ismā'īlia or T'alimiya. 'Bāṭin' means 'inner, esoteric' and they were so called because they taught an 'Inner' or 'Secret Doctrine' based on the allegorical interpretation (تاویل) of the Qurān and the Law of Islam. Their Imāms also claimed to be the sole inheritors and guardians of that Law. (Browne, L.H.P.II. 196).

II. 269, *l.* 20. *Amīr Subuktigīn saw in a dream.*

Both these tales—of Subuktigīn's dream and of the falling down of the idol in a place called Waihind (or 'Bahind', not '*in Hind*')—are in 'Awfi's *Jawāmi'a* (I. XXI, No. 1072, J.Ḥ. 61, 185) and are both related there on the authority of the *Tārīkh-i-Nāṣiri*, that is, the earlier and lost portion of Baihaqi's History of the Ghaznavides. 'Awfi also states in the course of the first story, that the birth of Maḥmūd took place in 361 H. Neither of these anecdotes is to be found in the chronicle of 'Utbi, but Minhāj also explicitly cites the lost portion of Baihaqi's work as the *Tārīkh-i-Nāṣiri* (266, 267 *ante*) and we may be sure that he has taken the stories directly from Baihaqi and not at second-hand from 'Awfi.

II. 269, *l.* 5 from foot. *An idol-temple in India, in the vicinity of Parshāwar, on the banks of the Sind, fell down.*

But see Corrections in Vol. VIII, p. xiii. The idol temple was not 'in India,' but at بهند 'Bahind', *i. e.*, Waihind, a place 15 miles north of Attock and 26 south of Peshāwar. F. says 'the idol temple' was on the banks of the Sodra (I. 23, l. 12) and thus turns the 'Sind' into the 'Chenāb.' Minhāj's spelling is probably influenced by Jurbādhaqāni, who writes بهند. Raverty is in error in transporting 'Bahind' or 'Waihind' to Bhaṭinda (Ṭ.N. Tr. 80 note; Mihrān, 411note) and Mr. Vincent Smith also, following his lead, is mistaken in speaking of Bhaṭinda as Jayapāla's capital. (O.H.I. 190).

II. 270, *l.* 6. *Kept him [Jayapāla] at Yazd (?) in Khurāsān and gave orders so that he was bought for eighty dirhams.*

But the Text reads و جیال × × را بگرفت و در من یزید بخراسان بداشت 9, l. 17.

Raverty observes that "nearly every copy" agrees in reading the name as "*Man-Yazīd*" and his rendering is, "He was kept a prisoner at Man Yazīd" (Tr. 82), but he does not say where this 'Man-Yazīd' is to be found. He also surmises that either the word 'thousand' has been left out after 'eighty' or that "Maḥmūd did not set much value on his capture." (*Ibid*, note). Dr. Nāẓim reads the name of the place as 'Mirand' because it is so written in a Ms. of 'Unṣuri's *Qaṣida* and surmises that "the sale

of Jaipāl meant only the fixing of his ransom." (M. G. 87 note).

I submit that Raverty's Mss. are quite right in reading '*Man Yazīd*,' but that he and others have erred in supposing it to be the name of a place. I understand it as a common noun signifying 'auction' or 'sale in a market.' This clue to the solution of the puzzle is obtained from and founded on the authority of the *Ghiyāṣu-l-Lughāt*. من یزید is defined there as a "kind of sale in which that person purchases who gives a higher price than the other bidders. The word is also used, this author says, for 'the sale of goods' and 'a market' (بازار)."

The real meaning is that Jayapāla was publicly exposed at one of the slave-auctions *in some market in Khurāsān*, just like the thousands of other Hindu captives. As he was an old man and had few or none of the qualifications or attractions of the superior classes of slaves, the price he would fetch in the *open market* would be of course low and it was fixed at only 80 *dirhams*. The object of exposing him to public derision and contumely was evidently to compel and frighten him into surrendering unconditionally to his victor's demands, to impress upon him that the Sultan was resolved to show no consideration for his person or position and that he would be treated just like any other bondman, if he did not purchase his release on his captor's own terms. 'Utbi also informs us that Jayapāla himself and his relatives "were strongly bound with ropes and carried before the Sultan, *like common evil-doers*," and that Jayapā lawas "paraded about so that his sons and chieftains might see him in that condition of shame, bonds and disgrace." He states, besides, that Maḥmūd "entered into conditions of peace with him" only *after* inflicting upon him the public indignity of "commingling him in one common servitude" with his subjects. The conditions were the surrender of 50 elephants and of his son and grandson as hostages (26, 27 *ante*). It is clear that this exposure in the 'slave market' or من یزید was intended to be the crowning humiliation of Jayapāla's life and part of a callous and deliberate plan of frightfulness and intimidation. In this connection, it is worth while to note that the author of the *Futūḥu-s-Salāṭīn* has interpreted the passage in the same way. This is a metrical History of the Sultāns of Delhi written by a poet named 'Aṣāmi in the fifteenth century and is frequently cited by Firishta.

The author writes:

بیك حمله افواج هندو شکست - فتادش همان رای جیپال دست
مر او را بقصای غزنین ببرد - بدلاّل بازار برده سپرد
شنیدم بفرمان فرمانروا - بهشتاد دینار جیپال را
مقیمان بازار بفروختند - بهازیش بخازن در اندوختند

The lines are quoted in Dr. Nāẓim's Article on the 'Hindu Shāhīya Kingdom of Ohind' in J. R. A. S. 1927, and thus translated by himself (p. 494): "He (Maḥmūd) scattered the army of the Hindus in one attack and took Rāi Jaipāl prisoner. He carried him to the distant part of the kingdom of Ghazni and delivered him to an agent of the *Slave Market*.

[دلاّل بازار]. I heard that at the command of the king (Maḥmūd), they [the *Brokers of the Market*, مقیمانِ بازار in the original,] sold Jaipāl as a slave for 80 *Dīnārs* and deposited the money realised by the sale in the Treasury."

It would be difficult to get better evidence than this. This author has understood من یزید in exactly the same sense that is assigned to it in the *Ghiyāṣu-l-Lughāt*, and it should finally settle the question regarding the real meaning of this knotty passage.

II. 270, *l.* **12.** *'Unsuri composed a long Kasīda on this victory [of Somanāth].*

There is an inadvertent error here. Minhāj cites the two first couplets of the poem itself (10, l. 1), but the real author of the lines which he quotes was 'Usjudi and not 'Unṣuri. F. (I. 39, l. 8 f.f.) and B. (I. 10 = Tr. l. 17 note) agree in attributing the lines to the former and the entire *Qaṣīda* in which these couplets are found is quoted in the *Majm'au-l-Fuṣaḥā* in the section devoted to 'Usjudi. (I. 340). The two first *Baits* of a *Qaṣīda* composed by 'Unṣuri on the conquest of Khwārizm are transcribed by Baihaqi. (851, l. 8). They differ *in toto* from those cited by Minhāj. Fakhru-d-dīn Mubārakshāh informs us that Farrukhi a lso wrote a panegyrical ode on the destruction of the Temple at Somanāth and was rewarded with an elephant-load of silver. (*Tārīkh*, Ed. Ross. 52). Farrukhi's *Qaṣīda* also is reproduced in the *Majm'au-l-Fuṣaḥā* (I. 452-3).

II. 270, *l.* **15.** *He died in the year 421 H., in the thirty-sixth year of his reign.*

Sic also in the printed text, (11, l. 7 f.f.), but ششم must be an error for سوم and Raverty has 'after a reign of thirty-three years'. (Tr. p. 88). As Subuktigīn died in Sh'abān 387 H. and Maḥmūd defeated Ism'aīl several months after that date, the duration of his reign could not have much exceeded thirty-three *lunar* years. As Ism'aīl's rule is said to have lasted for about seven months, he must have been deposed in Rab'īu-l-awwal, 388 H., not 389 as Raverty says. (75 note). See also Nāẓim, M. G. 40 and note.

II. 270, *l.* **19.** *Many curious poems are attributed to him.*

و از وی اشعار غریبه بسیار روایت کنند. p. 11 last line. Raverty reads عربیه and not غریبه and understands the words to mean that he was "an authority with respect to the text of several Arabic poems." (Tr. 88 note). He may be right, as Baihaqi actually cites two couplets of an Arabic ditty of which Amīr Muḥammad was very fond and which were frequently sung in his assemblies by his favourite musicians. (79, l. 4). If the reading is غریبه, it may mean 'rare, curious, not generally known, out of the common, recondite.'

II. 271, *l.* **8.** *When Mas'ūd was killed at Mārikala.*

صاحبِ واقعه شد (12, l. 16), *i. e.* 'when a disaster or calamity befell him.' Mas'ūd was not *killed* at Mārikala. Alberūni identifies Mārikala with Takshshilā or Taxila. (Sachau, I. 302). The name is preserved in that of

a pass and a range of hills, about two miles to the south of Shāhdheri (Cunningham, A. G. I. 111) and a few miles east of Ḥasan Abdāl. (Ṭ.N. Tr. 95 note). Takshashilā or Shāhdheri is twelve miles north-west of Rāwalpiṇḍi. Raverty's derivation of 'Mārīkala' from the Hind. 'Mār-gala,' a place chosen by "brigands for attacking travellers and *Kārwāns* of traders," (Ṭ.N. Tr. 95 *note*) is an example of meaning-making, a popular etymology invented *ex post facto* and possessing little or no value.

II. 271, *l.* 9 from foot. *And even an elephant could not stand before him.*

See Corrections in Vol. VIII, p. xxiv. Raverty reads بیل and not پیل and says بیل *Bīl* or *Bél* means "a target or butt for arrows." But neither Richardson nor the *Ghiyāṣu-l-lughāt* gives any such meaning for that word and F. who has copied the passage from Minhāj, paraphrases it thus: و تیرِ او از بر گستوانِ آهنین گذشته بر بدنِ فیل نشستی (I. 40, l. 11 f. f.). "And his arrow, having passed through the iron armour, used to pierce the body of the elephant." Minhāj himself mentions برگستوانِ پیل on 55, l. 18. This indicates that the reading in F.'s copy also was *Fīl* or *Pīl* and not *Bīl or Bél*. F., with all his faults, may be justly postulated to have been at least as good a Persian scholar as Raverty and his interpretation of Minhāj's words *must* be taken into consideration. Mas'ūd was a man of extraordinary physical strength. Baihaqi says that he used to wield a mace [عمود] weighing twenty *mans* (Text, 131, l. 7) and that in a hand-to-hand struggle with a tiger, he smashed the skull of the beast by a single blow of his hands. (*Ib.* 141; see also *Tūz. Jah.* Text 366, l. 6 f.f.; Tr. II. 270).

II. 273, *l.* 2. *He [Mas'ūd] eventually fought a bloody battle with them .. ...at Tālikān.*

So also in the C.H.I. (III. 31), but Gardezi (107, l. 19), Baihaqi (792-4), Ṭ. A. (Bibl. Ind. Text, 25, l. 21) and F. (I. 43, l. 14) all agree in calling the place Dandāiqān or Dandānqān. This town is two or three days' journey, *i. e.* about 40 miles, *north-west* of Marv-ar-rūd, also called Marūchak, Marv-i-Kūchik, or Little Marv, as distinguished from Marv-i-Shāhjān or Great Marv. Dandānqān was on the road from Marūchak to Sarakhs. There *is* a Ṭāliqān or Ṭāīqān near Marv-ar-rūd, but it lies about 50 miles *south-east* of it, not *north-west*, towards Sarakhs. Holdich says that 'Dendālqān' was near the modern Āk-tepe, which itself lies not far from the now famous Panj-deh. (G. I. 244-6). See the Map prefixed to that work. The battle was fought on Friday, 9th Ramaẓān, 431 H. (Baihaqi, 777, l. 7 f.f.) See also Ṭ. N. Tr. Raverty, 131: Ṭ. A. 13, l. 2 f. f. F. gives 8th Ramazān 431, H. (I. 43, l. 14). It was the 3rd of May 1040 A.C.

II. 273, *l.* 8. *They sent Mas'ūd to the fort of Kīri, and there he was slain in the year 432 H.*

This Kīri has not been satisfactorily identified. Raverty thinks that it must be Gibar-kot, a ruined fort lying about 3½ *Kurohs* north of Pashat, the chief town of Kunar in Kāfiristān. (N.A. 151 and note).

But it appears from the context that Kīri was not very far from

Mārīkala, where the slaves in charge of the Sultan's treasures revolted and looted them. The Sultan took refuge in the fortified *Ribāṭ* at Mārīkala, was taken prisoner and sent to Kīri, which must have been in the vicinity of Mārīkala and not in Kunar which lay far off and was occupied by unfriendly tribes. Baihaqi, moreover, speaks of Waihind, Marmināra, Barshor and Kīri, as if they were in proximity to one another. (150 *ante*, Text 829, l. 2). Mārīkala is about fifteen miles north-west of Rāwalpiṇḍi. Waihind lies about 15 miles north of Aṭak (Attock), which is about 27 miles distant from Mārīkala and Ḥasan Abdāl. (*Chihār Gulshan*, in Sarkār, India of Aurangzeb, p. ci). Peshāwar is about forty-six miles from Aṭak by rail or about thirty from Waihind. (*Ib.* cii). It seems to me that Kīri must be Gīri, *i.e.* Shāhbāz-Gīri, or Kāpar-da-Gīri, which lies about forty miles north-east of Peshāwar. It was situated on the old road from Waihind to Kābul (V. Smith, E. H. I. 55 note), about 20 miles north-west of the former. (Beal, *loc. cit*, I. 114 *Note*).

II. 274, *l.* **4.** *Maudūd defeated him at Takarhārūd.*

Bakhrāla, the identification suggested in the foot-note is wrong. 'Takarhārūd' is a misreading of نگرهار 'Nagarahāra,' the old name of a town and district near modern Jalālābād in Afghānistān. There is a village called 'Nagaraka' even now near Jalālābād. (N. L. Dey, Geographical Dictionary of Ancient and Mediaeval India, *s. n.*). Baihaqi explicitly states (867, ll. 8-15) that the battle took place at Dīnūr. The latter name is also written Depūr or Dūnpūr. These are all forms of Udayānapura, 'Garden-city,' another name by which the Nagarahāra district is known in Sanskrit literature. It seems as if this old form, 'Udayānapura' still survives in 'Ādināpur,' which is now represented by Bālā Bāgh, twelve miles from Jalālābād. (Masson, Journeys into Balochistān etc. I. 180, 182). Fatḥābād, the town founded by Maudūd to commemorate his victory, still exists, four miles south of Bālābāgh. (*Ibid.* 184; Beal, I. 91 note). In some Persian chronicles, 'Nagarahāra' is also written 'Nang-nahār' and supposed to refer to the 'nine streams' or 'torrents' which are said to issue from the Safed-koh and join the Kābul and Bārān river. 'Nang' is said to be the Pushtu word for 'Nine.' (Elphinstone, Caubul, I. 160). Raverty (N. A. 49) vehemently upholds this view, but the better opinion is that 'Nangnahār' [or 'Neknahār' or 'Nangarhār'] are all later corruptions, and that the correct form is 'Nagarahāra,' which occurs in the Ghosrāwā inscription of about 840 A. C. which was first published by Kittoe in J. A. S. B. 1848, pp. 492-8, and has been re-edited by Kielhorn in the Ind. Ant. XVII. 1888, p. 311. Nagarahāra is mentioned in the Chinese annals of the Sung dynasty also as 'Nang-go-lo-ho,' which corresponds exactly, Stanislas Julien says, with the Sanskrit 'Nangrahāra.' (*Voyages du Pèlerins Bouddhistes*, II. 96). Bellew derives the name from *Nava vihāra*, 'nine monasteries' (Races of Afghānistān, Ed. 1880, p. 64), but this seems doubtful.

II. 274, *l.* **9.** *He* ['*Abdu-r-Rashīd*] *used to listen to chronicles and write history.*

اخبار سماع داشت و روایت کردی. 16, l. 5 f.f. "He [the Sultan] had learnt by heart the facts relating to the life of Muḥammad and the Traditions [اخبار] and used to recite them from memory". Elsewhere, Minhāj again says of Malika-i-Jalāli, the daughter of Sultān Ghiyāṣu-d-dīn Muḥammad-i-Sām that she اخبار شهبات تمامت در حفظه داشت (29, l. 1). He uses a similar expression at 85, l. 12. Baihaqi employs the synonymous phrase اخبار پیغمبر بسیار یاد داشت. (123, l. 5 f.f.). Barani also uses سماع دارم for "I remember having heard". (36, l. 4; 52 last line). Irādat Khān Wāẓiḥ says of the Mughal Emperor Bahādur Shāh, Shāh 'Ālam I, that he "used to *relate* the traditions of the Prophet, in the number of which he excelled, as well as in a knowledge of the Holy Law." (E. D. VII. 552).

II. 276, *l.* **8.** *Suddenly, some fleet messengers arrived with the intelligence that the accursed Tughril has been killed.*

Raverty insists that the right reading is not مسرعان, as in the printed text, but مرغان. 'Murghān' means 'birds,' but he interprets it as 'carrier-pigeons.' He urges in support of this lection that Saladin is known to have established a pigeon-post for the conveyance of news and that a victory of the Saracens over Baldwin, Count of Tripoli, in 1179 A. C. was announced at Cairo by carrier-pigeons. (Tr. 101 and *note*). But مسرعان is repeatedly used in at least six other places by Minhāj. (172, l. 4 f. f.; 245, l. 8; 277, l. 2 f. f.; 375, last line; 421, l. 13 and 423, l. 11). The synonymous قاصدان is used at 288, l. 14, and in every one of the six passages, Raverty himself renders the word by "swift messengers". (Tr. 622, 740, 793, 1082, 1217 and 1228). Baihaqi also uses the word frequently, *e. g.* مبشران مسرع (3, l. 6 f. f.), خیلتاش مسرع (3, last line; 275, l. 1), سواران مسرع 11, 281, l. 2; 402, l. 7; 422, l. 20), قاصدان مسرع (17, last line; 299, l. 8; 497, l. 21; 808, l. 16).

See also F. (I. 25, l. 10). There is nothing to show that carrier-pigeons were ever employed by Maḥmūd or any of his descendants and there is no reference to them in any of their chronicles.

II. 276, *l.* **17.** *Farrukhzād was proclaimed king on Saturday, the 9th of Zī-l-k'ada 443 H.*

The Ind. Ephem. make this Friday, 13th March 1052 A.C. The discrepancy indicates that the author is giving the *Rūyyat* and not the *Hisābi* date. The Sultān must have been proclaimed on Saturday, 14th March, if the week day is correct. F. (I. 47, l. 16) says Tughril was assassinated while sitting on the throne in the Darbār held on the *Naurūz-i-Sulṭāni*, that Nūshtīgn arrived some days later and placed Farrukhzād on the throne. The *Naurūz* fell in that year on 3rd March 1052 A.C. (Cowasjee Patell's Chronology), just eleven days before Farrukhzād's coronation. The date given by Minhāj is thus corroborated.

II. 276, *l.* **10 from foot.** *The country of Zāwulistān was in a state of desolation from disease and murrain.*

عوارض و موتان in Text, 19, l. 2. See Criticisms, Vol. VIII, p. xv. Raver-

ty's reading عوارض و موتات (Ṭ. N. Tr. 102 and note) is not free from doubt. The meaning also is not quite certain. عوارض does mean 'diseases' and موتان 'any deadly distemper,' or 'epidemic', not 'murrain' only as he contends. But عوارض signifies 'taxes' and موته 'supplies,' also. May not the true reading be عوارض و موانع, a collocation which occurs frequently and means "adverse circumstances and impediments or untoward events and hindrances." بواسطهٔ بعضی عوارض و موانع is used in this sense. (Ṭ. A. 298, last line).

II. 277, *l.* **5.** *And on Monday, he [Ibrāhīm] auspiciously ascended the throne.*

Minhāj gives the week-day, but leaves out the day of the month. The omission is made good by Baihaqi who gives the precise date as Monday, 19th Ṣafar 451 H. (Text, 467, l. 3 f.f.). The Julian correspondence of 19th Ṣafar was Tuesday, 6th April, 1059 A.C. Raverty has a discursive note on the year of the death of Farrukhzād, in which he cites the mutually discordant statements of several later compilers. The gist of it is that Ḥamdulla, Faṣīḥ and Yāf'aī put his death into 450 H., while the *Muntakhabu-l-Tawārīkh* is in favour of the year following. He refers also to a sentence from Baihaqi in which Farrukhzād is said to have been alive in Ẕī-l-ḥijja 450 (Text 207, l. 9 = E. D. II. 88), and suggests or surmises that he *must* have died in *that very month* in 450—as his demise was sudden. (Tr. 102 Note). He has apparently overlooked the passage which I have cited, as well as another at Text, 350, l. 5, from which it is clear that Farrukhzād was alive in 451 H. Minhāj gives 451 H. (276 *ante*). Ibnu-l-Athīr also explicitly states that Farrukhzād died in Ṣafar 451 (*Kāmil*, Bulāk Edit. X. 2, l. 3), and they are quite right. The date given in the C. H. I. (III. 34) is March 1059, which is a good shot and near the mark, but not quite in the bull's eye.

II. 277, *l.* **13.** *Ibrāhīm was born at Hirāt in the year of the conquest of Gurgān, 424 H.*

Gurgān or Jurjān (the ancient Hyrcania) and Ṭabaristān were conquered by Mas'ūd and taken from the Ziyārid Prince, Dārā bin Minūchihr in 424-5 H. = 1034-5 A. C. (Gardezi, Z. A. 99; Ṭ. A. 12, l. 1; F. I. 41, last line; Khwāndamīr in E. D. IV. 196; Browne, L. H. P. II. 169). The capital of Gurgān, in our own times, is Astrābād.

II. 278, *l.* **5.** *He (Ibrāhīm) died in the year 492 H. at the age of sixty.*

Sic also in the Text (21, l. 11) and in Raverty's Mss. and Tr. 105. But as Minhāj has just stated that the Sultān was born in 424-5 H., he must have been 67, not 60 years old at the time of his death. The exact date of his demise is given as 5th Shawwāl 492 H. (25th August 1099 A.C.) by Ḥamdulla (*Tār. Guz.* 404, Tr. II. 81), who is followed in the C.H.I. (III. 35). Ṭ. A. (17, l. 2) and F. (I. 49, l. 12) give 481 H. as well as 492 H. without pronouncing any opinion on the correctness of either. The numismatic evidence is in favour of 492 H. (J. R. A. S. IX. 361-4).

II. 278, *l.* **10.** *In the days of (the Khalif) Al Mustazahar bi-llah,..... son of Muktadar.*

Sic in the text (21, last line), but the father of Mustaẓahr was Muqtadi. (*Rauẓatu-s-ṣafā*, Jild III, p. 225, l. 7). He reigned from 468 to 487 H. (Muir, Caliphate, 577). Coins struck by Ibrāhīm in the name of Mustaẓahr (487-512 H.) are extant. (J. R. A. S. IX. 364; XVII. 280). Muqtadir was Khalīf from 295 to 320 H.

II. 278, *l.* **3 from foot.** *Malik Arslān Abu-l-Malik ascended the throne A. H. 509 (A. D. 1115).*

The printed text has ابوللوک (22, l. 4 f. f.), which is manifestly erroneous. Raverty gives the patronymic as 'Abdu-l-Mulūk in his Translation, but surely, the Sultān would not style himself 'Servant of (other) Kings.' The correct 'Kunya' must be *Abu-l-Mulūk*, 'Father of Kings,' which is found in some of the authorities he cites. (Ṭ. N. Tr. 107 Note). Mirzā Muḥammad Qazvīni also states that the *Kunya* was Abu-l-Mulūk. (J. R. A. S. 1905, p. 710). It may be permissible to note that a Hindu king, Mallikārjuna of the Shilāhāra dynasty of Ṭhāṇa (*circa* 1156 A. C.) assumed a somewhat similar title, *Rājapitāmaha*, 'Grandfather of Kings'. (I. A. XII. 150; B. G. XIII. Pt. ii, p. 426; J. B. B. R. A. S. XV. 278-9). Arslān's grandfather Ibrāhīm styles himself قاهر الملوک, 'Conqueror of Kings', on one of his dirhams. (Cat. of Oriental Coins in the British Museum, II. No. 558, 171). 'Abdu-l-Malik' given in the C. H. I. III. 35 is a conjecture devoid of any authority.

The exact date of Arslān's accession is not given by any of the chroniclers, but it can be recovered from a contemporary *Qaṣīda* of Mas'ūd-i-S'ad-i-Salmān. He gives it as Wednesday, 6th Shawwāl 509 A. H. = 23rd February 1116 A. C. (Mirzā Muḥammad Qazvīni in J. R. A. S. 1905, p. 705). According to the Ind. Eph., Wednesday, 23rd February 1116 A. C., was 7th Shawwāl, but the difference of a day is not unusual and 6th must be the Hilāli or Rūyyat date, and 7th the *Ḥisābi* or Book-rule date.

The date of this Sultān's demise given by Minhāj is 511, but 'Awfi records the date of his *first* defeat as Wednesday, 14th Shawwāl, 511 A.H. = 8th February 1118 A.C. (199 *ante*) and Ibnu-l-Athīr states that he was expelled from Ghazna again and killed in Jamādi'u-l-Akhir, 512 H. (Bulāk Edit. X. 179, l. 5). Minhāj has left out Kamālu-d-daula Shīrzād, who was the immediate successor of his father 'Alāu-d-daula Mas'ūd II. He was deposed or murdered a few months after accession in 509 H. 1116 A. C. (Khwāndamīr in E. D. IV. 206 and Note 6; B. I. 38, Tr. 55; F. I. 49, l. 22). The contemporary poet Mas'ūd-i-S'ad-i-Salmān also styles him Shirzād Shāh. (*Ibid*).

II. 280, *l.* **2.** *He (Bahlīm) with his ten sons.....fell on the day of battle into a quagmire.*

Dowson says the Text here has some unintelligible words. The words are در زمین بریی نوربی (24, l. 11). The right reading seems to be در زمین بریی. The last word نوربی [*recte* بوربی *Būrīni*] is a conjectural or variant reading which the copyist had found transcribed in the margin and inserted or

transferred by error into the text. برن or بورن means 'a ditch, marsh, a place where water stagnates'. (Richardson's Dict.). F. (I. 50, l. 5) substitutes the synonymous جحبه in his paraphrase of the passage. Abu-l-Faẓl employs the latter word in the *Akbarnāma* (Text. I, 277) and Mr. Beveridge says that it means 'morass, collection of water, bog, quagmire'. (Tr. I, *Errata*, p. xxviii).

II. 281, *l.* 6 from foot. *They put Khusrū Malik to death in the year 598 A.H.*

Sic in the B. I. Text, 27, l. 3, but Minhāj himself puts the event into 587 H. at p. 295, and also at p. 300 *post* (Text, 74, l. 8 and 118, l. 4), which must be correct. The C. H. I. (III. 37) gives 1192 A. C. (588 H). In the section on the Khwārizmshāhis also, Minhāj declares that Sultān Shāh was defeated by the Ghori Sultans after the contest between them had gone on for about a year, in 587 H. (Tr. Raverty, 248-9). Sultān Shāh died soon after his discomfiture in 588 H. (*Ibid*).

II. 282, *l.* 7. *When the founder of the house of 'Abbās, Abu Muslim Marwazi revolted.*

چون صاحب الدعوه العباسیه ابو مسلم مروزی خروج کرد, 34, l. 7 f. f. Abu Muslim was not the 'founder' of the house of 'Abbas, but only a purchased slave of the family, who became their most capable agent, emissary, missionary or propagandist. (Muir, Caliphate, 422). The Founder or First Khalīf of the 'Abbāside dynasty was Abu-l-'Abbās Saffāḥ. Abu Muslim was a sort of king-maker, but not king himself. He was afterwards put to death by the ungrateful Khalīf.

II. 283, *l.* 16. *Owing to the inaccessibility of the mountains of Rāsīāt, which are in Ghor.*

سبب حصانت جبال راسیات که در غور است 39, l. 2. قلل الراسیات 'tops of mountains' occurs in 'Utbi's chapter on Maḥmūd's invasion of Ghor. (Delhi Lith. 306, l. 8). Yazdi uses راسیات جبال and رواسخ جبال in his description of the mountains which stand as a natural wall in defence of Kashmīr. (Ẓafarnāma, II. 180, l. 4 and 178, l. 4). جبال راسیات is again used by Minhāj himself (Text 332, l. 2) for 'precipitous mountains,' 'mountain precipices' or 'mountain-peaks.'

II. 285, *l.* 2. *And the fifth mountain is Faj Hanisār.*

See Criticisms in Vol. VIII. p. xvii and Corrections *Ibid.* xxiv. The variant 'Khaisār' is, most probably, right. Richardson says فج means 'a broad way, especially between two mountains, a pass.' Baihaqi also uses بز or بژ for a 'mountain pass.' (350, l. 3 f. f.). Raverty (Tr. 319 note) speaks of Khaisār as a well-known place, without stating where it is to be found. But it appears from Iṣṭakhri (Ed. Goeje, 285, l. 10) that it was two stages distant from Herāt and about nine from Khasht, which was just on the frontier of Ghor. Baihaqi's 'Bazghūrak (127 *ante*) seems to be really بز غورک or فج غورک 'Pass of Ghūrak'.

II. 286, *l.* 9. (6) *Amir 'Abbās bin Shis bin Muhammad bin Sūri.*

The early history of Ghor is exceedingly obscure. Baihaqi says Ghor was invaded twice in Maḥmūd's reign, *viz.* in 401 H. and again in 411 H. 'Unṣuri speaks in one of his Qaṣīdas of "the capture of the son of Sūri and the conquest of Ghor". (*Dīwān*, Lucknow Lith. p. 58). Abu-l-Ḥasan Khalaf and Shirwān were the chiefs of Ghor in 411 H. and 422 H. according to Baihaqi. (Text, 128, ll. 8, 14 and 274, l. 6 = 111 *ante*). When Sultan Mas'ūd passed through Ghor in his flight after the defeat at Dandānqān in 431 H., the country was ruled by Abul-'Abbās, the son of Abu-l-Ḥasan Khalaf (Text, 795, l. 10), who may be the Amīr 'Abbās (No. 6) of Minhāj. Mas'ūd-i-S'ad-i-Salmān also states that when Sultān Ibrāhīm Ghaznavi invaded Ghor, the ruler was Muḥammad-i-'Abbās. (Trans. in E. D. IV. 519). There can be little doubt that he is No. 7 of Minhāj. These corroborations from contemporary sources indicate that Minhāj is not writing without book.

II. 286, *l.* 12 from foot. *Revenge for the death of Sultān Sūri, King of the Jabāl.*

Insert 'and the' between 'Sūri' and 'King', cf. the B.I. Text (54, l. 13). See also 288 and 291 *post*. Sultān Sūri had the *laqab* Saifu-d-dīn. The name of the Maliku-l-Jibāl was Quṭbu-d-dīn. They were brothers, Quṭbu-d-dīn being the elder. 'Jibāl' is here used as the specific designation of the hilly country on the northern parts of Ghor and Bāmiān which lies to the south-east of Herāt. The King of the Jibāl was poisoned, Sultān Sūri was captured and gibbeted on the One-arched bridge of Ghazni.

II. 289, last line. *Some emissaries of the Mulāḥidatu-l-Maut came to him.*

Correctly *Malāḥidat-i-Alamūt*, the Heretics of Alamūt. *Mulāḥidatu-l Maut* is nonsensical or misleading. They were emissaries of the Malāḥida, also called Qarāmiṭā, Bāṭiniya, Ism'āili or Assassins, who had their headquarters in the stronghold of Alamūt, 20 miles from Qazvīn. It had been captured by Ḥasan-i-Ṣabāḥ in H. 483. By an extraordinary coincidence, this date represents the *Abjad* value of the letters الموت. Elliot (574 *infra*) and others say that 'Alāmūt' signifies 'Eagle's Nest,' or 'Eagle's Find,' while Browne thinks that Ibnu-l-Athīr is right in deriving it from *Aluh*, an old Persian word for 'eagle' and *āmūt*, *i.e.* 'Amukht', 'taught'. The name thus signifies 'Eagle's Teaching'. Houtum-Schindler, however, challenges this opinion and maintains that 'Eagle's Nest' is "more natural and probable," and has the support of the best Persian Dictionaries, *e. g.* the *Burhān-i-Qāṭi'a*, the *Farhang-i-Rashīdi* and the *Shāmsu-l-Lughāt*. He states that one of the *Dā'is*, "reached the summit of a rock while in pursuit of game, and finding the position favourable, built a castle upon it and called it 'The Eagle's Nest', because eagles build their nests on high places." (J. R. A. S. 1909, pp. 162-164; see also *Ibid*, 1907, p. 460). The fortress was destroyed by Hūlāgū in 1256 A. C. (L. H. P. II. 203-4, 311 and 458).

II. 290, *l.* 2. *He paid great honour to these heretics, inviting them into*

all parts of the kingdom.

ایشان را اعزاز کرد وبهرجا از مواضع غور دور سرّ دعوت کردند ; 63, l. 6.

It was not 'Alāu-d-dīn who invited the Ism'āilis into all parts of his kingdom. What Minhāj says is that the emissaries of the sect secretly [دور سرّ] invited the residents of all the villages in Ghor to join their creed. They carried on an insidious propaganda with a view to convert or pervert the Ghorians and 'Alāu-d-dīn was guilty, in so far that he permitted and encouraged them to make proselytes. The phrase دور سرّ is used again in the Ṭ. N. at 65, 188, 189, 289 and 329, in the same sense.

II. 291, *l.* **2 from foot.** *The horsemen of Bahrām Shāh .....overtook them in the neighbourhood of Sang-i-Surākh.*

Raverty states that Sang-i-Sūrākh signifies 'Perforated Rock or Stone' and that there are three or four places bearing this name. He locates this Sang-i-Sūrākh near the Helmand river, north-north-west of Ghazni, on the route from that city and from Kābul also to Ghor. (Tr. 441 *note*). A *Surkh-Sang* Pass, N. W. of Ghazni, is shown in Constable, 22 C c and 24 B a.

II. 292, *l.* **3.** *The horsemen captured them, bound them hand and foot, and conducted them to Ghazni.*

اورا بعهد و دست راست بگرفتند و بدست آورده ; 113, l. 3 from foot.

"They seized him and brought him into their power by giving promises and [confirming them] by pledges with the right hand." (See also my note on Vol. II, 315, l. 8 *infra*).

II. 293, *l.* **7.** *He assigned to him the countries of Kasr-i-Kajūrān and Istiya.*

There is a place called Istiya in the Kurram Valley, now the Kurram Agency of the North-West Frontier Province. Kurram corresponds to the Upper Bangāsh of Akbar's historians, while Kohāt is their Lower Bangāsh. (I. G. XVI. 49). This Istiya lies five *Kuroh or Kos* from the Peiwār Kotal, which is about ninety miles south of Kābul. (N. A. 77, 80). Qaṣr-i-Kajūrān may be what is now called Kajūri Kach, which is about fifteen miles from the western boundary of Bannu district. (I. G. XI, 202; I. G. Atlas, 33, A 3). But Raverty says that this Istiya was in Ghor and a mountain between Ghazni and Herāt. (Ṭ. N. Tr. 339 Note).

II. 293, last line. *It has been written by some that these Sankarāniāns have been called martyrs, in agreement with the declaration of the Kurān but as they etc.*

چنان تقریر کرده اند که اکثر طائفه سنکرانیان ظاهر آیت قران خوان بوده اند که شهادت یافتند ; 116, l. 7.

"Some people have argued that as the great majority of these Sankarāniāns were outwardly Musalmāns (*lit.* reciters of the Qurān) and were put to death, they are entitled to be called martyrs." Minhāj denies their claim to any such honour. They had, he says, rebelled against their

lawful sovereign and had been not unjustly put to death, although the sentence had been passed, not in accordance with the religious law, (شرع), but with "political necessity". بضرورت بسیاستِ ملکی کشته شدند It was an act of executive or administrative justice.

Minhāj is giving here *a fatwā*—a legal opinion pronounced *obiter*, as Chief Qāẓi of the Empire. He, his father and his grandfather were all jurists by profession and the Law was, so to say, in his blood. These Sankarāniāns were 'reciters of the Qurān', *i.e.* men who professed Islam. Now no Muslim can, *according to the Sharī'at*, be put to death except for one of three offences, Murder, Blasphemy and Apostasy. These men were rebels, but rebellion did not come within the purview of the Canonical Law, and was not punishable under it with death. Their execution could be justified, however, on grounds of political exigency or necessity—the necessity of maintaining law and order in the State on the principle, *Salus populi suprema lex.*

II. 294, *l.* **6.** *The Rāi of Nahrwāla Bhīm-deo was a minor.*

All the Musalman historians speak of Bhīma as the King of Gujarāt who defeated the Ghori Sultān. But the local chroniclers record the event in the reign of his predecessor, Mūlarāja and in many Chālukya inscriptions also, Mūlarāja is praised as "the conqueror of the difficult-to-be-conquered King of Garjana", *i. e.* Ghazna. (Ind. Ant. VI. 194, 198, 200, 201). He is known as Bāla Mūlarāja, 'Mūlarāja the Boy', and is said to have "dispersed the Turushka army even in childhood", in two of the Jaina chronicles quoted in the B. G. Pt. I. 195. The mistake may have originated in the fact that Mūlarāja's reign was a very short one and he was succeeded by his brother Bhīma II, who was also very young at the time and had a long reign of 62 years (1179-1241 A. C.).

The site of the battle is said, in the Hindu accounts, to have been at Gāḍarāra Ghaṭṭa—and the Sultān's defeat is stated there to have been partly due to a sudden fall of rain. (Merutunga, Tr. Tawney, 154; B. G. I. Pt. i. 195; Epig. Ind. IX. 77). It has been recently suggested by two scholars acquainted with the locality, that Gāḍarāra must be the village called Kāyadrā in Sirohi State which lies at the foot of Mount Ābu. (D. R. Bhāndārkar, Epig. Ind. XI, 72; R. R. Haldar in Ind. Ant. LVI, (1927), p. 47 *note*).

II. 295, foot note 2. *The text has Tarāin, but Firishta gives the name as Nārāin and says it was afterwards called Tirauri.*

There is no doubt that the battlefield was somewhere near *what is now called Tirauri*, which lies about ten miles north-west of Karnāl and 14 south-east of Thānesar, but no village actually called Tarāin or Nārāin can be now traced in the vicinity. It is true that Cunningham speaks of "Nārāin, lying on the banks of the Rākshi river, four miles south-west of Tirauri and ten miles north of Karnāl", but the existence of any such village is denied by Raverty (Tr. 459 Note) and others.

In the Official Gazetteer of the Karnāl district, (1918), p. 10, the correct name is given by the local expert who compiled it, as *Nardīna*, a village in the Nai Wafi in Nardak, twelve miles south of Thānesar and *three miles from Tirauri*. Raverty's contention that the real name of the village was 'Tarāin' (Tr.) thus lacks confirmation and Cunningham's 'Nārāin' must be an error for '*Nardina*'.

Tirauri or Talāvarī is apparently, a modern name signifying 'a small, lake, tank or pond.' Its Muḥammadan *alias* 'Aẓīmābād, was given because Aurangzeb's son 'Aẓīm was born here. There is a great 'Ribāṭ' or fortified Sarāi in the place. (I. G. XXIV. 390). The vernacular *Tāl* or *Talāv*, Pers. تالاب, means 'a pond or lake.' 'Talāvdi' or 'Tarāvadi' is its diminutive. The phonetic resemblance between 'Tarāin' and 'Tirauri' seems fortuitous.

There is a strange lack of concord among the authorities in regard to the chronology of the reign of Mu'izzu-d-dīn Muḥammad-i-Sām, and it was the subject of a somewhat acrimonious controversy between Raverty and Blochmann in the J. A. S. B. The two oldest authorities, Minhāj and Ḥasan Niẓāmi, frequently give discrepant dates. Niẓāmu-d-dīn Aḥmad, Firishta and Budāuni merely copy the older authors accurately or inaccurately. It may be therefore worth while to cite the dates given by a third contemporary source—the *Tārīkh-i-Fakhru-d-dīn Mubārakshāh*—which has seen the light and has been edited very recently by Sir E. Denison Ross.

These dates are as follows:—

Defeat of Rāi Kaula Pithaurā.	588 H.	p. 22.
Quṭbu-d-dīn's conquest of Kuhrām.	588 H.	p. 22.
Conquest of Delhi and Ranthambhor.	588 H.	pp. 22-3.
Defeat of Rai Jītchand.	590 H.	p. 23.
Conquest of Ajmer.	591 H.	p. 23.
Conquest of Thankīr.	592 H.	p. 23.
Conquest of Nahrwāla.	593 H.	p. 23.
Conquest of Būdāun.	594 H.	p. 24.
Conquest of Chantarwāl [Chandawār], Qanauj and Sarwa [Sarju-pār].	595 H.	*Ibid.*
Conquest of Mālwa.	596 H.	„
Conquest of Gwāliar.	597 H.	„
Conquest of Kālanjar.	599 H.	„
Conquest of بدون	600 H.	p. 25.
Quṭbu-d-dīn goes to attend upon the Sultān at Parshāwar.	601 H.	*Ibid.*

II. 298, *l.* **2**. *He* [*M'uizzu-d-dīn-i-Sām*] *fell into the hands of these infidels.*

This is misleading. The persons into whose hands he fell were not the 'infidels' or Khokhars who were defeated in the battle described above. The assassins are explicitly said by Minhāj to have been فدائی ملاحده (124, l. 3) the fanatical desperadoes of the *Malaḥidā, i.e. Qarāmaṭa* or Ism'āīli

sect,—the *Malaḥida of Alāmūt*, as they are called by Minhāj, on p. 289 *ante*. q. v. Note). Ḥājji Dabīr states that the assassins were *Ism'āīli Malaḥida* ملحد من الاسماعيليه (Z. W. 682, l. 16) and so also Ḥasan Niẓāmi.

II. 299, *l.* 16. *He was not comely in appearance. His little finger was broken from his hand, and he was therefore called Aibak, 'maimed in the hand.'*

اما بظاهر جمالی نداشت و انگشتِ خنصر او از دست شکستگی داشت بدآن سبب اورا ایبكِ شل گفتندی 138, l. 4. f. f.

The meaning of this passage has been the theme of acute controversy. Raverty contends that 'Ībak' in Turki means 'finger' and 'Shil' or 'Shal' signifies 'soft or paralysed' in Persian and that the real name of Quṭbu-d-dīn was not and could not have been *Ībak*, but *Ībak-i-Shal*, signifying "Powerless-fingered". (Ṭ.N. Tr. 513-14 and *Notes*). On the other hand, Thomas (C. P. K. D. 32 note) and Blochmann (J.A.S.B. 1875, XLIV, pp. 277-8) agree in holding that 'Ībak' or 'Aībak' by itself was the original Turki name (derived *probably*, from the Turki *Ai*, 'moon' and 'Bak', 'Lord'), and that 'Shal' or 'Shil' was a nickname signifying 'withered, maimed, disjointed'. They maintain that 'Ībak' is stated in the Turki dictionaries, to mean, not 'finger', but 'a crest or a comb' and that in the *Shamsu-l-Lughāt*, 'Ībak' is given as the synonym of میر ماه 'Lord of the Moon.' In other words, 'Shal' is neither the explanation of 'Aībak', nor the name of the tribe to which he belonged, but his nickname. The Ṭ.A. (20, l. 9), F. (I. 60 last line) and B. (I. 54, Tr. l. 77), all state that "he was called 'Aībak' *because* his little finger was broken," but this seems to be founded on some misunderstanding or mutilation in the text of Minhāj which was available to Niẓāmu-d-dīn Aḥmad. F. and B. have only copied the sentence word for word from the Ṭ. A.

The name 'Ībak' or 'Aībak' was borne by several other Turki slaves at this time. One of them who was purchased at the same time as Iltutmish had the sobriquet of Tamghāj. The name of his native district or province was appended to his name just as 'Shil' or 'Shal' was suffixed to that of Quṭbu-d-dīn. (322 *infra*). A second namesake was, with a view to distinction or differentiation, styled Bahtū (*ib.*, 334), a third Sanjān or Khiṭāi (*ib.*, 354, 356), a fourth Bārbak or Kishli Khān (*ib.*, 359, 368), a fifth Khwāja (Ṭ. N. Text 213, l. 5), and a sixth was called Yaghāntat. (Text, 238, l. 6 f.f.). Still another person named Ībak is mentioned by Minhāj elsewhere, as the chief Inkstand-bearer of the ill-starred Khalīf Mustʿaṣim. (Text, 425, l. 2 f.f.). Another Ībak Ḥājib is known to have been commander of the army of Amīr Nūḥ Sāmāni of Bukhārā. (*Tārīkh-i-Yamīni*, Tr. Reynolds, 121 and *note*).

It is not possible that all these 'Aībaks' were so called, because they were 'moon-lords' or had 'broken-fingers' or bore some resemblance to the 'Combs of cocks.' Ībak was a name just like any other, like Chingīz, Timūr, Aītigīn, Aītamar or John, James, Paul or Peter. It may have possessed some sense or meaning or *raison d'être* at first, but it had, in

course of time, been given to all sorts of individuals so frequently and so very much at random, that it had, by this time, lost all significance or meaning. It thus bore no relation at all to the qualities, physical, mental or moral, or the circumstances, general or particular, of the person designated by it.

II. 300, *l.* 2 from foot. *On Tuesday, the 18th of the month of Zī-l-Ka'ada [602 H.], he [Quṭbu-d-dīn] mounted the throne.*

This date is repeated in the Ṭ. A. (20, l. 4 f. f.) and F. (I. 63, l. 7). The Julian correspondence of 18th Ẓī-l-q'ad (*Ḥisābī*) was Monday, 26th June, 1206. This 18th must be therefore the *Ruyyat* date. Fakhru-d-dīn Mubārakshāh states that Quṭbu-d-dīn arrived at Lāhore on the 11th of Ẓī-l-q'ad, 602 H. (Ed. Ross, p. 31). The coronation must have taken place exactly a week later.

II. 304, *l.* 9. *On Tuesday, the 27th of Jumāda-l-awwal, the fort (of Ucch) was taken.*

The dates which Minhāj gives for the siege and capture of Uchch are inextricably confused and self-contradictory. Here, the siege is said to have commenced on the 1st of Rab'ī I, 624 H., and to have terminated after 2 months and 27 days on Tuesday, the 27th of Jumādi I, 624. [Raverty also has 27th, but Saturday; Tr. 544]. Then on pp. 325-6 *infra*. Minhāj himself states that the fortress of Uchch capitulated on Tuesday, the 29th of Jumādī II, 625 H., and that Qubācha drowned himself in the same month. But in Raverty's Mss., this date is Tuesday, 27th or 28th Jumādī I, 625 H. (Tr. 613). Again, Minhāj avers here that the news of the fall of Bhakkar arrived at Uchch on the 22nd of Jumādi II, 624 H., and that Qubācha's suicide took place about the same time. But Muḥammad 'Awfi, who was himself besieged in the fort along with Qubācha and was, as Elliot observes, "well acquainted with all the details" (155 *ante*), gives the date of Qubācha's death as the night of Thursday, 19th Jumādī II, 625 H. (202 *ante*).

Now 19th Jumādi II, 625 H., was Friday, 26th May, 1228 A. C., 27th Jumādi II, 625, Saturday, 3rd June, 1228, and 29th Jumādi I, 625 H., was Saturday, 6th May, 1228. The conclusion would appear to be that the death of Qubācha took place on 19th Jumādi II, 625 H., and that Uchch had fallen some days previously on Saturday, 29th Jumādi I, 625 H.

624 H. is irreconcilable with another statement made by Minhāj regarding his own life-history. He tells us that he arrived at Uchch on Tuesday, 26th Jumādi I, 624 H. (*Friday*, 14th May, 1227) and was appointed head of the Firūzi College there in Ẓī-l-ḥijja of that year. (Text 144, l. 3=303 *ante*). He also states that he paid his respects to Iltutmish on Wednesday, 1st Rab'ī I, 625 H.=*Wednesday*, 9th February, 1228 (Text, 231, l. 16), the very day on which the Sultān encamped there and that when the Sultān returned to Dehli in Ramaẓān, 625 H., after the conquest of Uchch, he was one of the members of his retinue. (326 *infra*, Text 173-4). The date given in the C. H. I. (III, 52), 4th May 1228, A.C., corresponds

with 27th Jumādi I, 625. It was a *Thursday*.

II. 305, *l.* 4. *He obtained Sahlat and Sahli in Jāghir.*

Variants, Salmat, Sahlast. Raverty's Mss. read 'Bhagwat and Bhuīli'. They are, he says, two parganas situated between the Ganges and the Karamnāsa—the latter river being the boundary of the Bihār territory. (Ṭ. N. Tr. 550 and note). Blochmann accepted the identification and it may be taken as satisfactory. Bhuīli is mentioned in the *Āīn* as a pargana in Sarkār Chunār. (Tr. II. 165). Elliot says, Bhagwat was also known as Hansa. (Races, II. 119). Both parganas are situated to the south of Banāras and east of Chunār. (Blochmann, J. A. S. B. 1875, p. 281 and note). Thornton says 'Bhoelee' is 10 miles east of Chunār and 15 south of Banāras, Lat. 25°-6′ N., Long. 83-3. Bhagwat, Bhuili, Ahraura, Chunār and Kariāt Sikhar are listed in the I.G. as the five *parganas* of the present Chunār Taḥṣīl. (X. 332).

II. 305, *l.* **2 from foot.** *Districts of Munir (Monghyr) and Behār.*

منير in Text, 147, l. 6. The gloss is wrong. Munīr (or Maner) is not the same as Monghyr. Maner is about twenty miles west of Paṭna. Monghyr is about one hundred south-east of it. (Seeley, Road Book of India, p. 3). The town of Bihār, Lat. 25°-11′ N., Long. 85°-31′ E. is by rail 18 miles to the south of Bakhtiārpur, which is 28 miles south of Paṭna.

II. 308, *l.* **3.** *In that country (Bengal), the current money is* Kaudas *(Kauris) instead of* chītals.

In all the passages in which these coins are mentioned by Minhāj, the name is spelt in the B.I. Text as چتل *Chītal* (149, l. 2 f. f.; 168, l. 2 f. f.; 197, l. 2; 237, l. 11; 247, l. 6; 295, l. 3; 452, l. 4 f. f.). Barani's spelling also is چتل (B. I. Text. 116, l; 118, l. 2 f. f.; 195, l. 2 f. f.; 204, l. 4 f. f.; 212, l. 13), though Raverty and others call them '*Jītals*, and that spelling also is found in Mss. The numismatists have not thrown any light on the derivation of the word though some think that it may be Turki. It may be permissible to suggest a connection with the picture of the 'Bull' and 'Horseman,' which is found on the *Dehliwāls*, another name by which these *Chītals* are called, *e.g.* by Ḥasan Niẓāmi. (242 *ante*). The word is perhaps the Sanskrit *Chitrala*, "variegated, painted, pictured." In Hindi, *Chītal* is used for 'the spotted deer,' and also for 'a species of large snake which has spots.' The reptile is described in the *Tūzuk-i-Jahāngīri* as about 2½ *Ilāhi gaz* (about seven feet) in length, twelve inches in girth and large enough to swallow a hare. (Text, 369-370). The 'bangles made of conch shells which are coloured and engraved with all sorts of designs,' are also known by the same name. The *Chītal* or *chuḍā* was the mark of a married woman and was broken only when the husband died. The leopard [Hind. *Cheetā*, Sanskrit 'Chitraka'] is so called because of the spots with which he is marked.

II. 308, *l.* **6 from foot.** *Most of the Brahmans and many chiefs (Sāhān) went away to the country of Sanknāt.*

Barani uses *Sāhān wa ṣarrāfān* (546, l. 6) and *Multāniān wa*

Sāhān (120, l. 7). The Hindi word really means 'wealthy merchants, respectable men of the commercial classes.' 'Sāh' is generally derived from 'Sāhu,' Sanskrit 'Sīdhu,' 'pure, honest, of immaculate integrity.' The word is also found in Ibn Baṭūṭa who explains that the great merchants of Daulatābād who dealt mostly in pearls were called *Sāh*. Defrémery traces it to the Sanskrit *Sārthavāha*, Pāli *Sātthavāha*, which is pronounced *Sāttvahí* or *Sātthahí* (IV. 49), but the Gujarāti and Hindi dictionaries give the first of these etymologies.

Dowson notes that 'Sanknāt' is also written 'Sankāt' and 'Saknāt' and he asks if it is not 'Jagannāth'. But Minhāj states a few lines lower down, that Lakhmaniya himself fled to *Sanknāt and Bang* "and that his sons are to this day rulers in the territory of *Bang*." (Text, 151, l. 14; 309 *infra*). Now Vanga or 'Banga' is the specific name of *Eastern* Bengal, and we possess epigraphic evidence of Lakshmanasena's descendants having ruled for at least three generations at Vikrampur near Sonārgaon in Dācca. Sanknāt may be a mistake for Sonārgaon [or Songāon]. A still nearer phonetic approach would be Satgāon (ساتگاؤں), and it is possible that Minhāj who knew little or nothing of Bengal geography has confused the two names. Hoogly district in which Satgāon lay was under Hindu rule for long after the Muḥammadan conquest of Lakhnauti.

II. 310, *l.* **1.** *The one is called Kūch, the second Mīch and the third Tihāru. They all have Turki features.*

Mr. Crooke tells us that "the Thārus have still their headquarters in the Himālayan Tarāi and colonies in Gorakhpur division and Northern Oude. The Meches resemble them in habits and features and inhabit that portion of the Tarāi which separates the plains of Bengal from the hills of Sikkim.....The Thārus still retain in their features strong marks of a Chinese or Mongol origin, although these marks are somewhat softened.... ..The most probable opinion is that the Thārus are originally a Dravidian race, who by alliance with the Nepalese and other hill tribes, have acquired some degree of the Mongolian physiognomy." (T. C. IV. 380-5). According to the I. G. (VI. 44) also, they are of Indo-Chinese origin and of a marked Mongolian type. The author of the *'Ālamgīrnāma* says of the Mech that "they are to be found in Kūch Behār, are very ugly and look like the Qalmāqs [Calmucks], having a steel-blue complexion." (B. I. Text, 692).

II. 310, *l.* **8.** *He led him to a place where there was a city called Mardhan-Kot.*

Westmacott suggested (J. A. S. B. 1875, XLIV. p. 188) that this is Bordhankoṭi in Dināǰpur, about 35 miles south of Rangpur town and 20 miles due north of Bogra. Lat. 25°-8′, Long. 89°-25′ E. He thought that the original Sanskrit form was Varddhana-Kūṭi and sought to connect that name with Paundra Varddhana or Pundra-desha, which comprised Dināǰpur, Rangpur and Kūch-Bihār. Westmacott's suggestion was accepted by Blochmann (J.A.S.B. 1875, p. 282) and it has been endorsed

by the writer of the article on the subject in the I. G. More recently, Mr. E. H. Stapleton announced, in a paper read before the Royal Asiatic Society, that Westmacott's identification has been confirmed by subsequent research. (Report in the Times of India of 24th April, 1934).

In Dowson's translation, this city is said to have been built by Gurshāsp, at the time when he returned from China and came to Kāmrūd. Raverty says that some of his Mss. read 'Garshāsib' and others 'Gushtāsib' and he contends that 'Gushtāsib' only can be right, because the latter's son, Isfandyār, is said, in Irānian tradition, to have conquered Hind and also invaded China. (561 Note). But the Ṭ. A. (24, l. 4), B. (I. 58= Tr. I. 84), and F. (II. 294, l. 6) agree in reading 'Gershāsp.' There is no mention in Firdausi's *Shāhnāma* of any invasion of India or China, either by Gushtāsp or by Gershāsp. But the reference here is not to the great Iranian Epic, but to the "Gershāsp Nāma" of the younger Asadi (son or nephew of Asadi, the teacher of Firdausi), in which there is a lengthy account of the hero's deeds of derring-do in Hind and Chīn. (Rehatsek's Cat. M. F. L. 164; Mohl, *Le Livre des Rois*. Repr. 1876, I. Préface. lxiii-lxix; Rieu, B.M. Cat. IV. 127, 133, 137; Ethé, I.O. Cat. 558).

M. Clement Huart has recently edited a portion of this romance and Gujarāti translations of this Epopée, as well as the *Barzo Nāma*, *Farāmarz Nāma*, *Jahāngīr Nāma* etc. have been printed. The 'Gershāsp-nāma' is cited as an authority in the *Mujmalu-t-Tawārīkh* (E. D. I. 102) and also by Mīrkhwānd. (Tr. Shea, 118). Abu-l-Faẓl says it "narrates his invasion of India" and the exploits he performed there. (*Āīn*, Tr. III, 328). Gershāsp is the 'Keresāspa' of the Avesta. (*Yasht* XIX. 38-44).

II. 310, *l.* 10. *Before the town, there runs a stream which is exceedingly large. It is called Bangamati.*

The river flowing in front of Burdhankoṭ, which is here called Bangamati and supposed by Dowson to be the Brahmaputra, is believed by others to be the Karatoya, "which formed, for long, the boundary of the Muḥammadan kingdom of Lakhnauti and Kāmarūpa, Koch Bihār and Koch Hājo. The Karatoya was probably connected at the time with the Tīstā, which then flowed west of the Karatoya, joined the Atrāi and fell into the main branch of the Ganges, the Padmā." (Blochmann in J.A.S.B. 1875, pp. 282-4). [Sir] Edward Gait (J. A. S. B. LXII. 1893, p. 280 note) takes the same view and he is sure that Muḥammad-i-Bakhtyār did not cross the Brahmaputra at all, either near Gauhāṭi or elsewhere or that he ever entered Āssām. He thinks that Muḥammad merely marched northwards along the Karatoya. (See also his History of Āssām, p. 34).

On the other hand, Raverty contends that the river must be the Tīstā. It seems scarcely worth while to dispute about the matter, as the changes in the courses of these rivers preclude the possibility of determining the channels in which they actually flowed in the thirteenth century. The uncertainty which exists every where in India in regard to the popular nomenclature of rivers also aggravates the difficulty. The

Karatoya is, in parts of its course, *even now*, called the *Burhi* or *Old* Tīstā. It is also certain that at the time of Major Rennell's Survey, *i. e.* about 1780, the main stream of the Tīstā flowed south, down the bed of the Karatoya (instead of south-east, as it does at present), and joining the Atrāi, fell into the Ganges. But in 1787, it forsook this old channel and cut a new one, by which it found its capricious way to the Brahmaputra. Early in the 19th century, it again altered this course for a more direct one eastwards. (I. G. XXIII. 404). Most modern experts are also agreed that the Bangamati of Minhāj cannot be the Brahmaputra, though the statement about its having been "three times greater than the Ganges" can apply only to that great river.

The site of the bridge also is quite uncertain. Blochmann thought that it was somewhere near Dorzheling, the modern Darjeeling, for the not very convincing reason that, at the present day, the boundary separating the Meches from the hill-tribes is about 12 miles south of Darjeeling. Dalton (J. A. S. B. 1851, XX. p. 291) suggested that the bridge was the one still existing at Sil Hako near Gauhāṭi and Ranking (B. Tr. I. 84 note) was inclined to favour that location, but Raverty (Ṭ. N. Tr. 563-5) has shown this hypothesis to be untenable in an elaborate note. He does not, however, make any attempt to determine its situation himself.

The fact is that the details mentioned by Minhāj are so scanty as well as vague, that it is extremely hazardous to make any positive statements in regard to the route followed by the invader or the distance to which he penetrated. Minhāj, besides, had little or no knowledge of the geography of the country and he has merely repeated the random gossip and hearsay reports which he picked up at Lakhnauti, during his sojourn in that town, forty years after the catastrophe. Mr. Vincent Smith has suggested that Muḥammad-i-Bakhtyār marched through the modern districts of Bogra and Jalpaiguri and crossed the Karatoya, although he was unable to proceed beyond a certain point to the north of Darjeeling (O. H. I. 224), but he admits that this is only a conjecture.

II. 310, last line. *One night in the year 641 (1243 A. C.), he halted at a place between Deokot and Bangāwan.*

There is a good deal of confusion here. The person who halted was the author Minhāj, not Muḥammad-i-Bakhtyār, as the above rendering makes it out. (See Criticisms in Vol. VIII. p. xviii and Corrections. *Ib.* p. xxv).

Deokot or Devikot is now in the Bālurghāt sub-division of Dinājpur district in Lat. 25°-11′ N., Long. 88°-31′ E., near the ruined fort of Damdama, on the left bank of the Purnabhabā, south of Dinājpur town. It is about seventy-five miles north-east of Gaur and lies close to Gangārāmpur, where one of the oldest Muḥammadan inscriptions in Bengal (that of Kaikāūs Shāh, dated in 1297 A. C.) has been found. (Blochmann in J. A. S. B. 1873, XLII. 211; Thomas, C. P. K. D. 149). Deokot contains the shrine of 'Atāulla, who is said to have been the spiritual guide of Muḥammad-i-Bakhtyār and an inscription in an

old ruined mosque in the town is dated in 1293 A. C. (Blochmann, J. A. S. B. 1872, p. 102; Arch. Survey of India Reports, XV, 95-104; I. G. XI, 275). Raverty reads the second name as 'Bekānwali' (T. N. Tr. 565), but Blochmann says that 'Bangawān' is the name of a well-known place near Deokot. The local tradition is that Deokot was the citadel of Bānnagar, the fortress of an Asura named Bān Rājā (I. G. XI. 275) and Blochmann is most probably right in accepting 'Bangāwan' or 'Bangāon' (village of Bān) as the right reading.

II. 311, *l.* **4 from foot.** *The inhabitants of it are Brahmans and Nūnīs .....They profess the Buddhist religion.*

Variants, تونیان or نونیان. Raverty also leaves the word 'Nūni' untranslated, but Quatremère has shown that the correct reading is 'Tūinān' تویان, and that it is the Mongol name for 'Buddhist priests.' (*Histoire des Mongols de la Perse*, p. 198 note). Juwaini, the author of the *Tārīkh-i-Jehān Kushā*, states that Christians were called by the Mongols 'Arcouns' and Buddhist monks 'Touines.' Rubruquis states that 'Touin' is the Mongol word for Buddhist ecclesiastics. (Yule, Cathay, 1st Edition, I. 241 and 83 notes: see also *Tārīkh-i-Rashīdi*, Tr. Ney Elias and Ross, 290 note; D'Ohsson, *Hist. des Mongols*, II. 264). Steingass also tells us that 'Tūin' means 'Buddhist priest, a Lama.' It is said of these 'Nūnis' that they "profess the *Dīn-i-Tarsāi*," and Raverty renders the latter phrase in his text, as "the pagan religion", but he suggests, at the same time in a note that the reference must be to Christianity or Manichaeism. (Tr. 567 note). Quatremère, however, is right in understanding it as the "tenets of the Lāmās." Juwaini explicitly declares that "the idolators (بت پرستان) called 'Touins' pretend that in the times anterior to the advent of Islam in Mongolistān, they could converse with the idols, but that since that time they (the idols) had been annoyed and remained dumb."

و در زعم جماعت منزویان بت پرستان که بلغت ایشان توین خوانند آنست که پیش از اقامت مسلمانان × × بتان را با ایشان مکالمت بود و اکنون از شومی قدم مسلمانان با ایشان خشم گرفته اند و سخن نمی گویند (I. 10, l. 6). This shows that the *Din-i-Tarsāi* was identical with 'the religion of the Tūins or Lāmās.' Elsewhere, Minhāj says that the 'Nūins' are رسبان بت پرست or زهاد بت پرستان چین (383, l. 14; 402, 17). See also my Note on the meaning of *Tarsā*, II. 163, l. 3 *ante*.

II. 315, *l.* **8.** *'Ali Mardān contrived to ingratiate himself with the Kotwāl.*

علی مردان طریقی کردو با کوتوال دست راست گرفت. 158, l. 5. 'Ali Mardān, by some device, got the Kotwāl to pledge his right hand, *i.e.* to enter into some sort of compact or engagement with himself (and promise him safety). The same phrase is used again اگرخط امانی و دست راستی و عهدی بود. T.N. 309, l. 6. See also my note on 357, last line *post*. دست راست طلب کردند occurs at Text, 224, l. 5 f. f. (See also 223, l. 9 and 264, l. 12).

II. 315, *l.* **10 from foot.** *Quarrels afterwards broke out among these chiefs in the neighbourhood of Makīda and Mantūs.*

'Maksīda' and 'Santūs' in Ḥājji Dābīr. (Z. W. 959, l. 8). The correct forms are 'Masīdhā and Santosh'. These two places lie in adjacent parganas south-east of Deokot in Dināǰpur. Santosh, now called Mahiganj, is on the eastern bank of the Atrāi river in Ṭhāna Potnitala of Dināǰpur district. Raverty's identification of Makīda [Masīdha] with Maqṣūdābād (Tr. 576 Note) is quite untenable, as the latter toponym is not older than the 16th century. In Hunter's Statistical Account of Bengal, Debikot (Deokot) is registered as Pargana No. 28, Mosidah as Pargana No. 58, and Santosh as Pargana No. 68 of Dināǰpur district. (Blochmann in J. A. S. B. 1875, pp. 284-5 and 290).

II. 317, *l.* **16.** *He had with him some travellers' bread.*

قرصی و نانخواشِ سفریانه با خود داشت ; 160, l. 2 f. f. "He had with him a round of bread and some such condiment [savoury, relish, kitchen or seasoning], as is usually carried on a journey." S'adi writes in the *Būstān* یکی نانخورش جز پیازی نداشت (Chap. VI, Story 8th), "One had no other condiment than an onion." Barani also says of the ascetic Sīdi Maulā, that while he gave sumptuous feasts to all those who came to his monastery, his own diet was extremely plain and consisted only of rice-bread and some simple relish or seasoning. نانِ برنج و نانخورشِ سهل خوردی (T. F. 208, l. 13). Dowson in his rejoinder to Raverty suggests that the right reading is *Nān-i-Khurish-i-Safriyana*, that is, 'Bread for travelling-food,' (Vol. VIII. p. xx), but نانخورش is a frequently-used compound with a definite meaning of its own.

II. 317, *l.* **2 from foot.** *And built a fort for his residence.*

و حصارِ بسکوت (بسکونه variant) بنا کرد (161, l. 9). "He built a fort at Basankot." (See Vol. VIII. pp. xxi-xxv). 'Basankot' is again mentioned in association with Lakhnauti at page 320 *infra* (Text, 180, l. 4 f. f.) and once more at Text, 243, l. 2. The place has not been traced.

II. 318, *l.* **18.** *And his name was mentioned in the Court of Ghiyāsu-d-dīn.*

دربارگاه غیاث‌الدین تذکیری گفته آمد ; 161, l. 3. "A 'Taẕkīr' was recited (delivered) by him in the Court of Ghiyāṣu-d-dīn." "Taẕkir" does not mean 'eulogistic speech' or 'commemorative ode or speech,' as Dowson states (VIII. p. xxi), but a religious discourse or sermon, a 'serious call' or exhortation to lead a holy life in accordance with the precepts of Islam, and to sacrifice it for the Faith. Mr. Gibb observes that "in the early days of Islam, *Jihād* or the duty of defending by the sword the territorial heritage of Islam was reckoned as an obligation of the same degree as Prayer and Fasting, but the old enthusiasm, in course of time, cooled down, and stood in need of incitement and stimulation. (Ibn Baṭūṭa, Introd. 33). Elsewhere, Minhāj himself explains that the object of a *Taẕkīr* is to "exhort people to undertake a *Jihād* to earn the religious merit obtainable by waging Holy Wars (غزوات) and exert themselves for the preservation of the dignity of Islam and Sultān's throne." (310, l. 3 f. f.). This passage is translated by Dowson at 379 *infra*, but

'Taẓkīr' is rendered by him as 'Ode'!

II. 318, *l.* **3 from foot.** *That to the west [of Lakhnauti] is called Dāl, ...the eastern side is called Barbanda.*

Variants دال and برانه. At Text, 243, l. 4, the reading is دل *i.e.* Rārh or Rāḍha. 'Barbanda' or 'Barānd' must be 'Bārind' (Vārendra or Bārendra). Hamilton informs us (Hindustan, I. 114) that Bengal was divided in olden times into five districts, (1) Rarh or Radha, the country west of the Hugli and south of the Ganges; (2) Bagdi, the delta of the Ganges; (3) Banga, the country east of and beyond the Delta; (4) Barind or Barendra, the country to the north of the Padma and between the Karatoya and Mahananda rivers; and (5) Mithila, the country west of the Mahananda river. (*apud* Blochmann, J. A. S. B. XLII. 1873, p. 211). Bārendra was the name given to the ancient Hindu kingdom of Paundra or Paundravarddhana—which included the Rangpur, Dinājpur, Purnea, Māldā, Rājshāhi, Bogrā and Pabnā districts of our times. (I. G. XX. 244). According to the same authority, Rārh is the ancient Karṇa Suvarṇa, which lay west of the Bhagirathi (the old channel of the Ganges) and included the modern districts of Burdwān, Bānkura, Western Murshidābād and Hugli. (XXI, 237).

II. 318, last line. *From Lakhnauti to the gates of Lakhnaur, and on the other side of the river as far as the city of Deokot, embankments (pul) have been raised, which extend for ten days' journey.*

Blochmann (J.A.S.B. 1873, p. 212 note) thought that Lakhnaur must be Lakarkuda in Birbhum, about 85 miles south of Gaur. Lat. 23°-18′ N., Long. 87°-15′ E. Deokot is about 75 miles north of Gaur. Stewart suggested that the correct reading must be 'Nagore,' *i. e.* Rājnagore, the capital of the Hindu Rājās of Birbhūm. Raverty laughs at Dowson's objection to Stewart's suggestion on the ground of its being "right away from the river." He maintains that this is just what is required in the case and is a proof of the identification being, not unsound, but sound. (Tr. 585 Note). An entrenchment, wall or embankment extending in an irregular and broken line for a distance of 32 miles is still extant in the vicinity of the town, though rapidly decaying. "The gateways have fallen and many parts of the wall itself have been washed away," but enough remains to demonstrate its former existence. (Hunter, Stat. Acc. of Bengal, IV. 335; Arch. Sur. Rep. VIII, 146-7 *apud* I. G. XXI, 78-9). Elsewhere also, it is stated that "the Pathān rulers of Bengal constructed a road from Deokot in Dinājpur through Gaur to Nagore in Bīrbhum." Nāgore is in Lat. 23°-57′, Long. 87°-19′. (I. G. VIII. 241).

In this connection, it may be noted that there are some coins of Iltutmish minted at a place, the name of which was read by Dr. Hoernle as Lakhnauti (J. R. A. S. 1900, p. 482), but by Thomas as 'Nāgor.' (C.P.K.D. Coin No. 59, p. 78). Mr. Nelson Wright supposed that the place meant by Thomas must be Nāgor near Jodhpur, and questioned

the decipherment on the grounds that " Nāgor has the initial *a* long and that it is surprising to find a coin of Ghori pattern issuing from a mint in Rājputānā." (I. M. C. II. Introd. p. 6). But these objections would lose their force, if the mint name was deciphered as *Nagore* [*in Bīrbhūm*]. Mr. Wright himself read the name then as 'Lakūr' and he adheres to that lection in his later work on the " Coinage and Metrology of the Sultāns of Dehli." (p. 20; Coin No. 52 A). He thinks that the mint was somewhere in Bengal, but does not tell us where this Lakūr is to be found.

II. 320, *l.* **8.** *Sultān Abu-l-Muzaffar Altamsh.*

Budāuni unwittingly set a ball of discord rolling when he averred that 'Altamish' or 'Iltamish' was so named because he was born "on the night of an eclipse of the Moon". (I. 62, Tr. I. 88). Neither Minhāj nor 'Awfi nor Ḥasan Niẓāmi hazards any conjecture in regard to the meaning of the name and the Ṭ. A. and F. are also wisely reticent. On the coins of this Sultan, his name is variously inscribed as التمش - ايلتمش - التتمش and ايلتتمش. The Nāgari transliteration is 'Ilititimisi' or 'Lititimisi'. (Wright. Coinage, p. 30; Thomas, C. P. K. D. 44 and note). 'Altamash,' 'Altmash' or 'Iltmish' is said to mean 'sixty' in Turki, and Khwāfi Khān (II. 876, 13) uses the word, for the advance guard of the centre of an army.

Mr. Stanley Lane Poole assures us that 'Īltutmish' signifies 'hand-grasper, supporter, upholder.' Mr. Redhouse, another Turkish scholar, was at first in favour of reading the name as 'Iltimish' ايلتمش and supposing it to mean 'kidnapped' or 'carried off,' [*Scil.*] 'the slave who had been carried off.' But he was not sure that it was not used in the active sense of 'carrier off' or 'kidnapper', [*Scil.*] 'the ravisher (of hearts).' (Catalogue of the Coins of the Sultans of Delhi in the British Museum, p. xxix). But when Thomas drew his attention to the passage in Budāuni, Mr. Redhouse changed his mind. He suggested that the ل had been displaced and the name wrongly inscribed on the coins. He opined that the correct form must be 'Aitutulmish,' which *might* mean 'The moon was eclipsed' or 'Eclipse of the moon.' But he also thought it not unlikely that Budāuni's dictum was only " one of those Eastern remarks one so often meets with and really beside the mark." Dr. Barthold has lately re-examined the question and he agrees with Mr. Lane Poole and holds that the correct form is Īltutmish, signifying " Maintainer of the Kingdom." (*Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft*, 1907, p. 192).

'Altamash' was a not uncommon name among the Turks. Malik Firūz Shāh Altamash, Shāhzāda of Khwārizm, is mentioned by Minhāj himself as one of the grandees of Sultan Shamsu-d-dīn. (Ṭ. N. Text, 177, l. 7; Raverty, Tr. 625). Another man of the same name, who was an adherent of Tīmūr, is said by the latter's historian, Ibn 'Arabshāh, to have been imprisoned by the Sultān of Egypt. (Tr. Manger, II. 275, quoted by Beveridge, Tr. A. N. I. 210 note). A Ḥājji Altamash (or Iltmish) was sent as his ambassador by 'Abdulla Khān Uzbeg to Akbar in 979-980 H. (A. N. II, 368, Tr. II, 534). Cf. also the names, Tugh-timish, Qal-timish

(Raverty, Ṭ. N. Tr. 133 note), Sūyurgh-timish, Adku-timish, (Z. A. 21), etc. The name appears to be made up of 'tmish' or 'timish' with another word prefixed. This may be *Ilti*, *Iltu* or *Alti*. Baihaqi speaks of a Saljūq raider named التی سلمان (Text 709, l. 8), Ilti or Alti Salmān (143 *supra*) and another man named 'Altūtigīn' or 'Iltūtigīn' التو تکین is also mentioned by him. (Text 272, l. 1. 1 = 110 *supra*). We also know that an Amīr named Īltutmish-al-Turki was governor of Al-Rayy in A. H. 289. (Zambaur, *Manuel de Chronologie pour l'histoire de l'Islam*, *p.* 44; H. N. Wright, Coinage and Metrology of the Sultāns of Dehli, 70).

Here, as in the case of Aībak, the soundest conclusion seems to me to be that the name should be taken, just like any other name which has no topical or qualificative significance, and that whatever its meaning, it has no connection with either abduction in childhood, power of ravishing hearts, real or supposed birth on the night of an eclipse of the moon or "seizing, upholding or maintaining" kingdoms. Every one is agreed that the name was given to him at birth, and surely those who did so could not have known that he would be the maintainer or upholder of a great kingdom.

II. 320, *l.* 16. *Sultan Shamsu-d-dīn was..... ..from the tribes of Albari.*

Sir E. Denison Ross thinks that "the real name must be 'Alpari' from 'Alp-ar,' 'brave man,' a name given to the Turānian Afrāsiāb, from whom the Turks claimed descent. (*Vide* Kāshghari, *Diwān-i-Lughat-i-Turk*). An Alp-ar Khān is also mentioned in Juwaini's account (*Tār. Jehān Kushā*, Text, I. 92) of the siege of Samarqand by Chingiz Khān." (Ḥājji Dabīr, Ẓ. W. III. p. lv). Minhāj says that Balban also was descended from the Albari Khāns [*Khānān*, not *Khāqāns*, as at 360 *infra*; Text 281, l. 6]. The Qarā Khānid dynasty of Turkestān to which Ilak Khān—the contemporary of Sultān Maḥmūd of Ghazna—belonged is often described as that of the "Afrāsiyābi Maliks." Barani also assures us that Balban claimed descent from Afrāsiāb. (*T. F.* 37, l. 7).

II. 323, *l.* 14. *'Ali Ism'aīl who had charge of Delhi.*

امیر داد حضرت دهلی بود که 170, l. 4. Ḥājji Dabīr calls him امیرالعدل (Ẓ. W. 687, l. 18). He was the *Amīr-i-dād* of Dehli, *i. e.* the chief judicial officer of the state, a sort of Lord Chancellor or Justiciary. See p. 327 *infra*=Ṭ. N., Text 175, l. 8 f. f., where the phrase is correctly rendered as 'Chief Justice' by Dowson himself. See also Text 274-5, where Malik Saifu-d-dīn Shamsi is called '*Dādbak*' and also *Amīr-i-dād*. Another noble, Amīr Dād Ḥasan, is mentioned in the *Tāju-l-Maāṣir*. (233 *ante*, *q. v.* my note).

II. 326, *l.* 10. *Malik Sināmu-d-dīn Habsh.*

The sobriquet is written in various ways, Hasrar, Jaisar, Jaisi, etc. See Elliot's note at E. D. I. 490, where he opines that it must be Chanesar. In the Notes to his Translation of the Ṭ. N., which was published in 1881, Raverty hesitated between 'Jatīsar', 'Chatīsar' and 'Chanīsar' (pp. 614-5), but in his Essay on 'The Mihrān of Sind and its Tributaries' in the J.A.S.B.

1892 (326 Note), he speaks of him as Sināṇu-d-dīn *Chanīsar*. The *Tuḥfatu-l-Kirām* and *Muntakhabu-t-tawārīkh*, the authors of which were Sindhis, also write Chanesar. (E. D. I. 345, 485). Sir W. Haig prefers 'Chatisar' (C. H. I. III. 54), is not supported by either reason or authority. Chanesar is the theme of many tales and ballads still recited by the common people in Sindh, and they may be trusted to know better than any outsider, the correct pronunciation of the name of their tribal or national hero. "The Loves of Chanesar and Līla have been sung by more than one Sindhi poet." (E. D. I. 263, 347). Chatīsar has no meaning. 'Chanesar' appears to be the Sindhi form of 'Janesar,' as 'Chach' is that of 'Jajja.' 'Janesar' is derived from 'Yajneshvar', one of the epithets of the god Vishnu. (Vishṇu Purāṇa, Tr. Wilson, II. 313; III. 183; V. Pt. i. 200, 253). Janesar (Janeshwar) is still a not uncommon personal name in Bengal. Chanesar is also a place-name and Raverty maintained that the real name of the place to which Jaisiya, the son of Dāhir, fled was not 'Jaipur' or 'Jītūr,' but 'Chanesar', and he located it at a village which still exists twenty miles west of Ghauṣgarh in Bhāwālpur. (Mihrān, 242 n.). See also E. D. I. 176 and 179 note, where the name of the place is said to be written as 'Chanesar' in Dowson's Mss.

II. 326, *l.* **22.** *On Monday, the 2nd of Rab'i-u-l-awwal 626 H..... they [the robes from the Khalīf] arrived.*

The text has '22nd' (174, l. 6) and so also Raverty. (Tr. 616). The *Tāju-l-Maāṣir* says it was the 23rd. (243 *ante*). 22nd Rab'ī I, 626 H., corresponded with Sunday, 18th February, 1229 A. C., and 23rd to Monday, the 19th. Minhāj would appear to have again given the *Ruyyat* date. Ḥasan Niẓāmi has the *Ḥisābi* or Book-rule date. 8th February 1229 as given in the C. H. I. III, 54 is a misprint for 18th or a miscalculation. It was, moreover, a Thursday and must be wrong.

The city (Dehli) was not 'adorned by the presence of the envoys' (l. 23). It was beflagged and decorated, triumphal arches were erected and the gates were hung with silks, as was usual on such occasions. The words in the Text are شهر را آئین بستند (174, l. 7).

II. 326, *l.* **5 from foot.** *Balkā Malik.*

Some authors, *e. g.* Sir Wolseley Haig (C. H. I. III. 54), following Raverty's translation (617 and 626) say that Balkā or Bilkā Malik Khalji was the son of Ḥusāmu-d-dīn 'Iwaẓ, but no such statement is found anywhere in the B. I. text of the Ṭ. N., where he is called Balkā Malik Khalji at 174, l. 12, 237, l. 5 f. f. and his full name given as Ikhtyāru-d-dīn Irān Shāh Balkā Khalji at 178, l. 14 in one manuscript.

But there is a coin on which Balkā styles himself 'Shahinshāh' 'Alāu-d-dīn 'Abul M'aāli [or Abu-l-Ghāzi] Daulatshāh *bin* Maudūd.' The date can be read either as 627 or 629 H. (J. R. A. S. 1873, p. 367; Wright, Coinage, p. 21). This numismatic evidence would show that he was not the son of Ḥusāmu-d-dīn, though he might have been a relative or even his son-in-law, as خویش is loosely used in both those senses.

II. 327, *l.* **3.** *Milak Dev, the accursed son of Basīl the accursed.*

Raverty proposes to read the names as 'Mangal Bhava Deo son of Mal Deo.' (Tr. 619 and note). The Ṭ.A. has ملك دیو بایل (21, l. 13) and F. دیوبل (I. 66, l. 15). Sir Wolseley Haig calls the Rājā 'Mangal Bhava Deva, the son of Māldeo or Birbal Deo.' (C.H.I. III. 55, 533). But 'Mangal Bhava Deva' is an impossible name for a Hindu and Raverty's conjectural and fanciful restoration cannot be accepted by any one acquainted with Sanskrit. 'Mīlak', *i.e.* 'Melag' or 'Megal' is a name which occurs in the dynastic list of the Chuḍāsamā rulers of Junāgadh. (Duff, C. I. 284; Burgess, Arch. Survey of Western India, II. 164; *Tārikh-i-Sorath*, Tr. Burgess, 139; B. G. VIII, (Kāṭhiāwāḍ) 488, 498). Burgess points out that the name of Melak, the son of Mugaṭ and father of Jayasinha Chuḍāsamā occurs also in an inscription dated 1416 A. C. (*Ibid*, note). Ḥājji Dabīr also calls this Rājā of Gwālior Melagdeo, the son of Baīsīl. (Ẓ. W. 699, ll. 2 and 7). Amīr Khusrau gives the name of the Rājā from whom the fort of Mandū was taken by 'Ainu-Mulk Multānī in 705 A. H. as Mihlak Deo (*Khazāin-al-Futūḥ*, Text, 60, l. 5; E.D. III. 76), which is really the same name. 'Mokal' also occurs and was borne by a Rāṇā of Chīṭor in the 15th century. (Duff, C. I. 235, 249, 254). The name which follows 'Melak' is probably 'Bīsal' [Visala Deva]. We know from inscriptions that a Parihār, who is called Visaldeva (and also Parimal Deva), captured Gwālior from the Kachhwāhs in or about 1129 A. C. and that the Parihārs ruled there until they were expelled by Īltutmish. (Cunningham, Arch. Survey Reports. II. 312; IV. 27. 51; I. G. XII. 441; Vaidya, H. M. H. I. III. 305, 357; Elliot, Races, I. 159; Crooke, Tribes and Castes, IV. 88). When Minhāj says that Melag was the پسر '*son*' of the accursed Bīsal, he probably means merely that he was the descendant of Bīsal (or Parimal) who was the founder of Parihār dominion in Gwālior. The forms 'Birbal,' 'Pilpal,' 'Balbal' must be perversions of the alternative form, Parimal.

II. 328, *l.* **2.** *A halt of five days was called here.*

و نوبتِ سلطان در آن مقام پنج شد. 175, last line. "And the Sultān, after arriving here, issued orders for striking or sounding the 'Naubat' [the orchestra of kettle-drums, trumpets, pipes, cymbals and lutes] five times every day."

Minhāj uses a similar expression in, at least, four other places. (Text 76, l. 16; 192, l. 8; 198, l. 9; 253, l. 3 f. f.). In the first of these, he states that when the Khalīf Nāṣiru-d-dīn-i-Allah sent a rich Khil'at to the Sultan Ghiyāṣu-d-dīn Muḥammad-i-Sām, نوبتِ شاهی او پنج شد "the Sultan ordered the Royal *Naubat* to strike five times." In the second, we are told that Ikhtiāru-d-dīn Ītgīn, the regent of Mu'izzu-d-dīn Bahrām Shāh, gave great offence to that Sultan by keeping an elephant and ordering the *Naubat* to play three times a day at his gate." (338 *infra*). An almost identical statement is made of another over-ambitious minister, Niẓāmu-l-Mulk Muhaẓẓibu-d-dīn (343 *infra*). "The playing

of the *Naubat* at the King's Gate was originally a jealously-guarded royal privilege. It was subsequently granted to or usurped by provincial governors and other persons in power. The old rule appears to have been to strike it five times in the nycthemeron, four times during the day and once at night." (*Siyaru-l-Mutāākhirīn*, Tr. I. 3 note). It appears to have been played eight times—once at the end of every *pahr* or Watch in Akbar's times (*Āīn*, I, Tr. 51), but this may have been one of that Emperor's innovations.

The phrase '*Panj Naubat*' occurs in Niẓāmi's *Sikandar Nāma* (Canto XI, verse 11; Clarke's Trans, 95) and the *Ghiyāṣu-l-Lughāt* explains that Sultān Sanjar Seljūqi was the first sovereign to order the *Naubat* to be played five times at his gate and not three only, as had been the rule or custom before. F. also informs us that Muḥammad Shāh Bahmani ordered the 'Naubat' to be played five times, soon after his accession. (I. 282, l. 4 f. f.).

It appears to have been an ancient Hindu custom also. It is stated in the *Chachnāma*, that when Chach had conquered all the provinces of the old Kingdom of Sind upto the frontiers of Kashmīr and Kermān, he, "in accordance with the Hindu custom, ordered a *naubat* of five musical instruments to be played every evening and morning." (E. D. I. 152).

II. 328, *l.* **5.** *A temple which was three hundred years in building [was destroyed at Bhīlsā].*

بتخانه که سیصد سال بود که آنرا عمارت کردند; 176, l. 3, which is obscure and equivocal.

The *Tārīkh-i-Mubārakshāhi* has بتخانه که از سیصد سال برآورده بودند (Text, 20, l. 5). Budāuni's paraphrase is که از ششصد سال تعمیر یافته بود (I. 67) and Ranking's translation is, " which had been built *six hundred years previously.*" (I. 95). B.'s ششصد, 'six hundred', must be a mistake for سیصد "three hundred." Alberūni says that Bhīlsa was so called after the temple of the god Bhaillesha (the Sun-god), who was worshipped there. (Tr. Sachau, I, 202; E. D. I. 59). The temple demolished by Iltutmish was probably one of those erected in the palmy days of Paramāra rule in Mālwā by Munja or his nephew, the renowned Rājā Bhoja, who reigned about the end of the 10th and beginning of the 11th century. (Duff. C. I. 300). This would make it more than 200 years old in 1234 A. C., though it could not have been the same as that referred to by Alberūni. Ṭ. A. (29, l. 8 f. f.), F. (I. 66, l. 11 f. f.) and B. apply the remark, not to the temple at Bhilsā, but to that of Mahākāl in Ujjain, which must be wrong.

II. 328, *l.* **13.** *In A. H. 636, he led the armies of Hindustān towards Banyān.*

'Baniān' is mentioned by Waṣṣāf (E.D. III. 36), who says that it was in the Jūd hills. Barani speaks of a Maulāna Ḥamīdu-d-dīn Baniāni (333, l. 16). Minhāj states elsewhere that it was the place from which Saif-d-dīn Ḥasan Qarlugh invaded Uchcha. (Text, 238, l. 1). Raverty's opinion was that it was situated somewhere between Kurram and the Jhelum;

and near the hills of Jūd. But he was not sure of the actual site and thought it might be either Baniān, which lies nine miles south-east of Khānpur of the Gakkhars, or Paniān, another village, situated about six miles south-west of Haripur in Hazāra district, N. W. F. Province. (N. A. 281-2). This Haripur is shown in Constable, Pl. 24 E a. But Baniān was a place of great note and not a mere village and the I. G. may be right in identifying it with the much better-known Bannu in the N.W.F. Province. (XVI. 49). Mr. Longworth Dames also is of the same opinion. Coins struck by Īltutmish at Baniān are known. (J.R.A.S. 1908, pp. 390-1; Wright, Coinage, 34, 75). Minhāj afterwards speaks of the expedition as the Sultan's "last campaign *from the Indus* and Banyān." (330 *infra*).

II. 329, *l.* **3.** *He sent to hell the accursed Bartūh (?), under whose sword more than 1,20,000 Musalmans had received martyrdom.*

It is surmised in the C. H. I. (III. 54) that he was a Rājā of Kāmarūpa, but no evidence is cited in support of the conjecture. The real name was probably 'Prithu' and I venture to propose an identification which has occurred to me. Local traditions in Rangpur tell of a great Rājā named Prithu, who was ruler of Bhitargarh in the Jalpaiguri district of Eastern Bengal, some time in the thirteenth century, and who drowned himself in a large tank in his capital to avoid pollution from the touch of the *Kīchakas* (Musalmans) who invaded his country from the north. The extent of his power can be judged from the fact that the ruins of his capital near the town cover an area of four miles in length and two in breadth. They are described at considerable length in Montgomery Martin's Eastern India, III. 433-446. See also I. G. VIII. 117 and XXI. 224. Rangpur formed the western outpost of ancient Kāmarūpa.

II. 331, *l.* **30.** *Tāju-d-dīn Muhammad, Bahāu-l-Mulk Husain Ash'arī .....and other confederate officials killed the Tāzīk.*

This is all topsy-turvy. و دیگر جماعت کارداران تازیك را شهید کردند (Text, 183, l. 6 f. f.). "And [the Turki nobles and other personal attendants revolted and] put to death unjustly [*lit.* made martyrs] Tāju-l-Mulk Muḥammad, Bahāu-l-Mulk Ḥusain Ash'ari, *et cetera*, along with the other civil officials [or administrators] who were Tāzīks", *i.e.* Persians and not Turks. See Text, 261, l. 9, (Raverty, Tr. 761), where Minhāj mentions the matter again. Tāju-l-Mulk and the other persons named were not the murderers, but the persons murdered by the Turki nobles. There is an 'iẓāfat' after کارداران. The Ṭ. A. (31, l. 14) and F. (I. 67, l. 2 f. f.) have also misunderstood the passage and made "a terrible blunder" here, as Raverty puts it (Tr. 635 Note).

II. 334, *l.* **13.** *In the neighbourhood of Bābul and Nakwān.*

'Bābul' is a misreading of بایل 'Pāīl', now in Patiāla State. Lat. 30°-40′ N., Long. 76°-5′ E. Nakāwan, which Raverty leaves unidentified, (Tr. 640 note), is a small town or village in its neighbourhood. Pāīl is 34 miles north-west of Patiāla town. Pāīl and Nakāwan are both mentioned in the I. G. (XIX. 316).

II. 334, *l.* **16.** *She conferred the office of wazīr on an upright officer.*

وزارت بخواجه مهذّب داد که نائب نظام الملك بود; 187, l. 9. "She gave the office of Wazīr to Khwāja Muhaẕẕib who had been the deputy of Niẓāmu-l-Mulk." This Khwāja Muhaẕẕib is again mentioned at 338, 341, 342 and 343 *infra*. He is also called Niẓāmu-l-Mulk Muhaẕẕibu-d-dīn Muḥammad. He was put to death by the Turki nobles in 640 H. (343 *infra*). A Mullā Mazhab (*recte* Muhaẕẕib) is mentioned in the Memoirs of Bābur also. (E. D. IV 284 *q. v.* my note).

II. 335, *l.* **11 from foot.** *Some of the officers on the frontier supported him.*

و در سرّ بعضی از امرای حضرت با او یار بودند; 185, l. 5 f. f. They were not officers 'on the *frontier*'. They were the Amīrs who were leagued or confederate with him *in secret*. The phrase is *dar sirr*, and is again used at Text, 189, l. 6, where the Qarāmiṭas are said to have sworn oaths of fidelity or allegiance *in secret* among themselves, در سرّ بیعت کردند. See 336 *infra*. در سرّ و خفیه is again used in this sense at 289, l. 2 f. f.

II. 335, *l.* **2 from foot.** *The Karmatians and heretics of Hindustān being seduced by a person ..... who was called Nūr Turk flocked to him in large numbers.*

This passage has been the subject of considerable speculation in connection with the history of the Ism'āīli or Khojā community in this country. The Khojās are, as Mr. Enthoven says, "'Ism'āīlians of the Nizārian sub-division of the Must'aālian branch, who separated from the latter in 1094 A. C. on a question of succession to the throne of the Fātimite Khilāfat. The most noted leader of this sect was Hasan Sabāh—the Old Man of the Mountains—who founded the order of the Fidāis or Assassins and concentrated his power at Alāmūt in Dailam. Another Hasan—the fourth ruler on the pontifical throne of Alāmūt (C. 1163 A. D., 559 A. H.)—is said in the traditional history of the sect, (as related in the Gujarāti history, *Khojā Vrattānt*, p. 155), to have sent a missionary to India, whose real name was Nūruddīn or Nūr Shāh and whom the Khojās call Nūr Satāgur, "the Teacher of Pure Light". Nūruddīn is said to have paid two visits to Gujarāt and converted the Rājā, who is, by a gratuitous conjecture, supposed to be Bhīma II (*R.* 1179-1242 A. D.). He was killed by Chach, one of his two leading disciples, when he was "absorbed in a *Samādhi* or trance." Mr. Enthoven cites this passage from the Ṭ. N. and Minhāj's account of the Malāḥida riot under the leadership of Nūr Turk, in his article on the Khojās and seems to suggest that 'Nūr Turk' is no other than 'Nūr Satāgur,' the first Khojā missionary. (Tribes and Castes of Bombay, II. 217-201).

But there is little else except the name on which any identification can be founded. The chronology is indubitably shaky and the legendary accretions, the conversion of Bhīma II, Nūr's miracle of bringing a dead

man to life and his matrimonial alliance with another Rājā named Sūrchand do not inspire confidence, though the statement about the rioters having come *from Gujarāt* and *Sind* is intriguing.

Minhāj states that the *émeute* occurred in the reign of Raẓiyya, but the Ṭ. A. (30, l. 15) and F. (I. 67, l. 8) transfer it to that of Iltutmish and make no mention of any such riot in her own. The C. H. I. (III. 55, 59) has turned this into two outbreaks, one in each of these reigns, but this eclectic duplication seems to be uncalled for. The assertions of Niẓāmu-d-dīn and F. who has servilely copied the Ṭ. A., cannot weigh against the explicit statements of Minhāj, the primary and only contemporary authority known. Moreover, if these Sectarians, whom Minhāj detested so bitterly and whom he has denounced so vehemently, had been ever guilty of an attempt on the life of Iltutmish, he would have been the first to seize the opportunity of holding them up to the execration of posterity. In this connection, it may be worth while to recall the following severe, but not quite unjust, verdict of Raverty on the earlier part of Niẓāmu-d-dīn's Chronicle. "I had some faith in the *Ṭabaqāt-i-Akbarī*, before I compared its statements with respect to the Shamsi dynasty. I found it a mere transcript with verbal alterations of our author's [Minhāj's] statements *plus* the geographical and other *blunders* I have before referred to." (Tr. 698).

II. 337, *l.* 12. *She [Raẓiyya] had reigned three years and six days.*

The variant reading سه سال و شش ماه (Text 190, footnote) is more correct. As she was placed on the throne on 18th Rabī' I. 634 H. (331 *ante*) and defeated on 24th Ramaẓān 637 H., she must be taken to have ruled for 3 years, 6 months and 6 days, which is just what is found in the best Mss. (Raverty, 648). The Ṭ. A. (33, l. 6), F. (I. 69, l. 3) and B. (I. 85= Tr. 122) all agree in making it three years, six months and six days.

II. 337, *l.* 14. *Sultān Raẓīya was killed on the day following.*

The body must have been brought to and buried in the Capital, as the Empress's tomb still exists in Dehli, at the point where the Sitā Rām Bazār ends. Ibn Baṭūṭa says that it was a place of pilgrimage in his day and that it was situated on the banks of the Jumna at a distance of about a *parasang* from the city of Delhi. (Defrémery, III. 167-8=593 *infra*). It is mentioned also by Shams, as having been included within the limits of the New City of Firūzābād. (303 *infra*). See also Fanshawe, D. P. P. 60; Thomas, C. P. K. D. 106 note; Āṣār, Part II. 15). B. tells us that the army of Ghāzi Malik Tughlaq was encamped in the vicinity of the tomb of Sultan Raẓīyya. (I. 220, Tr. I. 294).

II. 340, *l.* 19. *He had lived for some time quietly in the Sultān's water-palace.*

مدتی در قصرِ حوضِ سلطان باءِ کاف نشسته (195, l. 7). "He had lived in monastic seclusion for a time in the palace near the Hauẓ-i-Sultān [the Sultān's Reservoir]." The Hauẓ-i-Sultān was the Hauẓ-i-Shamsi, the great Tank built by Iltutmish. It is called Hauẓ-i-Sultān by Amīr Khusrau, as well as by Barani. (See my note on Vol. III. 104, l. 18). There was a palace

there and this Darvīsh must have lived in one of the cells of the Mosque or Khānqāh attached to it. Ibn Baṭūṭa thus describes this *Qaṣr-i-Hauẓ-i-Sulṭān.* " Outside Dehli, is a large reservoir named after the Sultān Lalmish [Īltutmish], from which the inhabitants draw their drinking water..... In the centre, there is a great pavilion built of squared stones, two stories high .....Inside it, is a mosque and at most times, it is *occupied by mendicants devoted to the service of God.*" (Gibb, *l. c.* 196; Defrémery, III. 154). The palace in the centre of the Hauẓ with its fine terrace is described in the *Qirānu-s-S'adain* also by Amīr Khusrau. ('Alīgarh Text 32; 525 *infra*).

II. 341, *l.* **18.** *He sent the Shaikhu-l-Islām Saiyid Kutbu-d-dīn to allay the outbreak.*

Niẓāmu-d-dīn Aḥmad (Ṭ. A. 34, l. 7), F. (I. 70, l. 3) and B. (I. 87) identify this Shaikh Quṭbu-d-dīn with the renowned saint Quṭbu-d-dīn Bakhtiār-i-Ūshi, after whom the Quṭb Minār is said to have been named. But this conjecture must be founded on some inadvertence or error, if the recorded date of the Saint's death is correct. Abul Faẓl (*Āīn*, Tr. III. 363) and Beale (*Miftāḥu-t-tawārīkh*, 58) give it as 14th Rab'i I. 633 and F. himself states in another part of his work, that the saint died on that identical day and month in H. 634, (II. 383, l. 10 f. f.). In either case, and whichever of the two discrepant years is correct, the saint could not have been alive at this time (639 H.), and this Shaikh Quṭbu-d-dīn must have been some other person of the same name. It is not unlikely that the Shaikhu-l-Islām Quṭbu-d-dīn, who is mentioned as one of the leading conspirators and adherents of Qutlugh Khān in 655 H., is identical with this Quṭbu-d-dīn of 639 H. (Text, 223, l. 6=357 *infra*).

On l. 5 f. f. ' Farkhi ' is an error for ' Farrukhi'.

II. 343, *l.* **4.** *Kāzi 'Imādu-d-dīn Shakūrkāni was appointed.*

The variant 'Shafūrqāni' gives the right reading. Shafūrqān, Shabargān (*q.v.* 142 *ante*, 577-8 *post*, and E. D. VII. 81) lies about ninety miles west of Balkh (Yule, Tr. Marco Polo, I. 149) and was at one time the seat of government of Jūzjān or Jūzjānān, Minhāj's native district. (Le Strange, L. E. C. 426). A Niẓāmu-d-dīn Sharkāni is mentioned at 331 *ante*. His sobriquet also must have been 'Shafūrqāni' or ' Shabūrqāni.' It is shown as ' Shībarkhan ' in Constable, 22 A b. The original Pahlavi form may have been Shāhpūrgān, ' the city of Shāhpūr ', but it is supposed to be 'Asapuragān,' ' city of the Asagartii ', in Houtsma. (IV. 360).

II. 343, *l.* **6 from foot.** *And the office of Lord Chamberlain was given to Dāru-l-Mulk Bāligh Khān.*

حاجبی دارالملك بالغ خانِ معظم خلدالله دولته مفوض گشت ; (199, l. 6).

" And the office of Ḥājib of the Palace (lit. Capital) was assigned to Ulugh Khān the Great (May God perpetuate his good fortune!)." The person referred to is no other than Minhāj's great patron, Ulugh Khān, who afterwards became Sultān Balban. 'Dāru-l-Mulk Bāligh Khān' is an impossible collocation.

II. 344, *l.* 3 from foot. *The accursed Mankūta (Mangū Khān).*

The explanation in the parenthesis is a manifest error. Mankūtā the Nūyin (Prince or General) and Ṭāir Bahādur are again mentioned. (Text, 235, l, 8 f. f.). Mankūta was only one of the favourite officers of Chingīz Khān. Mangū [or Möngke] Khān was the son of Tūli, the youngest son of Chingīz. The error is committed again at 363 *infra*.

II. 347, *l.* 21. *In the neighbourhood of Kanauj there is a fortified village called Nandana.*

Variants, ' Talanda ' and ' Talsanda'. (Text, 210, 291 footnotes). Ḥājji Dabīr reads ' Tasanda '. (Z. W. 713, l. 21). Most of Raverty's Mss. are in favour of ' Talsanda,' but he notes as variants ' Talanda', ' Talbanda ' and ' Bāsīda'. (Tr. 679 and 816 Notes). Cunningham, relying on the reading Nandana, thought that it must be Nava-Deokāli, near Rājgīr—the fort of the legendary heroes Alha and Udal—four miles south-east of Qanauj. (See Thomas, C. P. K. D. 125 Note). But it is not likely that the stronghold of this contumacious Rājā could have been in such close proximity to Qanauj, where the Musalmans had established themselves permanently, ever since the defeat of Jayachand, and which they must have held in great force.

Minhāj vaguely states here that this fort was در حدودِ قنوج, within the boundaries (حدود) of Qanauj *district*, (not town), below the Ganges Jumnā Duāb. (Text 210, l. 14; 291, l. 12). Thornton mentions a Dursenda or Dulsenda as a *pargana* and town on the river Bāghīn, a tributary of the Jumna, seven miles south-west of its right bank and 39 miles east of the town of Banda. Lat. 25°-27′ N., Long. 80°-57′ E. It is situated just in the sort of country in which the Rājā is said to have entrenched himself, in which " the defiles were arduous, the mountains rugged and the jungles manyī and which no Muslim army had ever penetrated ". Banda is 35 miles N.W. of Kālanjar. (I. G. XIV. 307). Darsenda is shown in Constable 28 B c. There is a place called Bhāisunda also in this neighbourhood. Lat. 25°-17′ N. Long. 80°-53′ E., It lies about twelve miles south-west of Dursenda and is one of the Chaubé Jāgīrs in Central India, I. G. Altas, Pl. 38, D 2. See also Thornton, *s. n.* Bynsont or Bhysondah. But the closest phonetic approach seems to be to Tilsanda, a village near Cawnpore, *q. v.* the Post Office Guide, and there I must leave the matter.

II. 348, *l.* 10 from foot. *There was.....a Rāna who was called Dalki wa malki.*

One explanation of this name which has been suggested (Thomas, C.P.K.D. 65-6) is that it may be a corruption of Trailokyamalla. A Chandella king so called was the successor of Parmardi or Parimal, from whom Kālanjar was wrested by Aibak. It can be urged in favour of this view that this Trailokyamalla *is* actually described in an inscription of his son, Vīravarman, as " the uplifter of the land from the ocean of disasters caused by the Turushkas," and he does appear to have driven out the Muslims during the feeble regime of the successors of Īltutmish and regained possession of

a considerable portion of the old Chandella territory. (Epigr. Ind. I. 327). It is also clear from his inscriptions that he reigned between 1205 and 1245 or 1247 A. C. (Duff. C.I. 177, 201). Inscriptions at Kālanjar itself prove that it was temporarily recaptured by the Hindus (Ind. Ant. XXXVII, 128-9; Vaidya, H.M.H.I. III. 184; H. C. Ray, D.H.N.I. 722-730).

Mr. Vincent Smith, however, rejects this suggestion and, following Mr. W. C. Bennett, who first proposed the identification in the Indian Antiquary (I. 265), declares, with perhaps greater confidence than is warranted in the circumstances, that Dalki and Malki were the Bhār Rājās, Dal and Bal, who are also called Tiloki and Biloki and who are credited in the local traditions with the conquest of the whole of Southern Oude. (J. A. S. B. 1881, pp. 35-38). But this surmise is largely invalidated by the fact that Minhāj speaks of Dalkimalki or Dalakiomalaki *in the singular*, and as one person only and not two. (Text, 210-11; 291-2; see also Dowson, 366-7 *infra*; Raverty's Tr. 680-682 notes). Moreover, just as Mr. Smith champions the Bhār Rājās, so Cunningham is for sponsoring the Bāghels. He states that Dalki Malki were not the Bhārs, Tiloki and Biloki, but the two Bāghel chiefs, called Dhalkeshwar and Malkeshwar. (A. S. R. XXI. 605). Mr. Crooke (Tribes and Castes, II. 3 and I. 52), however, is equally sure that the Bhār hero Dal is mythical and Mr. C. A. Elliot is of the same opinion. (Chronicles of Unao, 20; see also the Rae Bareli Settlement Report, 15). Sir Wolseley Haig holds that there was only one Rājā, whose name was either Dhalki or Dhalki *of* Mahalki (C. H. I. III. 67 and note), but this gets us nowhere. All that can be said with any approach to certainty is that Dalkiomalki constitutes the name of one individual and not two. In that case, neither the Bhār theory nor the Bāghel hypothesis can be sustained, even if the tribal heroes named are not as legendary as the Knights of the Round Table or the Paladins of Charlemagne.

II. 349, *l.* **3 from foot.** *The Sultān.....gave his daughter in marriage to the son of the Khān* [*Ulugh Khān*].

What Minhāj really says is

ملکهٔ جهان گشت [Ulugh Khān] او فرزندِ ; 213, l. 11. "His [Ulugh Khān's] daughter became the *Malika-i-Jahān*, 'Empress of the World'."

Sultan Nāṣiru-d-dīn Maḥmūd was only about seventeen years old at the time of his accession in 644 H., as he is explicitly said to have been born after the death of his eldest brother, which took place in 626 H. (326 *ante*). He could not, therefore, have had a marriageable daughter at all in 647 H. The Ṭ. A. (36, l. 4), F. (I. 72, l. 3) and B. (I. 91, Tr. I. 129) all agree in saying that it was the Sultan who married Balban's daughter. The error cries for correction, as even Thomas has been misled by Dowson's translation and speaks of the Sultan "having given his daughter in marriage to the son of the Khān." (C. P. K. D. 125).

II. 350, *l.* **8.** *He* [*the Sultān*] *was graciously pleased to give her one hundred beasts of burden.*

مثالِ صد برده و صد خروار را انعام فرمود; 214, l. 1. برده here means "slaves". In another account of the same transaction (Text, 271, l. 3), Minhāj speaks of them as غلامان 'slaves'. On 295, l. 7, he again states that چهل زنجیر برده 'forty slaves' were given to him. Slaves from India were, at this time, the most easily vendible commodities in the markets of Khurāsān. Baihaqi also uses the word برده in this sense, and states that when the fort of Hānsi was captured by Mas'ūd Ghaznavi, the women and children of the garrison were made slaves. زنان و فرزندانِ ایشان را برده کردند (Text, 665, l. 9.). Fakhru-d-dīn Mubārak Shāh uses the word in the same sense. (*Tārīkh.* 28, l. 7). Dowson himself translates برده as 'prisoners' at 371 *infra*, by which he probably means 'persons captured in battle and enslaved.'

II. 350, *l.* 4 from foot. *The author, passing by the fort of Marūt (Mīrat) to Sarsuti and Hānsi, arrived at Dehli.*

The parenthetical gloss is unauthorised and misleading. The place meant cannot possibly be Mīrat, though it *may be* Marot, now in the Khairpur taḥṣīl of Bahāwalpur State, 60 miles east of Bahāwalpur town. Lat. 29°-5′ N., Long. 72°-40′. (Th.). "Marot was a place of some importance in the early Muhammadan period on account of its lying on the direct road from Multān to Delhi, *via* Sarsuti or Sirsa." (I. G. XVIII, 210. See also Raverty, Tr. 688 Note). It is again mentioned in juxtaposition with Sarsuti at 364 *infra*. Captain Arthur Conolly travelled by the same route, *via* Marūt, from Dehli to Multān in the company of an Afghān caravan, so late as 1830 A. C. (Mihrān, 168).

II. 351, *l.* 18 and foot note. *Jāhir Deo was the greatest of the Rānas of that country.*

The text has 'Jāhirājār,' with the variants 'Jāhirājād' and 'Jāhawārjār.' (215 note). Ḥājji Dabīr calls him 'Rāi Jāhar Ajār" (Z. W. 716, l, 16). Every body is agreed that the name of the Rājā was Chāhaḍ, but 'Ajār' has severely taxed the ingenuity of the commentators. Cunningham thought that Ajāri was a corruption of 'Asāvari,' which appears on some coins struck by Chāhaḍ Deva who was supposed by him, to be the Rājā of Rantambhor, as well as of Narwar. (Coins of Mediaeval India, 91-92). Thomas's explanation was that 'Ajāri' stood for 'Āchārya', 'spiritual guide,' and he sought to substantiate it by the argument that "many of the chiefs of these Rajput tribes, in later days, affected hierarchical honours, calling themselves *mahants* etc. and that the famous Samarsi was designated as the 'Regent of Mahādeva'." (C.P.K.D. 69-70). This problematical elucidation has been accepted by Raverty (T. N. Tr. 690 note) and also in the C.H.I. (III. p. 68). But the statement on which it is founded is true only of the Rāṇās of Chiṭor. They did style themselves 'Priests of Eklingji' or Mahādeva, but this was only on account of a somewhat dubious legend or tradition connected with the origin of their dynasty. No other Rajput chiefs have ever 'affected hierarchical honours' or pretended to be 'Mahants.' And if they have, how is it that not one out of the scores of Hindu Rāis and Rājās who are

mentioned by Minhāj himself and other Musalman chroniclers is styled 'Āchārya', as 'Jāhīr Deo' is supposed by him to have been? The fact is that 'Ajāri' has nothing to do either with 'Āchārya' or 'Āheriya', that is, Gehloṭ, [which is another explanation hazarded by Thomas], or with the invocation to '*Asāvari* on the coins of Chāhaḍ Deva, with which Cunningham seeks to connect it. Chāhaḍ Deva's territory was in the neighbourhood of Gwālior and Chanderi and he is also stated to have built or repaired the fort of Narwar, which is said to have been his birth place. Minhāj speaks of him as راٰنهٔ اجاد, *i.e.* 'The Rāna of Ajār' (296, l. 8), in another place as راٰنهٔ اجاری, 'The Ajāri Rāna' (296, l. 13; 297, l. 2) and in a third as هندوکِ اجاری, 'The detestable Hindu of Ajār' (297, l. 5). This may indicate that '*Ajār*' *was the name of a place* and the suggestion may be offered that it is meant for Arjār, a fairly well-known town or village lying about 18 miles east-south-east of Jhānsi and about eleven miles south of Orcha. It is now a station on the Jhānsi-Mānikpur branch of the G. I. P. Railway. There is a big lake here and it is shown in Constable's Atlas, 28 C c. Minhāj states that when Nuṣratu-d-dīn Tābasi (or Tāeshi) was returning laden with booty from Kālanjar to Gwālior, he was encountered by this 'Rāna of Ajār', who seized upon the defiles of the river Sindh, which lay upon the route of the returning army and that this "*Hindu fellow of Ajār* fell upon him as a wolf falls upon a flock of sheep." (Text, 297, ll. 1-6 = 369 *post*). Narwar stands on the right bank of the Sindh, which often overflows its banks during the monsoon and causes swamps. (Th.). It is 44 miles south-west of Gwālior and about twenty west of Jhānsi. Arjār is therefore about forty miles south-east of Narwar. It would seem that Chāhaḍ had taken up his station and lain in wait for Nuṣratu-d-dīn at or in the neighbourhood of the swamps or lake near Arjār, and that this is the reason for his being described as the 'Rāna *of Ajār*' and this 'Hindu fellow *of Ajār*'. Chāhaḍdeva is said in some Rajput accounts to have been a brother or relative of Prithvi Rāja Chauhāṇ (Ind. Ant. VII. 59) and the supposition is, to a certain extent, corroborated by the recent discovery of an inscription of a Mahrājākumāra Chāhaḍa Deva, in which his genealogy *seems to be traced* to Arṇorāja and Prithvi Rāja III. (Epig. Ind. XII, 221-224). But the inscription is fragmentary and its purport not free from doubt. Others have maintained, on the contrary, that he was not a Chauhān, but belonged to the Jajjapella or Yajvapāla family and two epigraphic records discovered near Narwar have been put forward to support this theory. (Ind. Ant. XLVII, 1918, pp. 221-224). Chāhāḍa Deva's coins also dating from about V.S. 1291 to 1311 [1234 to 1254 A.C.] have been found, but Cunningham has imported a good deal of confusion into the numismatic aspect of the matter, by mixing him up with his contemporary Bāhaḍ Deva of Ranthambor. (Coins of Mediaeval India, 89-93). The guardian goddess of the Chauhāns was Āsāpuri Devi (I. G. IX. 79) and the true explanation of the name, Asāwari, which is inscribed on his coins, may be that it is an invocation to that deity.

II. 352, *l.* 15. *His estates in the Siwālik hills and Hānsi.*

Here as well as on pp. 297, 324, 325, 355, 358, 371, 375 and 380 of this volume, Dowson makes Minhāj speak of the "Siwālik *hills*," but there is nothing to warrant the interpolation of the second word and in the text *Siwālik* only is mentioned as *a district or tract of country* and not as a mountain range. See my note on II. 375, l. 5 *infra*.

II. 352, *l.* 18. (*The Sultān*) *returned to Dehli and directed his attention to the nobles and public affairs.*

و مزاج ِ اکابرو شغلها بگشت ; 217, l. 6. "And there was a great change in the temper of the leading nobles and alterations were made in regard to offices (at court)."

II. 352, last line. *His fief of Hānsi was, through the Lord Chamberlain, bestowed upon Prince Ruknu-d-dīn.*

اقطاع ِ هانسی باشغل میر حاجبی بشاهزاده رکن‌الدین مفوض گشت ; 217, l. 6 f. f. "And the fief of Hānsi, *along with the office of Lord Chamberlain*, was assigned to Prince Ruknu-d-dīn." Balban held the fief of Hānsi and also the office of Lord Chamberlain and both the fief and the office were transferred to the name of the infant Prince.

II. 353, *l.* 14. *Victories.....were gained in the vicinity of the mountains of Bardār and Pinjor.*

The mountains of 'Bardār' are mentioned also at 334 *ante*, where the form is '[Sarmand] Bardār' and F.'s reading also is 'Sirmūr'. 'Bardār' looks like and *may be* a miswriting of هردار, Hardwār. Raverty reads the second name as 'Bījnor'. and is sure that پنجور [Pinjor] is an error for بیجنور [Bījnor]. Hardwār is situated at the southern base of the Siwālik range. (Th. 389). The hills of Sirmūr are generally known as the Siwāliks. Bījnor town lies about 40 miles south of Hardwār and Bījnor district is "an irregular triangle of which the apex points directly northwards,.....and which stretches like a wedge between the valley of the Ganges and the hills of Garhwāl". (I. G. VIII. 192). Mayāpur, which is mentioned only two lines lower down, is one of the suburbs of Hardwār and is one of the names by which that place of pilgrimage is mentioned by Hiuen-Tsang, (Tr. Beal. I. 197), Sharafuddīn Yazdi (E.D. III. 514) and other old writers. Raverty lays stress on the fact that every one of his nine Mss. reads Bījnor, not Pinjor. (696 note). As one Ms. of B. also reads Bījnor (Ranking, Tr. I. 130 note), it may be correct. If Bījnor is the right reading, Bardār may be Hardwār. If Pinjor is preferred, Bardār may be a miswriting of دودر or ردد, the Rudra Himālāya, *q. v.* Constable.

II. 353, *l.* 19. *The Sultan ordered an attack to be made on Kāithar (Kaithal).*

کاتهر in the Text, 218, l. 12, is an error for کاتهر, Kāther, the old name of the district now called Rohilkhand. Kaithal or Kithal is a very different place near Jhind and Karnāl in the Punjab.

II. 355, *l.* 7 from foot. *He proceeded into Mawās.*

This word 'Mawās' is said, in the I. G. (XV. 402), to signify 'the troubled country' and to be a "name given by the Mahrattas to the Western Sātpuras, a reminiscence of the time when the Korkus were notorious robbers and freebooters". Elsewhere, however, in the same publication, it is derived from 'Mahivāsi', 'dweller on the Mahi' and stated to have been "imported in Mughal times into Delhi and used by Muhammadan writers as a general term to denote hill chiefs and those living in mountain fastnesses". (XVII. 12). But both these derivations are devastatingly exploded by the fact of the word having been used by Minhāj, Barani and Amīr Khusrau, long before the Mahrāttā or Mughal domination in India. The last of these authors writes in reference to 'Alāu-d-dīn's raids upon Bhilsa and other districts in Mālwā that "wherever in the forest or by the bank of the river, there was *a Mawās*, whether in cultivated land or in wilderness, *he trod it under foot with his army*". (Text, *Khazāin*, 8, l. 11. Tr. Ḥabīb. 5).

Raverty's rendering, "they sought shelter among the independent (Hindu) tribes" (Tr. 705 and note) is, notwithstanding his lengthy justificatory note, of doubtful validity. I venture to say that *mawās* does not signify a person, "a tribe or a tribal chief", but a district or tract of country. The plural form مواسات which frequently occurs in the Ṭ.N. (247, l. 2 f. f.; 259, l. 1; 260, l. 15; 280, l. 17; 285, l. 3 f. f.; 287, l. 10; 291, l. 9; 294, l. 4 f. f.; 306, l. 6; 312, l. 2) indicates that it is a *neuter noun*, employed to designate a place and not a person. If all the passages in which it occurs are examined, it will be found that the word is associated with tracts of broken country, regions covered with jungle or cut up by glens, ravines or impracticable defiles, in which mounted troops and cavalry charges are ineffective. Thus, in the first of these passages (Text, 247,) the reference is to the *Mawāsāt* on the frontiers or outlying tracts of Oude and Tirhūt, in the fourth (p. 280) to the hilly region round Mayāpur (Hardwār) and Rūrki, in the fifth (p. 285 = 361 *infra*) to Rewāri in the mountainous district of Mewāt, in the sixth (p. 287 = 362 *post*) to Jalāli and Deoli in Etāwa district with its intricate and dangerous ravines, in the seventh (p. 291 = 366 *post*) to the country of Dalkimalki, the "arduous defiles, rugged mountains and numerous jungles" of which are particularly noted, as if to justify the application of the term to it. In the eighth and last (Text, 306=375 *post*), "the dense jungles and narrow ravines, جنگلها و بورة مضایق of Bishnupūr (?) on the frontiers of Tirhut are also characterised by the appellation. In the passage under notice (Text, 221, l. 2 f. f.), the hills of Santūr in Sirmūr are associated with a *Mawās* (in the singular).

The word in both forms, in the singular as well as the plural number, is used in the history of Barani in two passages which are crucial, inasmuch as neither can be construed so as to support Raverty's conjectural interpretation. At p. 182, l. 4 f. f., Barani writes that when the rebel Chhajju was routed, he and his followers *crept into an adjoining*

Mawās, and *the chief* (مقدّم) *of that Mawās* sent them, after some days, to Sultān Jalālu-d-dīn [Khalji]. For Dowson's rendering see E. D. III. 138.
هم دران نزدیکی مواسی بود در آن خزیدند و بعد از چند روز مقدّم آن مواس او را بر سلطان جلال‌الدین فرستاد.

Again in 491, last line, he states that when 'Ainu-l-Mulk was routed and his rebellion scotched, those of his adherents, cavalry as well as infantry, who fled across the Ganges *fell in the Mawāsāt* there into the hands of the Hindus, who despoiled them of their horses and arms. For Dowson's rendering see E. D. III. 249. و آنچه سوار و پیادهٔ ایشان از گنگ سلامت بیرون آمده در مواسات بدست هندوان افتاد و اسپ و سلاح بباد داد. There are two passages in the *Tārīkh-i-Mubārakshāhi* also which are quite decisive. Its author tells us that Muḥammad Tughlaq's project of introducing a token currency failed, because "the Hindus and strife-mongers of the *Mawāsāt* of the Imperial territory openly constructed mints in every village and struck copper *muhrs* there." و هندوان و مفسدان مواسات و موالات ولایت در هر دهی دارالضرب ساختند و مهر مس منبردند (B. I. Text. 103, l. 2; see also Thomas, C. P. K. D. 245 n.). Elsewhere, the author states that the Sayyad Sultān Mubārakshāh "crossed the Jumna at the ford of Nūh and Patal and attacked the village of Haroli and then marched to the Qaṣba of Atroli". (Text 207, l. 7; E. D. IV. 63). This passage is copied in the Ṭ. A. 140, l. 10 and also in F. I, 165, l. 3 f. f. in which the sentence runs thus:
سلطان مبارك شاه آبِ جون را عبره کرده موضع هرتولی را که از مشاهیرِ مواس بود تاخت و از آنجا بترولي رفت

B. also tells us that Ibrāhīm Lody raided Bhūngāon and "settled the disturbances *in those Mawās*"; و آن مواسهارا پاك کرد (I. 326, l. 17, 431. Tr. See also Ṭ. A. 175, l. 7 f. f.; F. I. 189, l. 16). This clinches the point. In another passage, B. states that the place called Babūli [or Beoli], where Sultan Firūz Tughlaq built a town called Firūzpur is better known as *Mawās*, (Text, I. 252. Tr. I. 335-6). All this shows that *Mawās* was a *tract* or district which was a sort of sanctuary or place of refuge on account of the physical features which made it a natural fastness. To such places, Bāghelkhand, Tirhūt, Etāwa in the Duāb, Bundelkhand and Sirmūr, the more martial tribes among the *indigènes* had retreated after their expulsion from their old homes by the Muḥammadan invaders and here they formed nuclei of national sentiment, perpetual centres of passive hostility which blazed forth into open revolt or aggression in times of Muslim weakness or disunion. The physical features of Etāwa district, which was a notorious *Mawās*, are thus described in the I. G. "The net-work of ravines which borders the Jumna and the Chambal in the north-west and south-east of Etāwa district presents an inextricable maze which can hardly be equalled in the plains of India." (XII. 38). Of another natural fastness of the same type, which lies in the present Jālaun district, the writer states that it is indebted for its form to "the

intricate reticulation of ravines which fringes the rivers Jumna, Betwā and Pāhūj." (I. G. XIV. 18).

II. 355, *l.* 6 from foot. *He reached Santūr.*

The explanation in the foot note is badly off the mark. The place meant is the Suntour Garh of Thornton, the old capital of the Rājās of Sirmūr. It lies on the route from Dehra [Dun] to Kunāwar about eight miles north of the former. Lat. 30°-25′ N., Long. 78°-5′ E. It is now a mere village, the capital having been removed to Nāhan in the seventeenth century.

II. 357, *l.* 10. *They alighted at their gardens outside the city.*

The text has بباغِ خود نزول کردند (223, last line) here, but Ḥājji Dabīr has البستان المعروف باغِ جوز (722, l. 21). The right reading appears to be بباغِ جود نزول کردند The Bāgh-i-Jūd—the Jūd Garden is frequently mentioned by Minhāj, as well as Barani (246, l. 3 = E. D. III. 160). On l. 13 again, Dowson says that they "pitched their camp between the Jumna, Kilūghari and the city," but the text has 'Jūd' instead of 'Jumna' (224, l. 3), and on the line which follows also, the text has 'Bāgh-i-Jūd,' not "Gardens on the Jumna" as in Dowson. Raverty reads باغِ جود (Tr. 709). Ibn Baṭūṭā in his enumeration of the Gates of Delhi mentions one called 'Darwāza-i-Jul' دروازهٔ جل and states, by way of gloss, that many *gardens* [بساطین] were situated in proximity to it. (Defrémery, III. 141). There can be little doubt that the correct reading is 'Jūd'.

II. 357, last line. *Many of the chief men and officers asked forgiveness.*

دستِ راست طلب کردند; 224, l. 5 f. f. "They asked or prayed for promises [or pledges with the right hand, of immunity from punishment], *i.e.* pardons." The same phrase is used *ante* 315, l. 8 *q.v.* my note. It is found in Barani also, who says that Qutlugh Khān brought down Shihāb Sultāni [from the citadel of Bīdar in which he was standing a siege], by giving him a pledge of safety with *the right hand*." شہابِ سلطانی را بدستِ راست فرود آورد (488, l. 13).

II. 358 footnote. *A note in the printed text says that all the four Mss. used agree in this statement, so contrary to truth. Baghdād fell, and the Khalīfa was put to death.*

There is really nothing 'contrary to truth' in what Minhāj actually says. It is the note of the Editors that is wrong. It is of course true that Baghdād fell *ultimately* and that the last pageant of the House of 'Abbās was put to a cruel death. But Minhāj is referring not to the final catastrophe, but to a preliminary skirmish at the commencement of the siege, in which the Mongols had sustained a defeat. "In this first trial of strength which took place at Takrīt", writes Browne, "the Caliph's soldiers succeeded in destroying the bridge by which Bajū Noyān intended to cross the Tigris. In another encounter which took place at Dujayl on or about January 11th, 1258 (4th Muḥarram, 656 H.), the Caliph's army achieved a trifling success in spite of the numerical inferiority of their forces". (L. H. P. II. 461). It is to this 'trifling success'

that Minhāj is referring. The regular siege began only on 22nd January and the Caliph gave himself up on or about the 10th of February. He was wrapped in a carpet and beaten to death with clubs. (*Ibid.* 462-3; see also *Habību-s-Siyar*. II. iii. 81). It would appear that the tidings of the final disaster had not reached Dehli when Minhāj wrote this paragraph—a striking illustration of the tardiness with which intelligence travelled in those times and of the ignorance of one part of the world of epoch-making revolutions which were taking place in another.

Rieu also adverts to the matter and has pointed out that the death of Must'aṣim *is* actually mentioned by Minhāj in a passage added some time later, in the chapter devoted to the history of the 'Abbāsides. (Folio 57 a in the British Museum MS. of the Ṭ. N.; Catalogue of Persian Manuscripts, I. 72). The passage he refers to will be found in the B. I. Text at pp. 430-33.

II. 359, *l.* 13 from foot. *Ulugh Khān was sent to chastise the rebel inhabitants of Mewāt and to intimidate their Deo.*

برای دفع فسادِ متمردانِ میوات که دیو از ایشان در هراس باشد ; 227, l. 10. "To suppress the turbulence of the rebels of Mewāt, of whom the demons themselves must stand in horror."

The date, 16th of Ramaẓān, (l. 19) is a slip. The text reads 16th Ṣafar, which is proved to be correct by what Minhāj himself says on pp. 381-2 *infra*, where the advance guard is stated to have marched on 4th Ṣafar and the whole army to have returned to the capital on 24th Rab'i I.

II. 362, *l.* 2 from foot. *The rebels of Jalāli and Deoli, and the Mawās in the Duāb between the Ganges and Jumnā.*

Raverty reads 'Jarāli and Datoli' (Tr. 809), though he admits that some of his Mss. have 'Deoli'. I venture to suggest with some confidence that Deoli is quite correct. It is Deoli-Jakhan in Etāwa. We learn from the *Tārīkh-i-Mubārakshāhi* that Khiẓr Khān, after suppressing the rebels in Kol, advanced into Etāwa and there destroyed "the village of Dehli, the strongest place in the possession of the infidels." (E.D.IV. 52, *q.v.* my note). It is the Duhlee of Thornton, who locates it in Etāwa, Lat. 27°-2′ N., Long. 78°-52′ E. Jalāli *may be* Julowlee which he locates thirty-five miles south of Fatehgarh, but it is more probably what Seeley calls 'Joolee', and places fourteen miles south of Saket and ten north of Mainpuri on the route from 'Aligarh to Etāwa. (Roadbook of India, Ed. 1825, pp. 20-21). The word used by Minhāj here is not *Mawās* but *Mawāsāt*, مواسات, the neutral plural. This proves beyond any doubt that places or localities and not persons or tribes are meant.

رایاتِ اعلی . . . . . از دهلی حرکت کرد میانِ دو آبِ جون و گنگ مفسدانِ جلالی و دیولی و آن مواسات را مالشِ تمام داد. Text, 287, l. 8. The fact that B. uses in another passage مواسها (I. 326, l. 17), the alternative form, also shows that he understood it as a *neuter noun*.

II. 363, *l.* 9. *He laid siege to Uchh, one of the most renowned fortresses of Sindh, and equal to Mansūra.*

و ارض منصوره در بندان داد ; 287, l. 7 from foot. ارض means 'land, territory' and the real meaning is that Uchch was included in the territory or the province of Manṣūra. Similarly, Ḥāfiẓ Abrū says that the river Sindh (Indus) "runs from the western sides of the mountains (of Kashmīr) into the *country of Mansūra.*" (E. D. IV. 4). Minhāj himself says elsewhere that the army of Khilj and the forces of Khwārizm invaded in 623 H. "*the lands of Manṣūra* [اراضی منصوره] one of the cities of Siwistān." (Text, 143, l. 3 f. f.; Dowson, 303 *ante*).

II. 364, *l.* 7 from foot. *The numerous fissures on the bank of the river rendered the way impassable for the army.*

لشکر اسلام را از کثرت جرّ برکنار آب راه نباشد ; 289, l. 3. Raverty contends that جرّ is wrong and that it is a truncated mistranscription of جزائر which is the right reading. He goes further still and avers that جرّ does not mean 'fissure' at all and that this 'supposed' meaning of the word is without authority. He understands by *jazāir*, "long narrow banks of sand or islands on the bank of the river." (Tr. 812 and note). But he is contradicted by Richardson, who gives 'crack, cleft, rent or fissure, particularly in the ground,'' as the meaning of the word. A 'Jarr' is really a ravine or a deep cleft formed in the ground by the action of a torrent. The Emperor Bābur uses the word in this identical sense and explains it in such a way as to leave no doubt whatever on the matter. "While I rode carelessly along the ravine [جرّ in the Turki original as well as in the Persian Translation, 234, l. 2 f. f.] of the river, my horse got to where it was fissured and had begun to give way. I leapt off at once and flung myself on the bank; the horse also did not go down; probably however, if I had stayed on its back, it and I would have gone down together." (B. N. Tr. Beveridge, 655). Baihaqi also uses the word and says that the districts of Astrābād and Āmul were full of جویها و جرّها 'torrents and ravines.' (Text, 563).

II. 367, *l.* 15. *At the beginning of Shawwāl, the force returned to the camp with their booty.*

The words in the text (292, l. 10) are سلخ شوّال, which mean 'the *end* or last day of Shawwāl.' Compare 348 *ante* also, where it is stated that the fort of Dalki-Malki was taken on Thursday, the 24th of Shawwāl. The force must have 'returned' *after* that date.

II. 368, *l.* 11 from foot. *Passing over the Jumna, it [the Royal army] encamped and engaged in operations against the Mawās.*

As this passage is important in connection with the meaning of the word 'Mawās,' I may quote the original:

و گذارهٔ جون لشکرگاه شد بغزو و جهاد اطراف مواسات مشغول گشتند ; 294, l. 4 f. f.

"The other side of the Jumna became the camping ground and they were

engaged in holy war against all sides of the *Mawāsāt*." See my note on 355, l. 7 f. f. *ante*.

II. 369, *l.* 1. *The army of Islām was sent..... against Kālinjar and Jamū.*

Raverty thinks 'Jamū' must be an error for Dāmoh, which lies, he says, 46 miles east of Saugor, Lat. 23°-52′ N., Long. 79°-25′ E. (Tr. 824 note). As Kālanjar is in Lat. 25°-5 N., Long. 80°-22 E., the two places can hardly be said to be in close proximity. Jajmau is phonetically a much nearer approach, but it is, in fact, almost equally remote. The closest phonetic approach would be Mau, an old town ten miles west of Chhatarpur, "once the seat of the Parihār Rājputs, where there are some remains and an inscription of about 1150 A.C." (I. G. X. 199-200). Chhatarpur lies about forty miles south-west of Kālinjār. But perhaps, Mahoba is meant.

II. 370, *l.* 7 from foot. *Bāhar Deo Rāi of Rantambhor.*

Raverty calls him 'Nāhar Dīw' (Tr. pp. 818 and 828 and note). He admits that Bāhar is found in the Mss., but he contends that it is incorrect. The fact is that this Rājā was named Vyāghra Deva or Vāgh Bhaṭa. Bāhar (Bāghar) is the vernacular form of 'Vyāghra' and Vyāghra Deva or Vāghbhaṭa does not appear to have been ever called Nāhar Deva. We may be therefore sure that Minhāj wrote 'Bāhar' and not 'Nāhar'. The Hindu chronicle of Hammīradeva Chauhān leaves no room for doubt on the point. Sir Wolseley Haig follows Raverty and calls him Nāhar Deo.

"The Muslim historians," he writes, "style Vāgbhata Nāhar Deo, confusing him *perhaps* with a Meo chief who had *probably* allied himself to Vāgbhata." (C.H.I. III, 516; the Italics are mine). But there is no warrant whatever for assuming any such confusion. The existence of a Meo chief so named is highly problematical, if not altogether imaginary, and the probability of any alliance between him and Vāgbhaṭa is too shadowy for serious consideration. The name of the Rājā of Ranthambhor is uniformly written 'Bāhar Dev' in the B.I. text of Minhāj (292, l. 2 f. f.; 299, l. 9) and its correctness is further shown by the fact that Amīr Khusrau also spells it in exactly the same way in a passage in the *Khazāinu-l-Futūḥ*. He states that after the sack of Ranthambor by 'Alāuddīn Khalji,' Jhāin also was captured, which was an iron fort and an ancient abode of idolatry. The temple of *Bāhir Deo* and the temples of other Deos were all razed to the ground." (E. D. III, 75-6. *q. v.* my note). Here, 'Bāhir Deo' refers, most probably, to 'Vyāghra Deva' or Vāghbhaṭa, the Rājā who was the builder of the shrine and whom Minhāj describes as "the greatest and most illustrious of the princes of Hindustān." Bāhaḍ is a name which occurs elsewhere also, *e. g.* in Bāhadmer (Bārmer) in Jodhpur and in a Nādole grant of V. S. 1213, 1156 A.C. (Ind. Ant. XLI, 1912, pp. 202-3). It was also borne by a son of Udayana Deva, the Minister of the renowned Siddha Rāja Jayasinha. (Merutunga

II. 375, *l.* 5. *The soldiers of the Siwālik, of Hānsi, Sarsūti, Jind, Barwāla and all those parts were collected.*

Barwāla is about nineteen miles north of Ḥisār—Fīrūza. (Hunter, Imp. Gaz. II. 170; Jarrett, *Āīn*, Tr. II. 294). Constable 25 B c. Lat. 29°-22′ N., Long. 75°-59′ E. (Thornton). The reference to these places is important, as it shows that they were all included in Ulugh Khān's *Jāgīr* in the Siwālik, *i. e.*, the old Sapādalaksha country. At 352 and 355 *ante*, the Siwālik is again associated with Hānsi and at 297 with Hānsi and Sarsūti. At p. 380, Hariāna is spoken of conjointly with the Siwālik. Hānsi was the capital of the old Chauhān kingdom of Sapādalaksha. *Sawā-lak*, *lit.* one lak and a quarter, is the vernacular form.

II. 375, *l.* 16. *They had, however, got a good start.*

But the text has چون تفرقه بدیشان راه یافت (306, l. 3) and the meaning is that they [Qutlugh Khān and the other nobles who were being pursued] had separated from one another, *i.e.* formed straggling parties, been broken up into detachments or divided among themselves.

II. 375, *l.* 13 from foot. *Ulugh Khān joined the royal army at Kasmandi.*

Kasmandi is a small town in Lucknow district, five miles north-east of Malīḥābād, which latter is about fifteen miles north-west of Lucknow by rail. Malīhābād is shown in Constable, 28 B b. Kasmandi is again mentioned by Minhāj along with Mandiāna (Text 260, l. 6), *i.e.* Mandiāon, which was a *Maḥāl* in the Sarkār of Lakhnau. (*Āīn*. Tr. II. 170). Kasmandi is an ancient town containing many old mosques and a cemetery called 'Ganj-i-Shahidān,' in which a great number of Musalmans, who were killed in a battle with the Hindus, some centuries ago, are said to be buried.

II. 378, *l.* 7 from foot. *And the forces of the fort of Multān fell back.*

و کنگرهای حصار ملتان فرو رفتند ; 310, l. 10. "And the battlements of the fortress of Multān were demolished" (*lit.* 'swept off'). The fortifications of the town were dismantled.

II. 394, *l.* 18. *From the hills of Balāla and Mankāla.*

The names are variously written in the Mss. Balāla may be 'Bugiāl' which lies under the lofty hills of Balnāth near Nandana in the Salt Range. Cunningham assures us that "Bugiāl is still occupied by the Gakkhars, who are also found in Gūliāna near Gujar Khān." (A. G. I. 132). Gūliāna, Gujar Khān and Jogi Tilla (Balnāth) are all marked in Constable, 24 E a. Bābur says that he passed through "the village of the Bugiāl—a Gakkhar clan—which was near the hill of Jūd below Balnāth Jogi (Nandana)". (E. D. IV. 240). But it is more probably Baganwāla, about fourteen miles east of Chhoa Sadan Shāh, near which the outer Salt Range makes a remarkable dip. There is a steep rocky hill here which has absolute command of the route across the range. (Gazetteer of Jhelum District, 46-47). 'Mankāla' may be Makhiāla, "one of the names by which the Salt Range, the hill system in the Jhelum,

Shāhpur and Miānwali districts, was known to the old historians, the other name being the Koh-i-Jūd". (I. G. XXI. 412). Makhiāla is registered in the *Ā'īn* as a *Mahāl* in the Sindh-Sāgar Duāb, which had a stone fort on a hill and also a salt mine. (Tr. II. 324). Makhiāla and Girjhāk (the old name of a place near Jalālpur) are mentioned as places in which Jāhāngīr used to hunt. (T. J. II. Tr. 181-2. Text. 317, l. 9 f. f.). But Mankāla may also represent 'Mangla', which lies about 15 miles north of Jhelum town. Cunningham states that the Tilla, Jogi Tilla or Balnāth range is about "30 miles in length and occupies the west bank of the Jhelum from the east bend of the river below *Mangla*, to the bed of the Bunhār river, 12 miles north of the Jalālpur". (A. G. I. 164). Mangla is shown in Constable, 24 E a.

II. 398, *l.* 6 from foot. *Burāk Hājib was in Kermān and had fortified himself in the city of Bardasīr.*

"There is some confusion," writes General Houtum-Schindler, "with regard to the names of Kirmān, both as a town and as a province or kingdom, and we have the names Kermān, Kawāshīr and Bardāsīr. The original name of the whole country was Kermān. A province of this was called 'Kureh-i-Ardeshīr,' 'District of Ardeshir', which being contracted, became 'Kawāshīr,' and is spoken of as the province in which Ardeshīr, the first Sāssānian monarch, resided. A part of this 'Kureh-i-Ardeshīr' was called Bardasīr or Bard-i-Ardeshīr, and the present city of Kermān is situated at its north-eastern corner. This town, during the middle ages, was called Bardasīr". (J.R.A.S. XIII. 491-2; Yule Tr. Marco Polo, I. 91-2). Bardasīr and Kawāshīr are said by Yāqūt to lie between Sirjān and the desert, two marches from the former. (Barbier de Meynard, *Dictionnaire Geographique de la Perse*, 90). Le Strange says Bardasīr is the same as Kirmān, but gives a different derivation, according to which the city founded by Ardeshīr was called 'Weh or Beh-Ardeshīr', "the Good Place of Ardeshīr," which the Arabs pronounced 'Bardasīr' and the Persians 'Gawāshir'. (L. E. C. 300-303).

II. 399, *l.* 18. *The Sultān went to Parwān on the borders of Bāmiān, where many roads converge.*

This Parwān or Barwān was situated on the Bārān or upper portion of the Lohgar river and lay five or six *manzils* north of Ghazni, between Ghazni and Bāmiān. It should not be confounded with the Parwān or Pariān defile in the Hindu Kush, which is mentioned in connection with Taimūr's invasion of the Siyāhposh country. That Pariān (or Parwān) lay about eight miles north of Chārikār and is mentioned by Alberūni also. (Tr. Sachau. I. 259 = E. D. I. 47. *q. v.* my note).

II. 464, *l.* 3 from foot. *Kirāt, Nūr, Lohkot and Lāhore.*

Nūr and Qirāt are the names of two rivers of Kāfiristān, which lies to the north of Lamghān. Bābur speaks of the Nūr valley as "one of the two *bulūks* (divisions) of Lamghān. "Its fort is on a beak in the mouth of the valley and has a torrent on each side.....It can be traversed only

by one road. It has the orange, citron, and other fruits of hot climates. Its wines are those of Lamghān that have reputation .....These people used to keep swine, but they have given it up in our time." (B. N. Tr. 210).

Elsewhere, he writes that "another *tumān* of Lamghān is Kūnār with Nūrgal. It lies somewhat out of the way, with its borders in amongst the Kāfir lands. The river of Chaghānsarāi (*Scil.* the Kūnār) enters it from the north-east, passes into the *bulūk* of Kāma, there joins the Bārān water (*Scil.* the Kābul river) and with that flows east. The orange, citron and coriander abound here. Strong wines are brought into it from Kāfiristān." (B. N. Tr. 211). In another place, he tells us that Ningnahār, Mandrāwar, the Nūr Valley, Kūnār, Nūrgal and Chaghāniyān were given by him to his half-brother, Nāṣir Mirzā as *Jāgīrs.* (*Ib.* 227). See also *Ibid.* 344, where these places are again mentioned in juxtaposition. The Nūr Valley is shown in the Map attached to Biddulph's "Tribes of the Hindu Kush.'

The rivers Nūr and Qirāt are mentioned by Alberuni also as affluents of the Ghorwand (or main Kābul river), which they joined at Darūnta. (Sachau. I. 259). As Darūnta is near Jalālābād, these rivers must be looked for in the region to the north of the latter town and the valleys of the Nūr and Qirāt must be situated in the tracts drained by the Kunār, *viz.* in Swāt, Bajaur and some parts of Kāfiristān. The Kāfirs of the 'darrah' (valley) of Nūr are stated by Mu'atamad Khān to have come to pay homage to the Emperor Jāhāngir when he was at Jalālābād. (*Iqbālnāma-i-Jāhāngīrī*, B. I. Text, 268-9).

Sir Thomas Holdich thus explains the reasons for Maḥmūd's invasion of these inhospitable regions. "The Kunar valley," he tells us, "is of exceptional interest for many reasons. The ancient high road from Kābul to India through the Lamghān valley ran across to Bajaur. Consequently, former conquerors of India, (Alexander and Bābur for instance), who advanced from Kābul and were always much concerned in reducing the hill-tribes before they entered the plains of India, knew it well. It was, in fact, a necessity of their advance that the powerful coalition of the hill tribes who have ever dwelt between the Kunar and the Indus should be well thrashed before further operations in the direction of Lāhor and Delhi could be undertaken." (The Indian Borderland, 244). It was not Alexander and Bābur only who took care to see that the tribes occupying these valleys were "well thrashed." Tīmūr also led a punitive expedition against the Kators of Kāfiristān before invading India.

II. 469, *l.* 20. *So he [Maḥmūd] left Ghazni [for Somanāth] on the 10th of Sh'abān 414 A. H.*

The correct date is 10th [*recte* 22nd] Sh'abān 416 H. The year is given as 416 in the Text of Ibnu-l-Athīr. (Ed. Torbberg, IX. 241). 414 is an inadvertent error in this translation. The year given by Alberuni (S. II. 9), Gardezi (Z. A. 86-7), the Ṭ. A. (9, l. 15) and Khwāndamīr (E. D. IV. 180) is 416 H. Firishta (I. 32, ll. 2, 6] says Maḥmūd started on

10th Sh'abān 415 and his error has misled Elphinstone (H. I, 334) as well as Mr. Vincent Smith (O. H. I, 193) and Sir W. Haig (C. H. I, III. 23) who put the sack into 1024 or 1025. 22nd Sh'abān 416 H. corresponded with Monday, 18th October 1025 A. C. The fort of Somanāth fell on Saturday, the 16th of Zī-l-q'ad 416 = 8th January 1026. (Ibnu-l-Athīr, IX. 242). The fact that both the above week-days work out correctly is proof presumptive that the year was 416 H. Firishta's assertion on the point cannot outweigh the authority of Alberūni who declares not once but twice, that Somanāth was destroyed in the Hijri year 416, which the Hindus compute as the 947th year of the Shakakāla. (II. 9 and 103). Now, Shaka 947 began on 2nd March 1025 and ended on 21st March 1026 A. C., while 416 Hijri ended on 21st February, 1026 A. C. Qazvini also in his chapter on Somnāt states that Maḥmūd arrived there in the middle of Zī-l-q'ad 416 H. (*Āṣāru-l-Bilād*, Text in Gildemeister, 64; Tr. 207; see also E. D. I. 98).

II. 469, last line. *Yamīnu-d-daula started from Anhilwāra for Somnāt etc.*

The route followed by Maḥmūd from Aṇahīlwāḍ to Somanāth is mere matter of conjecture. He is supposed by one writer (B. G. I. 166 note) to have passed through Moḍhera to Māṇḍal, thence by the Little Raṇ to somewhere near Pāṭḍi and Bajāna and thence by Jhālāwāḍ and Gohilwâḍ to Delvaḍa and Somanāth. Major Watson thought that he marched by way of the Bhāl, the country between Waḍhwān and Valā, to the sea-coast and thence to Delvâḍa and Somanāth. (B. G. VIII. Kaṭhiāwāḍ, 610). Whatever the real route, the images which are said here to have served as the Heralds of Somanāth and were styled *Shaiṭāns* by the iconoclast, were most probably those in the great tank at Moḍhera. This town lies in the Vaḍāvli taluka of Kaḍi *prānt*, 18 miles south of Pāṭan or Aṇahilwāḍ. It contains several monuments of Hindu architecture, one of which, popularly known as Sītā's Chāvḍi, is very richly carved. (I. G. XVII. 381). The great tank or *kund* also with a large number of "small niched shrines" still exists. Moḍhera is mentioned as the place where the idols were found in the *Qaṣīdas* written by Farrukhi on the subject, which is reproduced entire in the *Majm'au-l-Fuṣaḥā*. (I. 452-3). The stages in the itinerary from Multān are there given as Ludrava [Lodorva near Jaisalmīr], Chikūdar, Nahrwāla, Mūndher [Moḍhera] and Dewalwāra (Delwāḍa). There is a good illustration of the porch of the temple at Moḍhera in the *Rās Mālā*. (Ed. 1924, I. 104). See also Burgess, Architectural Antiquities of Northern Gujarāt, 243-4; I. G. XVII, 381.

II. 473, last line. *When Mahmūd resolved upon returning home from Somnāt, he learned that Parama Dev one of the greatest Rājās of Hindustān was preparing to intercept him.*

The Rājā who is said to have made preparations to intercept

Maḥmūd's retreat from Somanāth is called Param Dev by Gardezi (87, l. 5.) and the Ṭ. A. (9, l. 22), but Bīramdev by B. (I. 18, Tr. I. 28). Firishta (I. 34, l. 9 f. f.) asserts that he was the Rājā of Ajmer, but Ajmer was not in existence at this time. In the C. H. I. (III. 25), the name of the Rājā is cautiously withheld and he is merely called Rājā of Sāmbhar. The progress of Hindu epigraphic research now enables us to solve the riddle and say that the name of the Rājā was not Param Dev, but *Vīrama* or *Vīryarāma* Deva. He was the great-great-nephew of Vigraharāja II, the Chauhān ruler of Sāmbhar, and he is known to have been reigning about 1030 A. C. (Duff. C. I. 277; Epig. Ind. II. 116; H. M. H. I, III. 146; H. C. Ray, Dynastic History of Northern India, II. 1069).

We may then take it that the right reading is بیرم دیو *Bīram* (Vīrama) Deva and not Param Deva, as in the modern copies. Dr. Nāẓim is mistaken in calling him Param Deva and speaking of him as the ruler of Ābu. (M. G. 119). The names of the Paramāra chiefs of Ābū also are known to us and no such name as Paramdev is found in the list of the dynasty. (Ray. D. H. N. I. 928-9). Moreover, they were mere feudatories, whose resources in extent of territory, man-power and sinews of war in general were so exiguous, that they would not have dreamt of defying a great ruler like Maḥmūd. The name 'Vīrama' occurs in other dynastic lists also, *e. g.* those of Dholkā, Gwālior and Mārwād. (Duff. C. I. 185, 306, and 297).

Alberūni tells us that Maḥmūd destroyed the capital of Gujarāt which was called Narāna or Narāin. (E. D. I. 58). 'Utbi also mentions an expedition to Narāin. (36 *ante*). As this kingdom of Gujarāt was, almost certainly, identical with that of Sapādalaksha which was ruled over by the Chauhāns, it is easy to understand Vīram Deva's action. He was only paying off old scores and gratifying an ancient grudge.

II. 486, last line. *In this matter, Shamsu-l-Kāh Khwāja Ahmad Hasan was made mediotor.*

Shamsu-l-Kāh is nonsense. His title was Shamsu-l-Kufāt, شمس الکفات ('Utbi, Text, 346, l. 8; Browne, L. H. P. II. 105; *Siyāsatnāma*, Bombay Lith. Pt. i. Ch. vii. 51, l. 12; Part ii, Ch. xl. p. 53, l. 13).

II. 490, *l.* **8.** *The origin of my quarrel with him* [*Ḥasan Ṣabbāḥ*].

This story is now rejected as unhistorical on account of the chronological difficulties in which it is involved. The '*Waṣāya*' is more or less sophisticated and it is known to have been compiled not earlier than the 15th century, though Ethé is inclined to think that "it rests on a real basis of tradition and to concede to it greater authority" than Rieu does in his B. M. Cat. 446. See also Mr. H. Bowen's article in J. R. A. S. 1931, p. 771. But however that may be, this anecdote about the 'Three School-fellows' is now discredited by almost all scholars. "Its fundamental assumption is that two persons (Ḥasan-i-Ṣabbāḥ and 'Umar Khayyām) who died at an unknown age between 517-518 A. H. (1123-24 A. C.) were at school with Niẓāmu-l-mulk who was born in 408 H. (1017 A. C.) and was murdered in 485 H. This is hardly, if at all likely, and Houtsma

has suggested that this Niẓāmu-l-mulk was not the famous minister of Malik Shāh, but Anūshīrvān *bin* Khālid, who bore the same title and was the Vazīr of Muḥammad bin Muḥammad bin Malik Shāh who reigned from 1117-1131 A.C. This Anūshīrvān *bin* Khālid is known to have been acquainted with Ḥasan-i-Ṣabbāḥ in his youth and this legend is therefore another illustration of the Oriental story-teller's habit of 'transferring remarkable stories from one remarkable man to another'." (Browne, L. H. P. II. 191-2). The actual date of Ḥasan's birth is not known, but he was apparently very young in 1071 A. C. (464 H.), when he first took the Ism'āili oath. He was sent to Egypt in 1076 A.C. and returning to Isfahān, founded the 'New Propaganda' in 1080 A.C. (*Ibid.* 202-3. See also Browne's art. 'Yet more Light on Omar Khayyām' in J. R. A. S. 1899, p. 499; Houtsma. E. I. II. 276). Mr. Lawrence Lockhart, who has lately re-examined the question in the Bulletin of the School of Oriental Studies (V. Part IV), thinks that Ḥasan was not born earlier than 1053 or 1052 A. C. and that he died on 23rd May 1124 A. C. Though it is possible to say, in the light of recent research, that the story is found in some older works than the *Waṣāya, e. g.* in Rashīdu-d-dīn's monumental *Jām'iu-t-Tāwārīkh*, and the still earlier *Sarguzasht-i-Sayyid-nā* (an old Ism'āili Biography of Ḥasan), "the glaring disparities in easily verifiable dates are absolutely fatal and rule out the possibility of this picturesque compact".

II. 499, *l.* **16.** *When Khwāja Aḥmad was dismissed, Khwaja Hasnak Mishkāti was appointed in his place.*

'Mishkāti' is an error for 'Mīkāl' or 'Mīkāili' (Khwāndamīr in E. D. IV. 151). Ḥasnak's real name was Ḥasan bin Muḥammad-al-Mikāili (Z. A. 96, l. 6 f. f.; F. I. 38, l. 11 f. f.). Mishkāti (*recte* Mushkān or Mishkān) was the surname of 'Abu Naṣr who was also a minister of Maḥmūd and Mas'ūd, but a very different person altogether.

II. 500, *l.* **7 from foot.** *The Story of Dābshilīm.*

This story of the two Dābshilims has exercised the ingenuity of many modern authors and several explanations have been suggested. Tod advanced the conjecture that the reference was to the Dābhis—a tribe which is said by some to be a branch of the Chāwṛas, or Chāpoṭakas, and that the name is composed of 'Dābhi Chāwṛa'. (A. A. R., I. 122 and note). Elphinstone (H. I. 337 Note) and Sir Wolseley Haig (C. H. I., III. 509) have accepted this not very tenable theory, but the Dābhis are a very obscure and insignificant sept and they have never been of any account or played a notable part in the history of Gujarāt. A rival hypothesis that the name is derived from *Durlabha* and *Vallabha Solanki* seems to me to be more plausible. Mūlarāja Solanki died in or a little before 998 A. C. and was succeeded by Chāmuṇḍa who abdicated after some years and went on pilgrimage. He had three sons, Durlabha, Vallabha, and Nāga Rāja. Chāmuṇḍa abdicated and installed Vallabha himself, but the latter died soon afterwards of small-pox. Durlabha then ascended the throne.

He reigned from *circa* 1010 to 1022 A. C. and Bhīma, the son of his brother, succeeded him. Hemachandra states that "Durlabha, wishing to retire from the world, offered the kingdom to Bhīma, that Bhīma declined in favour of his father, Nāga Rāja, that Nāga Rāja also refused and that both the brothers persuaded Bhīma to accept it, after which both of them died together. Such a voluntary double suicide is evidently most unlikely and points to Bhīma having secured the succession only after a complicated system of intrigue." (B. G. I. i. 162-3).

It was common at this time for disgruntled, discomfited or unambitious princes who were in the line of succession, to ostensibly adopt the religious life and become ascetics, with a view to disarm hostility and avoid the risk of poisoning, assassination or imprisonment. The solitary survivor of "the most eminent family of Dābshilīm who was serving and worshipping God in the habit of a saint" was either Durlabha himself or a son, legitimate or illegitimate, or some near relative or connection of Durlabha who had turned anchorite, because he had been persecuted and "seized several times by his brother." The other Dābshilīm, who was still "the chief of a principality" was another cadet of the reigning house, but his relationship to the most recent occupant of the throne was so distant or indirect, that it did not count for much and he could not be regarded as a dangerous rival or competitor. He was thus secure and had not thought it necessary to become a Sanyāsi. Such claims as he had were derived from Vallabha, while the pretensions of the ascetic were founded upon his propinquity to or identity with Durlabha. دلب or ولب can be easily misread in Persian as داب and شلیم is certainly nearer to شلنگی than to چاورا or even شاورا. The story itself is undoubtedly unhistorical and the details imaginary. The chronology also is impossible, as Maḥmūd is known to have returned to Ghazni in 417 H. The name Dābshilīm is only a literary fiction or reminiscence from the *Kalīla wa Dimna* and the dénouement is merely an edifying tale of poetic justice, an apologue to inculcate and point a moral of the 'Biter Bit' type.

II. 504, *l.* 14. *Nigāristān, the name of the work, expresses by the abjad, the date of its composition, A. H. 959.*

This is a miscalculation. The *abjad* value of نگارستان [Picture-gallery] is only 782 (50 + 20 + 1 + 200 + 60 + 400 + 1+50). The date of composition can be obtained only when the word واقع [Events] is added to نگارستان. The value of واقع (6+1+100+70) is 177; 782 + 177=959. This is what is stated in the versified chronogram with which the work concludes. (Rieu, B.M. Catalogue, I. 106; Muqtadir, Bānkīpur Catalogue. VI. 45).

II. 508, *l.* 11 from foot. *Mas'ūd repents of his avarice.*

This story is translated by Elliot at second hand from the *Zīnatu-l-Majālis*, but it is one of those borrowed by its author from 'Awfi. (III. Chap. xvi. No. 1696; J. H. pp. 62, 225). The *Tārīkh-i-Nāṣiri* quoted by the author is the work of Baihaqi, in the published text of which the anecdote will be found related at length. (pp. 311-5). The

immediately preceding story of 'Abdu-r-Raḥmān Khāl is also from 'Awfi. (III. xix. No. 1735; J. H. pp. 82, 229).

II. 510, *l.* 1. *Ibrāhīm's lack of qualified officials.*

This anecdote also has been lifted by the compiler of the *Zīnat* from 'Awfi. (I. vii. 406; J.H. p. 155). The story which follows is also from the same source. (I. vii. 405; J. H. *Ibid*). Ibrāhim is said to have written a book entitled *Dastūru-l-Wuzarā*, a Handbook of Political Science, for the guidance of his ministers. It is one of the ninety-three works cited by 'Awfi as his authorities. (J. H. 67-68 and 224).

II. 512, *l.* 15. *The Khwāja made a report of the facts which he addressed to Abu-l-Fazl, the financial minister.* (Sāhib-i-dīwān-i-risālat).

This Abu-l-Faẓl was Abul Faẓl-ī-Baihaqi, the historian. He was not the 'Financial Minister', but the Head of the Department of Correspondence or of the Diplomatic Chancellery, which is the real meaning of *Dīwān-i-Risālat*. At 197 *supra*, Baihaqi himself tells his readers that he was in charge of the *Dīwān-i-Risālat* in the reign of 'Abdu-r-Rashīd. (Text, 122). The Sultān's correspondence with foreign princes, governors of provinces and other high officials was conducted by this minister, who also received the secret and confidential reports from the *Barīds* and *Mushrifs* as well as other diplomatic agents.

II. 549, *l.* 23. *Sultān Jalālu-d-dīn Mankburni.*

The orthography, pronunciation and signification of the sobriquet are alike the subject of controversy. D'Ohsson says that it is 'Mankbarni' and derives it from 'Mangou,' Eternal, and 'Birti,' or 'Virdi,' given, *i. e.* God-given. (*Histoire des Mongols*, I. 195). Von Hammer-Purgstall thinks it means 'flat-nosed.' Raverty and Ranking are in favour of 'Meng', mole and 'būrūn', nose, *i. e.* having a mole on the nose. (Ṭ. N. Tr. 285 and 299; Budāuni, Tr. I. 91 note). As the epithet is inscribed also on his coins, and spelt there as منكبرنى, Thomas caustically remarks "that no one who had a flat nose or a mole on one side of his nose is likely to proclaim it to the world." (C. P. K. D. 90 and note). Vambéry is in favour of reading it as 'Meng-berdi,' 'Heaven-sent,' and rejects 'Mankburni,' because he is sure that it cannot mean anything else than 'sniveller' or 'snub-nosed.' (History of Bokhārā, 134 note). M. Houdas spells it as 'Mankubirti' in his edition of the text of Nasawi's Arabic biography of the Sultan and this is adopted in Houtsma. (E. I, I. 1004).

It may be therefore permissible to invite attention to a passage in which Minhāj seems to me to throw welcome light on the matter and provide the clue to a new and less unsatisfactory explanation. In his account of 'Izzu-d-dīn Kabīr Khān-i-Ayāz, he states that as that most renowned hero was known to and spoken of by the common people as *Ayāz-i-hāzār marda*, Sultan Shamsu-d-dīn Īltutmsh bestowed upon him the Turki title of *Mangīrni* (or *Mangbirni*), and that Ayāz became famous thereafter as Kabīr Khān-i-*Mangbirni*. (Ṭ.N. Text, 234, l. 10). This means that the Turki

Mangbirni (or *Mangīrni*) is synonymous with the Persian *Hazārmarda*, *i. e.*, a hero or paladin who was a match for a thousand braves. It is scarcely necessary to stress the fact that this is just the kind of elucidation that is wanted and which would meet the requirements of the case. It is certainly more appropriate than any of the others and it is just the sort of honorific title that we might expect Jalālu-d-dīn himself to assume, or his subjects to bestow upon their intrepid prince and the outside world to endorse with shouts of acclamation and approval.

'Haẓārmard' appears to have been a common title for a renowned *pahlwān* or warrior. Bilādūri mentions 'Umar son of Hafṣ, son of 'Uṣman-i-*Hazārmard* as Governor of Sind under the Khalīf Manṣūr. (E. D. I. 127, 445; Murgotten's Tr. II. 231; Duff, C. I. 67). In the *Siyāsatnāma* also, it is said of 'Ali Nūshtigīn who was a Sipahsālār of Maḥmūd of Ghazna, that he 'was a very great hero and regarded as a match for a thousand men'. او را با هزار مرد نهاده بودند (Pt. I. Ch. vi. p. 49, l. 3).

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III. 6, *l.* 3. *He [Rashīdu-d-dīn] follows 'Utbi implicitly ..... taking out not only the facts, but giving a literal translation even to the images and similes.*

The statement stands in need of qualification. Rashīd has not taken his account of Maḥmūd from the original Arabic of 'Utbi, but bodily conveyed to his own pages the Persian version of Jurbādhaqāni. The "literal translation of the images and similes," for which Sir H. Elliot gives him credit was made, in the first instance, by Jurbādhaqāni. Rashīd has merely appropriated it all without acknowledgment and ploughed with another man's heifer. (Barthold, Turkestan. Tr. 50). Mīrkhwānd also has pilfered entire passages almost word for word from the Persian *Tarjuma-i-Yamīni.* (Nāẓim, M.G. 10, 12, 171-3).

III. 21, *l.* 24 and foot note. *All at once an enemy ..... oppressed both Turks and Arabs.*

Dowson complains in the footnote that "the meaning of the words ترك و تازی سخت كرد is not obvious." But that is only because the copyist has interpolated the *wāv* or conjunction without warrant. The true reading must be ترك تازی سخت كرد, *i.e.* "plundered, ravaged, sacked, burnt and harried the country as the Turks were wont to do." The phrase is used by Minhāj. در مقابلهٔ سلطانان ترك تاز میكرد و علفچی لشكر را زحمت میداد, (T. N. 74, l. 6), which Raverty renders thus: "and in opposing the Sultans, used to make irregular attacks and harass the foragers of the Sultan's army." (Tr. 378). Niẓāmu-d-dīn Aḥmad says that after the death of Muḥammad Tughlaq مغولان و مفسدان تهتهٔ تركتازی میكردند. (T. A. 112, l. 5 f. f.). Elsewhere he quotes this couplet: بتاراج خود تركتازی كنی ـ كه گنجشك باشی و بازی كنی (264, l. 6 f. f.). Other examples will be found in the *Maāṣir-i-'Ālamgīri*, از بیم ترك تاز سپاه نصرت تلاش مفرّی جز قلعه بخیال باطلش در نیامد (286, l. 4 f. f.), *Maāṣiru-l-Umarā*, (B.I. Text), I. 419, l. 3 and Yazdi, *Ẓafarnāma*, (II. 122, l. 11).

Steingass says تركتاز or تركتازی means "a plundering excursion conducted with rapidity." It is, in fact, a lightning raid, marauding incursion or predatory foray in the Turk or Tātār style.

III. 24, *l.* 2. *Tazjiyatu-l-Amṣār wa Tajriyatu-l-Āṣār.*

Dowson gives the title as above and says it means 'A Ramble through Regions and the Passing of Ages,' but Rieu (B. M. Cat, I. 161) as well as Sachau and Ethé (Bodleian Cat. No. 147, Col. 84) and Muqtadir (Bānkīpur Cat. VI. *s. n.*) read it as تجزیة الامصار و ترجیه الاعصار *Tājzīyatu-l-Ạmṣār wa Tazjīyat-l-A'aṣār.* This has been translated by Sir Gore Ouseley as "Fates of Cities and Events of Ages," (Biographical Notices of the Persian Poets, 230). Dr. Barthold is in favour of rendering it as "Division of Provinces and Passing of the Times" (Turkestan, Tr. 48 note), and E. G. Browne of "Allotment of Lands and Propulsion of Ages." (L. H.

P. III. 67). All of them read it just as Rieu does.

III. 29, *l.* 11. *White amber is the dregs of its sea etc.*

'White amber,' also called 'Grey amber,' and 'grisamber' (Milton, Paradise Regained, II. l. 344) is the same as ambergris. Red Bakkam wood (l. 12) is known as Bresil, Brazil or Sappan wood. It is the wood of *Caesalpinia Sappan*, from which a ruddy dye was prepared. (Yule, H.J. *s. v.* Brazilwood). The "fragrant wood of Mandal" is Eagle-wood or Aloewood. Mandali is said by Abul Faẓl to be the specific designation of the best kind of aloewood. Other varieties which he mentions are 'Jabali, Samandūri, Qumāri, Qāquli, and Chīni (Chinese) or Qasmūri [*recte*, Fansūri, from Pansūr, a town in Sumātrā]. (*Āīn.* Tr. I. 80; see also Yule, H. J. 151).

III. 31, *l.* 8. *Siwālik contains 125,000 villages and Mālwā 1,893,000 towns and villages .....Gujarāt contains 70,000 villages and towns.*

These figures are staggering in their magnitude. But similarly inflated and absurd estimates are found in Hindu literature. In the 39th Chapter of the *Kumāra Khaṇḍa* of the *Skanda Purāṇa*, which appears to have been composed about the 10th century, the total number of villages in all India is given as 96 krors and 76 laks! India is there divided into 75 provinces and Mālwā is given 118,180, Sapādalaksha 125,000, and Gurjarāshṭrā 70,000 villages. (Vaidya, H. M. H. I. II. 39-40). It will be observed that exactly the same number is assigned to the province of Gujarāt by the Purāṇic writer and by Waṣṣāf. The coincidence is curious and worth noting. Waṣṣāf got it probably from Rashīdu-d-dīn, whose account of India was composed with the help of a Kashmīri hermit named Kamalashri (Barthold, *loc. cit.* 45). Another instance of similar exaggeration is found in the *Lokaprakāsha*. Here, the number of villages in Kashmīr is put down by Kshemendra — an author of repute who wrote about 1050 A.C.—as 66,063, whereas the actual number, according to the census of 1891, was only 2870. (Stein, J. A. S. B. 1899, p. 137 and note).

III. 36, *l.* 15. *Jāsi.....Banadri.....Hajnīr.*

'Jāsi' is a manifest misreading of 'Ḥānsi', but it is not easy to say whether 'Banadri' stands for 'Indri' near Karnāl town (Lat. 29°-53′ N., Long. 77°-5′ E.), or Pundri in Kaithal. Indri is frequently mentioned in the historical literature. (E. D. IV. 28, 242; V. 485). Indri was included in Sarkār Sahāranpur and Pundri in Sarkār Sirhind in Akbar's rent-roll. (*Āīn.* Tr. II 291, 295). Pundri is now in the Kaithal taḥṣīl of Karnāl district, and is in Lat. 29°-46′ N., Long. 76°-34′ E. (I. G. XX. 244). It was one of the strongholds of the Pundīr Rajputs who held Thānesar and Nardak. (*Ibid*). For Ḥajnīr see my note on I. 62, l. 10.

III. 49, *l.* 6. *He ['Alāu-d-dīn] despatched Malik Nabū, Zafar Khān and Nānak Hindi .....to conquer ....Telingāna.*

'Malik Nabū' must be Malik Nāib Kāfūr. 'Nabu' was probably the familiar or short form of 'Nāib' and the name by which he was addressed

by 'Alāu-d-dīn Khāljī. Waṣṣāf's summary of Dehli history is, as Dowson notes, of little value and the insertion of Ẓafar Khān's name here is an anachronism, as he had been killed several years before in repelling Qutlugh Khwāja's invasion of 697 H. 'Nānak Hindi' may be a miswriting of Malik (نایك) *Nāyak* [Ākhūrbak], who is said by Barani (320, l. 12), Ṭ. A. (80, l. 12), and Amīr Khusrau (72 *infra*,) to have been sent by 'Alāu-d-dīn to repel the invasion of 'Ali Beg and Turtāq. But he is not mentioned by any historian in connection with the invasion of Telingāna or the Dekkan. Kāfūr's colleague in that compaign was Naṣīru-l-mulk Khwāja Ḥājji,who may have been a Hindu convert, as he is called Panchami by Khusrau in the *'Ashīqa.* (551-2 *infra*). The prefix 'Nāyak' probably accounts for his being styled 'Hindi' by Waṣṣāf. Pancham Singh is a Hindu name even now.

III. 50, *l.* 6. *He [the Rāi of Madūra] delivered up to Malik Kāfūr the country of Arīkanna, as a proof of his allegiance.*

The addition of a single dot to the fifth letter of the toponym would turn it into 'Arikatta,' [Arkāṭ or Arcot]. It may have been the Arcot near Vellore, where Clive first burst into fame. But Yule (H. J. *s. v.* Arcot) points out that there is another town of the same name, which is in Tānjore. Ibn Baṭūṭa speaks of a place called 'Harkātu,' which he reached on the first evening of his march inland after landing from Ceylon some where on the shallow coast of Madūra or Tānjore (Defrémery, IV. 187-8). There are several other places also called Arkāṭ.

III. 52, *l.* 7 from foot. *Every crore being equal to a thousand laks.*

Dowson suggests, with a view to exculpate Waṣṣāf from a palpable error, that کرور is a copyist's slip and that we should accept the variant, کوزه, *Kūza*, which may, he thinks, signify 'a capacious earthen vessel calculated to contain a hundred lacs.' But this is very far-fetched and will not bear examination. Waṣṣāf had no knowledge of the Indian vernaculars and there is no reason for being surprised at his misconception of the meaning of the Hindi *Kror*. Several otherwise well-informed European travellers of the seventeenth century can be charged with even more egregious blundering in regard to this identical word. Tavernier who visited India five or six times in 25 years (1642-1667) says that "a Kraur is equal to *one hundred thousand laks*" (Travels, Tr. Ball, I. 28) and exactly the same mistake is found in his contemporary, Thevenot (Voyages, Eng. Tr. of 1687, p. 52), as well as in the English chaplain Ovington. (Voyage to Suratt, Ed. 1696, p. 189).

A simple calculation will suffice to prove that Dowson's special pleading is futile. A thousand *laks* of coins would weigh 1000,000,000 grains, even if each coin was so small as to weigh only 10 grains. No potter could possibly make an *earthen jar* capable of holding and standing the weight of thirty five hundred maunds of forty pounds each.

III. 53, *l.* 12 from foot. *He conveyed some of the royal treasures . . . . .*

to the city of Mankūl.

Dowson suggests in a note that this may be Namkūl or Ṇamakkal, but Dr. Aiyangar objects that it is too "far out for the purpose." He thinks the name stands for some place called 'Mangalam'. Unluckily, there are at least three places so called near Madura, Mela (Upper) Mangalam, Kila (Lower) Mangalam on the Western Ghats and Mangalam in the Sattur *taluqa*. Any one of these, he opines, may have been the 'Mankūl' to which Sundara Pāṇḍya marched after murdering his father. But as he admits his inability to choose between these three and determine the locality, we are no nearer a solution. (South India and Her Muhammadan Invaders, 97 and Note; see also his Introduction to the *Khazāinu-l-Futūḥ*, Tr. Prof. Ḥabīb. p. xxxvii).

III. 54, *l.* **1.** *Manār Barmūl, the son of the daughter of Kales Dewar ..... being at that time at Karāmhati near Kalūl (Kārūr).*

This name is not easily restored. The Rājā referred to may be Ravivarman Kulashékharadeva *Perumāl* of Kerala. He is stated to have been born about 1266 A.C. (1188 Shaka), to have married a Pāṇḍyan princess, taken possession of Kerala in 1299 A. C. and proclaimed himself Lord Paramount in 1312 after inflicting a defeat upon a Pāṇḍya prince named Vīra (Duff. C. I. 203 *apud* Epig. Ind. IV. 145, 148). Waṣṣāf's 'Barmūl' looks like a miswriting of 'Perumal,' the dynastic title of the Kings of Kerala. But 'Manār' may be 'Māra' or 'Manār Barmūl' may be *Mārabarman* [Māravarman].

III. 59, *l.* **6.** *And after him Tadar Jaipāl, who was killed 412 Hijri (1021 A.D.)*

It will be seen from this that Banākati (or Fanākati) has understood Alberūni's statement about Trilochanapāla in the same way as Reinaud and Sachau. He has read the word which is responsible for the error as قتل and not قيل. See my note on E. D. II. 12. It is also clear that Banākati's تدرجيپال is an error for تروجنپال, Tarojanpāl, and this may countenance the suggestion that the name which has been deciphered as Braḥmanpāl (برحمنپال) is a mistranscription of ترجنپال (Tarjīnpal). No such name as Braḥmanpāl occurs in Jurbadhaqāni or any of the other Arabic or Persian histories of Maḥmūd.

III. 63, *l.* **1.** *His [Maḥmūd's] features were very ugly.*

Ḥamdulla's own words are بصورت كريه الملقا بود (*Tār. Guz.* 395, l. 8). But F. who has copied the story puts it more mildly. سلطان از حسن وجمالِ ظاهری عاری بود (I. 22, l. 2 f. f.). "The Sultan [Maḥmūd] was devoid of outward (or physical) beauty and grace." In the *Siyāsatnāma* of Niẓāmu-l-mulk, which was completed in 485 H. (1092-3 A.C.), and appears to be the earliest source of this anecdote, all that is said is that روی نیکو نبود 'he had not a handsome face.' (Ed. Schefer, 44; Bombay Lith. Pt. i. p. 49, l. 9). Dr. Nāẓim repudiates the insinuation that Maḥmūd was ugly and quotes from Ibnu-l-Athīr's *Kāmilu-t-Tawārīkh* (VIII. 284), a passage in which that author

states that he had "a fine complexion, handsome face, small eyes and a firm round chin covered with a scanty beard." (M. G. 151 Note).

III. 64, *l.* **8.** *It is a rule among the Hindus that a King who has been* twice *made prisoner by Musulmāns ought no longer to reign.*

This 'twice' appears to be an interpolation or embellishment of Ḥamdulla's. It has been copied by Firishta. (I. 24, l. 12). But all that 'Utbi says is, 'If any (king) is taken prisoner by an enemy, ... it is not lawful for him to continue to reign". (E.D. II. 27).

III. 69, *l.* **14.** *His* ['*Alāu-d-īn's*] *accession to the throne on the 16th of Ramazān, 695 H. (July 1296).*

In the 'Alīgarh Lithographed text of the *Khazāin* edited by Syed M'uīnu-l-Ḥaq, the 16th of Ramaẓān is said to have been a Wednesday and 22nd Ẕi-l-ḥijja, 695 H., on which he "again mounted the throne" is stated to have been a Monday (p. 11, l. 10; 12, l. 10; Tr. Ḥabīb, 6, 7). 16th Ramaẓān, 695 H., *was* Wednesday, 18th July, 1296 A. C., but 22nd Ẕi-l-ḥijja (Ḥisābi) was Sunday, 21st October, 1296 A.C. The discrepancy regarding the week day is not material. 'Alāu-d-dīn must have reached Dehli on the 22nd *Hilāli* or *Ruyyat* = 22nd October, 1296 A. C., which was a Monday.

III. 71, *l.* **9.** [*Ulugh*] *Khān sped swift as an arrow . . . until he reached the borders of Jāran Manjhūr, the field of action.*

These toponyms have not been identified, although the names are written in much the same way in the *'Ashīqa*, ('Alīgarh Text, p. 60, l. 1), the *Tārīkh-i-Mubārakshāhi* (Text, 72, l. 10), the Ṭ. A. (69, l. 10) and B. (I. 184, Tr. 249).

Some confusion has been introduced by an error in the B. I. Text of Barani, where 'Jālandhar' has been substituted (250, l. 11), but it may be safely dismissed as the interpolation of some ignorant scribe, though Dowson has followed it. (162 *infra*). He notes, however, that the Mss. have 'Jādawa wa Manjūr' and 'Jārat-mahūd'. It stands out clearly from the original that the battle took place *close to the banks of the Sutlej*. Amīr Khusrau tells us that Ulugh Khān "ordered the standard-bearers to bind their standards to their backs; . . . . . *they turned their faces towards the Sutlej and without the aid of boats, they swam over the river*, striking out their hands like oars impelling a boat. The Mughals seemed very brave before the victorious army had plunged into the river; but when the wave of Muslim troops reached the middle of the stream, they gave way. . . . . and fled desperately." (Trans. 23; Text 36, last line). This means that the struggle between the two hosts centred round the passage of the river and the invaders were routed because the Dehli army was able to force it.

I venture to suggest that جاندهر is an error for جاچهور *Machhūr* [Machhwar] or جاچهور *Mechhūr*, [Mechhiwar], *i. e.* Machiwāra or Machhiwāra, which lies 27 miles east of Ludhiāna.

It is a very old town and now lies "about four miles from the left bank of the Sutlej which formerly [*i. e.* before 1800 A. C.] flowed close to the town." (Thornton, 573). Its situation on the river has always made it a place of strategic importance and it was Humāyūn's crushing defeat of Sikandar Sūr at Machhiwāra which enabled him to reconquer the Punjāb. 'Alīwāl also, where the battle which decided the First Sikh War took place, lies about forty miles west of Machhiwāra.

'Jāran Manjhūr' is once more mentioned in the *Tār. Mub.* in connection with a later Mongol invasion of the Punjāb. In the Chronicle of the year 834 H., the author says that Shaikh 'Ali, the governor of Kābul, crossed the Sutlej at Tirhāra, made the inhabitants of the whole district *from Jālandhar to Jāran Manjhūr* his prisoners and returned along the banks of the Biah." (*Bibl. Ind.* Text, 218, l. 4). Elsewhere, he states that in 753 H. Sultan Firūz Tūghlaq went out for *Shikār* in Manjhūr. (*Ibid*, 124, l. 1).

'Jāran' may be the town of 'Jāgraon' جاگرن which lies 22 miles south-west of Ludhiāna. (Constable 25 A b). A village called 'Chāhlan' or 'Chālan,' also lies about ten miles from Machhiwāra.

An alternative identification is also possible. 'Jāran' may be 'Zīra' and Manjhūr 'Makhū,' (Constable 35 A b; I. G. Atlas, 32 D 2) in Firūzpur district, but the phonetic resemblance between the names seems slight.

III. 71, *l.* 17. *Some Mughals were captured on Thursday, the 22nd of Rabī'u-l-Ākhīr in the year 695 H.*

The year is palpably wrong. In the Text (37, l. 4) and new Translation (p. 23), the date is given as Thursday, 22nd Rabī'ū-l-Akhīr, 697 H. The Julian correspondence of this date, 6th February 1298 A. C. *was*, according to the Indian Ephemeris, a *Thursday*. Barani (249, l. 1 f. f.), the Ṭ. A. (69, l. 10) and F. (I. 102, l. 18) put this invasion into the 2nd year year of the reign, *i.e.* 696-7 H. The correct year must be 697 H. 22nd Rab'i II. 695 is impossible, as 'Alāu-d-dīn murdered his uncle four months later, in the Ramazān of that year.

III. 72, *l.* 14 from foot. *Malik Akhīr Beg, Mubashara.*

The reading of the sobriquet in the 'Aligarh text is Malik Akhurbak-i-*Maisara*, Master of the Horse of the Left [Wing] (Text. 41, l. 1; Tr. 26), which may be correct, as Barani in his list of Sultan Firūz Tughlaq's grandees mentions a *Sar-salāḥdār-i-Maisara*, and a *Sarjāndār-i-Maisara*, as well as a *Sar-salāḥdār-i-Maimana* and a *Sarjāndār-i-Maimana*. (527, ll. 14-16). We also learn that Ṣafdar Malik Sultāni was *Ākhurbak-i-Maisara* under Muḥammad Tughlaq (*Ibid*, 454, l. 12), while Haibat Khān had occupied the same post under Balban. (24, l. 10). Amīr Khusrau also mentions a *Qarā Beg-i-Maisara*. (Kh. F. Text 96, l. 5, Tr. Ḥabib. 65).

III. 72, *l.* 10 from foot. *He obtained victory over them [Turtāk and 'Ali Beg] on the 12th of Jumāda-s-sāni, A. H. 705.*

The week-day is not given by Elliot, but it is stated to have been Thursday in the Lithograph, (p. 41, l. 7; Tr. 27) and it is correct. The Julian date was 30th December, 1305 A. C.

III. 74, *l.* 1. *Invasion under Iqbāl Mudbir and Mudābir Tāi Balwi.*

The first name appears in the *'Ashīqa* also as Iqbāl-i-*mudbir*, (Text, 62, l. 1) and Elliot himself renders it as 'Ikbāl the stubborn,' at 548 *infra*. Barani calls him Iqbālmand, which literally means 'fortunate' or 'lucky.' The fact is that Khusrau is punning upon the name. He abuses him as *Iqbāl-i-Mudbir*, 'Iqbal the Unlucky.' So the name of the second leader is written as *Mudābir Tāi Balwi*. 'Mudābir' signifies 'one who turns his back or runs away in a battle', *i. e.* a coward. Elliot's *Tāi Balwi* is, as I shall presently show, a misreading of *T'ābūi*.

Persian authors are inordinately fond of antithetical jingles upon words. Budāuni, for instance, speaks of Mallū Iqbāl Khān, who betrayed Nāṣiru-d-dīn Naṣrat Shāh and was afterwards defeated and slain by Khiẓr Khān, as 'Iqbāl Khān-i-*Mudbir*.' (Tr. I. 268). Niẓāmu-d-dīn Aḥmad also puns upon the name of M'aṣūm Kābuli and calls him M'aṣūm-i-*Āṣi*. 'M'aṣūm' means 'sinless' and 'Āṣi' means 'sinful.' (E.D.V. 415). Similarly, Yazdi describes the commander of the fort of Loni whose name was Maimūn (Auspicious), as *Maimūn-i-Maishūm* (Maimūn the Ill-omened). (*Ẓafarnāma*. II. 86, l. 11; 495 *infra*). Elsewhere, Yazdi says that a Rājā whose name was *Bahrūz* (Fortunate) was really *Badrūz* (Unfortunate). (*Ibid.* Text. II. 151, l. 4 f. f.). He speaks of Nuṣrat Khokhar, as نصرت نام نکبت فرجام (II.57, l.5 f. f.). Barani also uses the phrases چند مدبر دیگر and چند مدبری (543 last line; 545, l. 9).

The name of the second leader of this invasion is read as 'Tāi Balwi' in Elliot's translation, but the correct form is 'Tābūī' or 'Tibūi' [تابوی or تیبوی] and this is proved by the following couplets in which Amīr Khusrau plays upon the name:

یکی تابو دیگر اقبالِ مدبر کبک سیوم برزم و کین مدبّر
بدستوری که حضرت راند دستور معظم بیضهٔ اسلام کافور
بدان تابوی آن تابوی مردار چنان بوشد که بیرون ندهد آثار

(Text, p. 62). "One was Tābū, another Iqbāl the Unlucky, the third Kapak, skilled in war and vengeance. According to custom, His Majesty ordered the great glory of Islām, Kāfūr [Camphor], to scatter the stench of the carrion Tābū, so that [*tā*] no trace of it might remain outside." He is called in the Text, Mudābir Tāibū (45, l. 3 f. f.) and the right reading is Tābūi or Tībū. تبو or *Tibū* in Elliot's Translation at 548, 546 *infra* is also wrong.

III. 74, *l.* 20. *The Sultān despatched Ulugh Khān for.....the destruction of Somnāth on 20th Jumāda-l-awwal 698 H.*

Here again the 'Alīgarh Text differs from Elliot's. The date it gives is Wednesday, 20th Jumādī-l-awwal, 699 H. (Text. 50, l. 8; Ḥabīb's Tr. p. 35). The invasion of Gujarāt is put by Barani (251, l. 10) and the Ṭ. A.

(69, l. 17) into the beginning of the 3rd year (697-8 H.). F. gives 697 (I. 103, l. 1), but B. has 698 (I. 189=Tr. I. 255). 20th Jumādīu-l-awwal, 698, was Monday, 23rd February, 1299; 20th Jumādīu-l-awwal, 699=Friday, 12th February, 1300. But 20th Jumādīu-l-awwal, 697, *was* Wednesday, 5th March, 1298. This would indicate that 697 is the right reading. 699 must be due to the usual confusion between سبع and تسع in the Semitic script. Ḥājji Dabīr has 697 H. (Ẓ. W. 784, l. 18).

III. 75, *l.* **4 from foot.** *On the....3rd of Zī-l-K'ada A. H. 700, this strong fort [Ranthambhor] was taken.*

This date, 3rd Ẕī-l-q'ad, 700 H., corresponds to 10th [or 11th July], 1301 A. C. According to the *Hammīra Mahā Kāvya*, the fortress was stormed on a day in Shrāvaṇ of the 18th year of Hammīra, whose reign is stated to have commenced in V. S. 1340=1283 A. C. (Ed. Kirtane, Introd. 27; 47). It appears from the Tables in Pillai's Hindu Chronology, that 1st Shrāvaṇ *Amānta* (as well as *Purṇimānta*), 1358 V. S., corresponded to Thursday, 6th July, 1301 A.C. The month and year given by the author of the *Kāvya* thus seem to be correct and the stronghold must have been stormed on the 5th (or 6th) of Shrāvaṇ, 1358 V. S. The week-day is not stated in Elliot's translation, but it is given as Tuesday in the Text, (58, l. 8; Tr. 41). Calculation shows that 10th July, 1301 A. C., fell on a Monday. The discrepancy indicates that Khusrau's 3rd is again 3rd *Ruyyat*. If the week-day is right, the real date was the 11th of July.

III. 76, *l.* **2.** *The temple of Bāhīr Deo, and the temples of other gods, were all razed to the ground.*

اول بتخانهٔ باهر دیو که باهر دیو بدان استعانت داشت بشکست ; 'Alīgarh Text 58, last line. This may mean that the temple was dedicated to Bhairava Deva, *i. e.* to Shiva or to Bhairava, one of the 'gaṇas' or inferior manifestations of Shiva or Mahādeva. Abul Faẓl says that there was an idol eighteen cubits high of Kāla Bhairav in the fortress of Kālinjar, (*Āīn*, Tr. II. 159) and this idol still exists there. (Hunter, Imp. Gaz. III. 336). 'Bhairava' literally means 'terrible' and is one of the epithets of Shiva himself, as Bhairavi is that of his wife. (Dowson, Dictionary of Hindu Mythology, *s. n.*). Shiva is also called Mahākāla. But 'Bhairava' does not much resemble 'Bāhir.' Khusrau, who was well acquainted with Hindi, is not likely to have spelt it as باهر. Another explanation, therefore, *may be* that the temple had been founded by Bāhir Deo, who was Rājā of Ranthambhor, during the reign of Sultān Nāṣiru-d-dīn Maḥmūd, (Ṭ. N. in E. D. II. 367, 370. Text. 292, l. 2 f.f.; 299, l. 8), for imploring aid from the gods. The *Hammīra Mahā Kāvya* states that Bāhaḍ Deva or Vāgbhaṭa was succeeded by his son Jaitra Sinha who abdicated in favour of his son, Hammīra, in or about 1340 V. S. (1283 A. C.). (Kirtane's Introd. 26-7).

III. 76, *l.* **5.** *Rāi Mahlak Deo, of Mālwa and Kokā his Pardhān.*

Ḥājji Dabīr also gives the name of the Rājā as Mihlak Deo. (Ẓ. W. 788, l. 12). F. (I. 115, l. 4) asserts that Koka was the King of Mālwā, but Waṣṣāf agrees with Khusrau. He informs us that the country was in a

state of civil war on account of the intrigues of an over-ambitious minister who aspired to supreme power. Melaga or Megala (Mekala, or Mokala) is a name which occurs in the inscriptions of the Chuḍāsammā rulers of Junāgaḍh. (B. G. VIII. 488, 498; Burgess, A. S. W. I., II. 164; Duff. C. I. 284). F. is followed in the C. H. I. (III. 111), and the Rājā is spoken of there as Koka or 'Haranand.' Khusrau is most probably right in stating that Koka was his *Pradhān*, or *Wazīr*, as he says in the '*Ashīqa*. (550 *infra*).

III. 76, *l.* 6 from foot. *This event [the conquest of Mālwā] occurred on Thursday, the 5th of Jumāda-l-awwal A. H. 705.*

Dowson throws doubt on the accuracy of this date and avers that it must be either wrong or "the event taken out of chronological order." But Khusrau narrates the events in groups and not in the *strict* sequence of time. The 'Alīgarh Lith. is in agreement with Elliot's Ms. (Text 63, l. 13; Tr. 46). 5th Jumādi I. (*Ḥisābi*), 705 H., corresponded with Tuesday, 23rd November, 1305 A. C.

B. puts the conquest into 700 H. (I. 196,=Tr. I. 264). F. (I. 115, l. 5) gives 10th Jumādiu-l-awwal, 704 H. Ḥājji Dabīr says Mandū was taken on Wednesday, the 2nd of Jumādi I. 705. (788, l. 13). The C. H. I. (p. 111) gives 9th December, 1305 H., which synchronises with 21st Jumādi I. 705. Sir Wolseley Haig has taken the year from Khusrau, but miscalculated the Julian correspondence.

III. 76, last line. *On Monday, the 8th Jumāda-s-sāni 702 H.....the army started with a view to the capture of Chitor.*

The Julian equivalent, 28th January 1303, *was* a Monday.

III. 77, *l.* 3. *The fort [Chitor] was taken on Monday, the 11th of Muharram A. H. 703.*

11th Muḥarram, 703 H. (*Ḥisābi*), corresponded to Sunday, 25th August, 1303 A. C. Khusrau seems to have again given the *Ruyyat* date, and if Monday is right, the exact Julian correspondence must be 26th August, 1303 A. C.

III. 77, *l.* 8 from foot. *He [Kāfūr] arrived there [at Deogīr] on Saturday, the 19th of Ramazān A. H. 706.*

The Ḥisābi or Book-rule date synchronised with 24th March, 1307 A. C. and was a Friday. This again proves that Khusrau's reckoning is in accordance with the *Hilāli* or *Ruyyat* method. As the week-day is most probably correct, the Julian equivalent must be the 25th of March, 1307.

III. 78, *l.* 4. *On Wednesday, the 13th of Muharram, A. H. 708,..... the king set out on his expedition against Siwāna.*

Ḥājji Dabīr gives the identical date and year, (788, l. 20), and the 'Alīgar'ī Text is in agreement with Elliot's Ms. (p. 74, l. 8), though the year is 710 H. in the Translation (p. 53). But it is again stated that "the dead body of the savage Satal Deo was brought before the lions of the imperial threshold" on Tuesday, the 23rd of Rab'iu-l-awwal, 708 H. (p. 77, l. 12).

13th Muḥarram, 708 H., was Wednesday, 3rd July, 1308 A. C. 23rd Rabʿiul-l-awwal, 708 H, was Tuesday, 10th September, 1308 A. C. This calculation proves that 708 is right and 710 H. wrong. The compiler of the *Tārīkh-i-Alfi*, who has used Khusrau's, work, also gives 698 *Riḥlat* (= 708 Hijri). (E. D. V. 166).

F. (I. 118, l. 11) puts it into 706 and the T.M. (78, l. 5) and B. (I. 196= Tr. 264), into 700 H., which shows how unreliable the chronology of these compilers is.

III. 78, *l.* **11.** *Malik Kamālu-d-dīn Garg.*

The sobriquet is transliterated here as 'Garg'. Ranking has 'Kark' (B. Tr. I. 265, 267) and 'Garg,' (*Ib.* 282), while Sir Denison Ross writes 'Kurg.' (Z. W., Index, lxi). 'Karg' means 'rhinoceros' and 'Kurag,' 'a head rendered bald by the disease called scald head.' The correct form is really 'Gurg' (wolf). Khusrau puns on the by-name and says that Kamālu-d-dīn "excelled in killing lions as much as the *wolf* excels in killing sheep." (Text, 76, l. 2; Tr. 54). Elsewhere, he writes that "'Alāu-d-dīn, the just protector of his subjects, entrusted the flocks to the 'Wolf,' in order that he might guard the young she-goats from the thorns of his territory." (Text, 78, l. 5; *Ibid.* 55).

This word-play indicates that the nick-name was 'Gurg'. *Kark*, *Garg* and '*Kurg*' are all demonstrably erroneous. Ibn Baṭūṭa, who was personally acquainted with Kamālu-d-dīn's son, Malik Hūshang, explicitly states that the sobriquet 'Gurg' signifies 'Wolf'. (Defrémery, III. 143, 144, 335). This settles the matter. This Malik Hūshang is mentioned at 619 *infra*, as having rebelled and fled to the infidel Prince Burabrah, whom I have identified with the Koli Chief of Jawhār in Ṭhāṇā district. Hūshang's revolt is mentioned also in the *Tārīkh-i-Mubārakshāhi*. (Text, 106, l. 8).

III. 78, *l.* **7 from foot.** *The army.....arrived at Masʿūdpur, so called after the son of King Masʿūd.*

The derivation is philologically impossible and there must be some error or inadvertence. Masʿūdpur can only mean 'City of Masʿūd' and the town was named, most probably, after Sultan 'Alāu-d-dīn Masʿūd, the son of Īltutmish, and not after his son. There must have been some confusion in the mind of the author as regards the meaning of 'pūr'. It signifies 'son' in Persian, but it seems absurd to foist any such meaning upon the word, when it occurs as a suffix in the name of a town in Hindustān. But the fault may lie with the Text.

III. 79, *l.* **1.** *The army crossed the five rivers, the Jūn, the Chambal, the Kunwāri, the Niyās and Bahūji.*

Elliot notes that the name of the fourth river can be also read as 'Bambās' and surmises that "the Niyās and the Bahūji must be the rivers now known as the Sind and the Betwa." He makes no attempt to restore the true readings, but this can be done, as *two very similar names, Niwāj* and *Pahūj*, are found in our Gazetteers. Thornton tells us that the *Niwāj* is

one of the tributaries of the Kāli Sind, the two streams meeting 35 miles below the Mukundra Pass. (Gaz. 479, 524). The Chambal is a tributary of the Jamnā. The Kunwāri (*Ib.* 514), *Niwāj* and *Pahūj* are all branches of the Sind which itself is an affluent of and falls into the Chambal. The Pahūj rises in a lake about twenty miles south-west of Jhānsi in Lat. 25°-18′ N., Long. 78°-25′ E. and falls into the Sind. It is crossed by ford on the route from Gwālior to Kālpi in Lat. 26°-6′ N., Long. 79°-5′ E. (Gaz. *s. v.* Pohooj, p. 771).

According to the Imp. Gaz., the Pahūj and the Betwa are both tributaries of the Jumna. The Pahūj runs from south to north, while the Betwa flows from west to east. (XIV. 17-8). The two rivers are in fact sister-streams and not unlikely to be confused with each other.

Elliot and Dr. Ayyangar can make nothing of the name 'Bahūji' and suggest that it must be an error, as the Betwa is the river that is meant. Dr. Ayyangar even seeks to explain it away by the supposition that the "Betwa was perhaps known as the Bhoji in Khusrau's day, because it was by damming the upper course of the river that the great Bhojpūr lake near Bhopāl had been formed." (Kh. F. Introd. xxiv). As there is no evidence in support of the conjecture, the more probable conclusion must be that Khusrau *meant to write* 'Pahūj.' The designations by which rivers are known to the common people are often discrepant, the same river is known by different names in different parts of its course and the tributary is sometimes confused with the principal stream or *vice versa*. Khusrau had no personal acquaintance with this part of the country, and had no special qualifications as a geographer. His topography is not always in exact accordance with facts, and he seems to have mixed up the names of rivers. When everything is considered, it seems that his 'Niyās' is *meant for* the 'Niwāj' and his 'Bahūji' *intended* for the 'Pahūj.'

III. 79, *l.* 3. *They arrived at Sultānpur, commonly called Irijpur, where the army halted four days.*

This Irijpur is an unsolved puzzle. I venture to suggest that it is Irich. It is a place of considerable antiquity and its geographical situation is such as to give it great military importance. Thornton says that it "lies at a strategic point and the British army under the Marquis of Hastings was encamped here in 1817, when it advanced on Gwalior to intimidate Scindia. It lies on the southern bank of the Betwa, on the road from Saugor to Gwalior and is sixty five miles south-east of the latter. Its former consequence and possession of a large Musalman population are manifested by the numerous mausoleums surmounted by domes around it." (Gaz. *s.n.* Erich or Irej). It is mentioned by Barani (523, l. 14), Shams-i-Sirāj (T. F. 237 last line), the Emperor Bābur (B. N. Tr. 590) and also in the Continuation of the A. N. (E. D. VI. 108) and the *Bād. Nām.* (*Ib.* VII. 7). Dr. Ayyangar, misled probably by a guess or gloss of Firishta's, identified it at first with Ellichpur (S. I. M. I. p. 88), but he has since abandoned the opinion, and now proposes to locate it somewhere near Bhilsā and Bhopāl,

"a little more to the north than Bhilsā, a good deal less to the south than Bhopāl." (Kh. F. Tr. Introd. xxv.) But this is too vague to be satisfactory or helpful. He thinks that the last of the five rivers crossed by the army, the Bhoji or Bahūji, the river which was passed just before reaching Irijpur, must be the Betwa. (*l.c.* xxiv). Now *Irach is situated on the Betwa*. The fact is most significant in this connection and clearly indicates that Irijpur may be located with much greater certainty at Irach. The close phonetic resemblance also is in favour of the identification.

It may be also observed that Bhīlsā and Bhopāl take us much more to the south than is warranted by Khusrau's directions. He informs us that Irijpur was reached after fifteen marches in all—9 from Dehli to Mas'ūdpūr and 6 from Mas'ūdpūr to Irijpūr. As a day's march is reckoned by Dr. Ayyangar himself at about 15 miles, this means that Irijpur was about 225 miles southwards of Dehli. Now,

Dehli is in Lat. 28°-38′ N., Long. 77°-12′ E.
Bhopāl in Lat. 23°-16′ N., Long. 77°-36′ E.
Bhilsā in Lat. 23°-32′ N., Long. 77°-51′ E.

There is thus a difference of about $5\frac{1}{10}$ degrees of Latitude between Dehli and Bhilsā, *i. e.* a *map-distance* of about 360 miles, at least, at $69\frac{1}{2}$ miles to a degree of Latitude—which is considerably in excess of 225. If the difference in Longitude also is taken into account, it would be nearer 400 than 360. On the other hand, Irijpur is in Lat. 25°-47′ N., Long. 79°-9′ E. The difference in Latitude is nine minutes short of three degrees, *i. e.*, about 200 miles, that in Longitude $1\frac{2}{10}$ degrees, that is, about 120 miles or about 235 miles altogether, as the crow flies. Again, as Irich is 65 miles south-east of Gwālior and as Gwālior is 175 miles south from Dehli, the total distance of Irich from Dehli works out at about 240 miles.

Dr. Ayyangar is sure that Irijpur was somewhere near Chanderi, where a muster of the army was held according to Barani. Indeed, he suggests that the four days' halt at Irijpur which is recorded in Khusrau's itinerary was probably made for this muster or review. Now Chanderi and Irich are in fairly close proximity to each other. Irich lies 65 miles south-east and Chanderi 105 miles south of Gwālior (Th). Chanderi and Irich are bracketed together by Barani in his list of 'Alāu-d-dīn's territories. (Text, 323, l. 14). Shams also mentions Mahoba, Irich and Chanderi in juxtaposition. (*T.F.* Text, 237 last line).

III. 79, *l.* **4.** *Thirteen days* [*after leaving Irijpur*].....*they arrived at Khandhār.*

The name is written 'Khāndā' in the Lith. (82, l. 5; Tr. 58), and phonetic resemblance points to Khandwa, which is a very old town and supposed to be mentioned by Alberūni also in one of his itineraries. (E. D. I. 60. *q.v.* my note). Dr. Ayyangar was at one time disposed to identify it with Khandhār, somewhere north of Bīdar in the Deccan, (S. I. M. I. 89), but his second thoughts incline towards Khandwa. (Kh. F. Introd. xxv). The difficulty is that the context which follows clearly

indicates that the Narmadā was crossed *after* and not *before* 'Khāndā' was reached. The army is said to have arrived there on the 1st of Rajab, halted for fourteen days, and "advanced again." It then "passed through torrents and water courses ..... Every day it arrived at a new river. There were means of crossing all the rivers, but the Nerbadda was such that you might say that it was a remnant of the universal deluge." (See also Ḥabīb's Tr. 58.) This seems to invalidate the proposed identification, as Khandwa is several miles *south* and not north of the Narmadā.

III. 79, last line. *They arrived at a place within the borders of Bijānagar, which was pointed out as containing a diamond mine. It was in a Doāb, one river being the Yashar, the other Barūji.*

'Basīrāgarh' in the Lith. (87, l. 2; Tr. 60), where the rivers are called 'Yashahar' and 'Būji,' but it is noted that 'Yashahar' may be read also as 'Bishnahr' or 'Yasnahr.' (*Ibid.*). There can be little or no doubt that 'Basīrāgarh' is a misreading of 'Baīrāgarh', *i. e.* Wairāgarh. It is now in the Garh-Chiroli taḥṣīl of Chānda district, C. P., and is situated very close to the left bank of the Wain Gangā on a tributary of that river, called the Kobrāgarhi, about 80 miles south-east of Nāgpur, Lat. 20°-27′ N., Long. 80°-10′ E. Constable, 32 B a.

The diamond-mine of Wairāgarh is mentioned by Firishta, who says it was in the Kallam district, which was conquered by Aḥmad Shāh Wali Bahmani from the Rajā of Gondwāra, to whom it then belonged. (I. 323, l. 4). Garcia da Orta also was not ignorant of its existence. (Ball, Tr. Tavernier, II. 452, 460). Abul Faẓl, too, states that Bairāgarh had a diamond mine and that the Gond Rajā of Chāndā, named Babjeo, had wrested it only a short time before he wrote, (1595 A. C.) from another chief. (*Āīn.* Tr. II. 230).

The names of the rivers which formed the Duāb or *interamnia* are manifestly corrupt. A *possible* restoration of بروجی is بردحی, Bardahi or Bardahā, *i. e.* the Wardhā. Yashar looks like a mistranscription of یین Baīn [or Waīn]. 'Bishnahr' may be read as پشنهی Pashnahi. The old Hindu name of the Wain-Gangā was Payoshni. (*Bhāgvata Purāṇa*, V. xix. 17).

III. 80, *l.* 4. *He arrived at the fort of Sarbar, which is considered among the provinces of Tilang.*

Sarbar must be Sirpur-Tāndur, now in 'Ādilābād district, Ḥaidarābād State. Constable's Atlas, Pl. 32 A b. In the corresponding passage of his History, F. states that Kāfūr halted at Indūr (now called Niẓāmābād), on the borders of Tilang, (I. 119, l. 4) and the statement is repeated in the C.H.I. (III. 115), but it does not seem to be correct. Warangal lies due south of Sirpur, Indūr lies south-west of it and a march from Sirpur to Warangal *via* Indūr would have been an unnecessary *detour*. Sirpur was, at one time, a place of much greater importance than it is now. It was the capital of the Southern Gond Kingdom before

Ballālpūr. Ballālpūr was superseded by Chāndā, after which place, the kingdom itself came to be called and it is always mentioned under that name in the Mughal histories.

III. 80, *l.* 23. *On the 14th of the month [Sh'abān], they arrived at Kūnarpal.*

Kūnarbal in the Lith. (90, l. 5). Dr. Ayyangar is of the opinion that this place was *in close proximity* to Warangal and must be the village named Kunar, a little to the S. S. W. of that town. (*l.c.* xxviii). But there is no such implication in Khusrau's own words. All that he says is that a reconnoitring party was despatched from Kūnarpal to Hannamkonda. Nothing is said about the distance and the place meant may be Gūrapalli in the district of Elgandal or Karīmnagar. (I. G. XII. 5). Elgandal is less than 30 miles due north of Hannamkonda. Khusrau's 'An Makinda' (l. 27) is Hannamkonda, which was the capital of the Kākatiya Rājās before Warangal. Constable, 32 A b.

III. 83, *l.* 10. *And cries of* huzza huzz *and* khuzza khuzz, *the acclamations of the triumph of holy warriors, arose.*

Dowson notes that this is an early Eastern use of the familiar English 'Huzza', but there are several instances of its use in older authors, *e.g.* in Baihaqi, whose History was written between 448-455 A. H. (1056-1063 A. C.). *e.g.* هزاهز در سرای افتاد (Text, 139, l. 5); هزاهز در دلها افتاد (Text, 176, l. 3); و هزاهزی سخت بود (Text, 279, l. 6 f. f.). The word هزاهز occurs also in Gardezi (Z. A. 88, l. 5 f. f.), and Barani (T. F. 199, l. 16).

III. 83, *l.* 21. *He [Laddar Deo] sent a golden image of himself, with a golden chain round its neck in acknowledgment of his submission.*

F. differs here from Khusrau and asserts that it was the Rājā of Siwāna, and not Laddar Deo of Warangal who sent a golden image of himself as a token of submission. (I, 118, l. 13). He has been followed by Sir W. Haig. (C. H. I, III. 114). But these averments appear to be erroneous and founded on some misunderstanding. In the *'Ashīqa* also, Amīr Khusrau explicitly states that it was the Rājā of Warangal who made an attempt to placate the ruthless invader by sending him 'a golden idol' of himself. (550 *infra*; 'Alīgarh Text, p. 69). The confusion is, perhaps, due to the fact that in this poem, the account of the siege and the capture of Siwāna is followed immediately by that of the invasion of Warangal. F. is not infrequently an inaccurate copyist and he must have read the lines hurriedly or carelessly. It may be noted that the Rājā of Siwāna is explicitly said by Khusrau to have been killed fighting, while Rudra Pratāp saved his life by abject submission. The discrepancy between the two statements is undoubtedly glaring, but the authority of the later compiler cannot, in any case, outweigh that of the contemporary annalist from whom he has confessedly borrowed his account.

III. 84, *l.* 6 from foot. *On Tuesday, the 24th of Muharram, 710 H.*

The corresponding Christian date. 23rd June, 1310 A.C., *was* a Tuesday. (Ind. Eph.).

III. 87, *l.* **5**. *The sea-resembling army moved ..... to Ghurgānw.*

Dr. Ayyangar at first identified Ghurgānw with a village called Kharegām, a little to the S.W. of Indore and E. of the road to Dhār and Ujjain. (S.I.M.I. 101, 194). He is now inclined to place it somewhere between Burhānpur and the Tāpti (*sic*). But as he is unable to find any place called 'Ghurgānw' on the maps, in this vicinity, he leaves the exact situation undecided. (Kh. F. Tr. Introd. xxix). I venture to say that it is 'Khargon', now in Nimār district. Constable, 31 C a. It lies on the Kundi river, a tributary of the Narmadā, in Lat. 21°-50′ N., Long. 75°-37′ E. (I.G. XV. 251). Thornton describes it as a decayed town with a wall and a fort in Nimār zilla, lying sixty miles south of Indore. It was situated on the old high road from Hindustān to the Dekkan and Akbar halted here on his way from Āgra to Āsīrgarh. It was here also that Abul Faẓl had an interview with him in regard to the conquest of Āsir. (A.N. III. 768=Tr. 1148; see also E.D. VI. 136, l. 7 and my note there). Khargon lies about 25 miles from the strong fortress of Bījāgarh and Khwāfi Khān states that Bījāgarh was also called Khargon. (E.D. VII. 499). It is situated about 25 miles south of the spot where the Narmadā is forded without much difficulty and Malik Kāfūr did what most wayfarers did in those times, when he encamped here after crossing the river. It was a place of considerable importance and F. records the tradition that Ghargūn (Khargon), Bijāgarh and Māndiya were all built by the renowned Rājā Bhoja [Paramāra] of Dhār. (I. 13, l. 7 f. f.=E. D. VI. 559).

Khargon is mentioned in many of the itineraries of the old European travellers. Finch passed through it on his journey from Burhānpur to Āgra (E. T. I. 140) and so did John Jourdain in 1611 A.C., when he travelled from Sūrat to the same town. (Journal, Ed. Foster, 147). See also De Laēt, who calls it a big town lying on the route from Mandū to Burhānpur, at a distance of 24 *Kos* from the former and 37 from the latter. (Tr. Hoyland, 31).

III. 88, *l.* **5**. [*The Muhammadun army*] ..... *after five days arrived at Bāndri in the country* (*ikṭ'a*) *of Paras Deo Dalvi.*

Dr. Ayyangar thinks this is Pandharpur and he may be right, though the phonetic resemblance between the two toponyms is slight, if not shadowy. Bāndri is said to have been reached five days after leaving Deogīr, and after the Sīna, Godāvary and Bhīmā had been crossed. The road taken is supposed by Dr. Ayyangar to have started from Bārsi along a familiar and frequented route, which is mentioned in an inscription of Vīra Someshwara Hoysala. He assures us that Pandharpur was the frontier station between the Yādava and Hoysala kingdoms at this time. (Kh. F. Tr. Introd. xxx).

III. 90, *l.* **15**. *The Rāi Bīr..... fled to Kandūr.*

Sir Wolseley Haig supposes this to be Kadūr in Kadūr district, Mysore (C. H. I. III, 116), Constable, Pl. 34, C c. But Dr. Ayyangar is sure that it is Kannanūr, about five miles north of the island of Shrīrangam. He says that Kadūr in Mysore is too distant from Madura, Birdhūl and the Pāṇḍya country and will not fit into the context. (S. M. M. I. 72; Kh. F. Tr. Introd. xxxv). Kannanūr lies about eight miles north of Trichinopoly town and was the Hoysala capital in the Cholā country in the thirteenth century. It lies south of Samayapuram in Trichinopoly tāluk. Lat. 10°-56′ N., Long. 78°-45′ E. (I. G. XXII. 3-5).

The names of the other places mentioned in this section—Tabar [Toppur Pass?], Sarmali [Sirumalai?], Bīrdhūl [Viruddhuvalli or Viruddhachalam?], Jālkotā, Kham [Kambam Valley, *q. v.* I. G. XX. 109 ?] are corrupt and written in various ways. They have not been satisfactorily identified and there seems to be no prospect of reasonably certain conclusions being reached in regard to them, as there are no clues and no data to guide us.

III. 90, *l.* 6 from foot. *He had heard that in Brahmastpuri, there was a great idol.*

'Barmat-purī' in the 'Aligarh Text, 169, l. 1; 102. This has been supposed by some authors to be meant for Rāmeshwaram, partly on account of the partial phonetic resemblance between the two names and partly because F. states that Kāfūr built a mosque in that "sacred city of the infidels". (I. 119, l. 1 f. f.). Sir W. Haig subscribes to the opinion, though he is not sure whether the mosque was erected in the *island* of Rāmeshwaram itself or on the *mainland* opposite to it. (C. H. I. III. 116). Dr. Ayyangar thinks 'Barmastpuri' must be Chidambaram, because Chidambaram has a golden ceiling and is known also as Brahmapuri, but he is not prepared to reject the identification with Rāmeshwaram and think sit also possible that the temple of Shrīrangam may be meant, as it also has "a golden roofing". (S. I. M. I. 108-9; Kh. F. Tr. xxxvii-vii).

III. 91, *l.* 5 from foot. *The Rāi had fled, ... but had left two or three elephants in the temple of Jagnār (Jagannāth).*

Elliot's suggestion that the temple was dedicated to Jagannāth, *i. e.*, Vishnu, is discountenanced by Dr. Ayyangar, who assures us that 'Jagnār' is a corruption of 'Chokkanāth', which is one of the alternative Tāmil names of Shiva or Sundaresha, the patron deity of the town of Madura. The Tāmil 'Chokka' has the same meaning as the Sanskrit 'Sundara'. (S. I. M. I. 96; Kh. F. Tr. xxxii). The great temple of Sundareshwara is still the outstanding monument of the city. Vijayaranga Chokkanāth was the name of one of the Nāyaks or later Kings of Madura in the 17th century. The name is pronounced 'Sokkanāth'. See also I. G. XXIII. 108.

III. 91, last line. *The elephants amounted to five hundred and twelve.*

The number of the elephants is variously stated by the chroniclers. Khusrau puts it down as 512 in this passage, but has 500 in the

'Ashīqa, (551 *infra*), Barani raises it to 612. (204 *infra*). In F. (I. 120, l. 7) and B. (I. 197=Tr. 265), it is whittled down to 312, but this is most probably due to a copyist having written سیصد و دوازده, instead of ششصد و دوازده. 312 is almost certainly wrong, though it is accepted in the C. H. I. III, 116. In the *Khazāin*, Amīr Khusrau explicitly states that 108 were captured at Kandūr, 250 at Barmastpuri and 2 or 3 at Madura. This makes 360 or 361 *at the least*, even if the 36 taken from the Rājā of Dvāra Samudra (Barani, 333, l. 6) are not reckoned.

III. 92, *l.* 5. *On Sunday, the 4th of Zi-l-ḥijja 710 H. Malik Kāfur.....returned towards Dehli.....and arrived.....on Monday, the 4th of Jumāda-s-sāni 711 H.*

4th Zī-l-ḥijja, (Ḥisābi) 710 H., was Saturday, 24th April, 1311 and 4th Jumādi II. 711, Monday, 18th October, 1311 A. C. In the Translation, (p. 108), it is stated that 'Alāu-d-dīn held the Darbār on Monday, 14th Jumādīu-s-ṣāni, 711 H. (p. 108), but it must be a slip, as the corresponding Julian date, 28th October 1311 A. C., was a Thursday. The Lithograph reads the date correctly as Monday, 4th Jumādi II. (181, l. 3 f. f.).

III. 98, *l.* 23. [*Sultān Nāṣiru-d-dīn*] *passed much of his time in making copies of the Holy Book.*

What Barani really says is بیشتر نفقهٔ خود از وجهٔ کتابتِ مصحف ساختی; 26, l. 7 f. f. 'He supported himself mostly from what he earned by the transcription of the Holy Book.' Ibn Baṭūṭa (493 *infra*), the Ṭ.A. and F. say that the Sultan made two copies of the Qurān every year, and that his own food was paid for out of the money obtained by selling them. They also tell a story in this connection. On being informed that unduly high prices were paid for these copies by one of his courtiers, he took care to see that they were put on the market without revealing the name of the august scribe. The actual words used by both Niẓāmu-d-dīn and Firishta are بهای آن در وجهٔ قوتِ خاصهٔ خود مصروف داشتی (Ṭ.A. 37, l. 10 f. f.; F. I. 54, l. 3). See also B. (I. 90 = Tr. 128).

III. 102, *l.* 10. *Some of the old Shamsi slaves who.....still occupied exalted positions, often said to him* [*Balban*].

بندگانِ قدیمِ شمسی که از حمایتِ بلبنی در صدرِ حیات مانده بودند; Text, 50, l. 8, merely signifies that they were alive, *lit.* "who were still left on the seat of life or existence owing to the protection of Balban". The phrase is again used by Barani and in the same sense at pp. 350, ll. 6, 21, and 551, l. 11. In the last passage, he says that many persons who had witnessed the ferocious cruelties and massacres of 'Alāu-d-dīn Khalji were alive بر صدرِ حیات اند in 758 H., the year in which he completed his own History. Cf. also Shams, تا آنکه سلطان فیروزشاه در صدرِ حیات بود (*Tār. Firūz-shāhi*, 442, l. 5 f. f.). "Until Sultan Firūz Shāh was alive."

III. 104, *l.* 9. *In the neighbourhood of Dehli, there were dense jungles, through which many roads passed.*

در حوالی دهلی جنگلهای کشن و انبوه رسته بود; 65, l. 13. "In the environs of

Dehli, thick and numerous jungles *had grown up.*" Here رسته is not a noun meaning 'road', but the participial form of رُستن "to grow." They would not have been "dense jungles" in the real sense of that word, if "many roads had passed through" them.

III. 104, *l.* **18.** *The Mīwāttis would often come to the Sar-hauz and assault the water-carriers and the girls.*

و مجال نبودي كه كسى بعد از نماز ديگر . . . بر سر حوض سلطان رود . . . و بارها ميوان بر سر حوض می آمدند; 56, l. 5 f.f. Dowson remarks in the Footnote that "the printed text and the Mss. say *Mīwāns*, but Firishta has *Mīwāttīs*, and he is no doubt right. The copyists must have misunderstood the name." But the printed text is quite correct in speaking of them as میوان *Mewān, i. e. Meos* and Ḥājji Dabīr also reads میوان (731, l. 21). 'Mewāttī' is an alternative form, and there are large numbers of 'Meos' still in the State of Alwar and Gurgāon district. Mewāt, in fact, is the country of the 'Meos.' The *Meos* used to come to the *banks* [سر] *of the Reservoir* built by Sultan Shamsu-d-dīn Īltutmish, which is mentioned on the immediately preceding line as حوض سلطان, 'the Sultan's [Īltutmish's Reservoir.' This tank is frequently spoken of also as the 'Hauẓ-i-Shamsi' and distinguished from the 'Hauẓ-i-Khāṣ' or Hauẓ-i-'Alāi constructed by 'Alāu-d-dīn Khalji at a later date. The 'Hauẓ-i-Shamsi' is called 'Hauẓ-i-Sulṭāni' by Amīr Khusrau also in the Kh. F. (Text, 31, l. 11; Tr. Ḥabīb. 19).

III. 105, *l.* **19.** *Kampīl, Pattiāli and Bhojpur had been the strongholds of the robbers.*

Bhojpur is a very common toponym in India. This is the Bhojpur which lies about eight miles south-east of Farrukhābād and about thirty miles north-west of Qanauj. Pattiāli is now in Etāh district and Jalāli (l. 29) may be the place of that name in that of 'Alīgarh. Kateher (last line) is a somewhat indefinite geographical expression. It is strictly speaking, the tract lying between the Rāmgangā, Shāradā and Khanaut rivers, but is loosely employed for what is now called Rohilkhand. Mr. Crooke derives the name from *Kather*, "a brownish loam of a thirsty tenacious nature requiring copious rain for irrigation," of which the soil of the district is chiefly composed. (Tribes and Castes, III. 176). But the alternative derivation from the Sans. *Kāshṭha*, 'wood,' Hindi *Kaṭheri*, 'woodman,' or 'carpenter,' (Elliot, Races. I. 313-4) is at least equally probable.

III. 106, *l.* **9 from foot.** *And the countries of Bādāūn, Amroha, Sambhal and Kānwari continued safe from the violence of the people of Kateher.*

In the C. H. I. III. 77, it is proposed to identify Kānwari, Kānori or Gānori (کانوری) with Gunnaur, in Budāun district. Constable, Pl. 27, D a. But Barani speaks of Kānaudi (کانودی) which can be also read as Kānori, again at 288, l. 8. Thornton mentions a Genori or Genouri in Bulandshahr, 55 miles south-east of Dehli. Lat. 28°-20′ N., Long. 78°-4′ E. Gunnaur is his Goonnour, Lat. 28°-15′ N., Long. 78°-30′ E., which he

locates 44 miles north-west of Budāun town. The identity of 'Kānwarī' with Gunnaur is made still more doubtful by the fact that Barani speaks of 'Gunnaur not as 'Kānwarī' or 'Kānaudī' (کانوری or کانودی), but as 'Ghanūr (گھنور), a few pages below. (121 *infra*; Text 106, last line). Balban is there said to have "crossed the Ganges at the ferry of Ghanūr," on his return to Dehli by way of Budāun.

III. 110, last line. [*S'adi*] *sent some verses in his own hand.*

یکگان سفینۂ غزل بخط خود فرستاد; Text 68, l. 12. "Sent a casket, or collection (*lit.* boat) of Ghazals in his own handwriting." This phrase سفینه غزل occurs in a famous couplet of Ḥāfiẓ:

دریں زمانه رفیقی که خالی از خلل است صراحی می ناب و سفینۂ غزل است

(Bombay Lithograph, 1267 A. H. No. 69; Jarrett's Edition, No. 47).

III. 113, *l.* 19. *Ambition had laid its egg in his head.*

Barani was well-read in the historical literature and this is a conscious or unconscious reminiscence of 'Utbi, who speaks of Satan having "laid an egg in Jaipāl's brain and hatched it." (E.D. II. 19). Niẓāmu-d-dīn Aḥmad says of Buhlūl Lody that "the bird of Imperial sway had laid an egg in his brain" (Ṭ. A. 149, last line) and Budāuni writes that "the crow of conceit had made its nest in the brain of Shāh Abu-l-M'aālī". (I. 462=Tr. I. 586).

III. 114, *l.* 3. *Abtigīn "the long-haired" who was known as Amīr Khān.*

The B. I. Text of Barani also reads the name as Abtigīn (83, l. 15), but the correct form is most probably 'Aitigīn.' The name of Ikhtayāru-d-dīn Aitigīn the Long-haired, occurs in the Ṭ. N. 294, l. 6 f. f. in 657 A. H. (E. D. II. 368). The name was not uncommon and had been borne by another great noble who was assassinated by the orders of Mu'izzu-d-dīn Bahram Shāh. (T. N. Text. 187, 192. *Ibid*, E. D. II. 334, 338). Raverty always calls him 'Aet-kīn.' (Tr. 642, 648, 650, 651). His title is given by Dowson as Amīr Khān, but it is spelt as Amīn Khān in the B. I. Text of Barani, (83, l.15), as well as in the T.M. (41, l. 13), Ṭ.A. (44, l. 3 f.f.), F. (I. 79, l. 2 f. f.), and Ḥājji Dabīr, (966, l. 8). 'Ai' occurs in other Turki names also, *e.g.*, Ai-bak, Ai-tamur, Ai-dakū, Ai-tim, etc., and is said to mean 'Moon', and 'Tigīn,' 'valorous'. (Sachau, *loc. cit.* II. 340 Note).

III. 114, *l.* 5 from foot. *Sent another army under a new commander.*

The name of the leader of the second expedition against Tughril is not given by Barani. F. following the *Tārīkh-i-Mubārakshāhi* (Text. 41, l. 5 f. f.), speaks of him as Malik Tarmati Turk (I. 80, l. 3). This name is changed into Targhi in the C. H. I. (III, 79), but Tarmati appears to be correct. A Malik Tarmati was *Shahna-i-pīl*, 'Commander of the Elephants,' in the reign of Balban's successor, Mu'izzu-d-dīn Kaiqubād. (Barani, Text, 126, l. 8). Another Malik Maḥmūd Tarmati was governor of Qanauj in 809 A.H. (1406-7 A.C.). (T.M. Text, 175, l. 5 f. f.=E.D. IV. 41; Ṭ. A. 131, l. 15; B. I. 275=Tr. I. 363).

III. 121, *l.* 6 from foot. *The Sultan ordered gibbets to be erected..... from Budāun to Tilpat (Pilibhīt).*

As the Sultan is said to have entered Dehli already, and as the punishments were carried out in the capital, the erection of gibbets from Budāun to Pilībhīt is obviously unthinkable. What Barani actually writes is فرمان داد که از دروازهٔ بداون تا تلیت دارها دو رویه فرو برند (107, l. 4). "He gave orders for planting the gibbets on both sides of the road from the *Budāun Gate* [of Dehli] to Tilpat."

Tilpat was the first stage on the road from Dehli to Oudh and is mentioned frequently. (203, 525, 528 *infra*). It is said by Amīr Khusrau to have been seven *Kos* distant from the capital. (557 *infra*). The actual distance is about twelve English miles to the south-east. (Fanshawe, D.P.P., 227). The Budāun Gate of Dehli is again mentioned at 135, 148, 160 and 198 *infra* by Barani and also by Ibn Baṭūṭa. (590 *ibid*). The error is due, most probably, to the word دروازه [Gate] having been dropped out in the Ms.

III. 122, *l.* **23.** *He proceeded to Lāhor to oppose the accursed Samar.*

The correct form is 'Tamar' or 'Tamūr.' (Barani, Text, 109, l. 6 f. f.). In the contemporary elegy of Mīr Ḥasan, he is called Aītamar. (B. I. 132; Tr. I. 189). The Ṭ. A. (47, l. 5) and F. [I. 82] speak of him as 'Taimūr,' which is practically identical with 'Tamar' or 'Tamūr' and is said to mean 'iron.' Elsewhere, Barani states that the Amīr Qatbugha-i-Amīr Muhān—one of the great nobles of Muḥammad Tughlaq—was the grandson of Tamar, in fighting against whom, the Khān-i-Shahīd had lost his life. (545, l. 2).

III. 124, *l.* **1.** *In the management of kingdoms, questions are constantly arising and dangers threatening.*

که در گردش ملك کارها بگردد و از هرطرف بلاها بزاید; p. 121, l. 7, "For with a change in the Kingship (*i. e.* when it passes from one person to another), great alterations [or revolutions] take place in affairs also and calamities are engendered." Barani again uses the phrase گردش ملکها [دیده] on l. 18 of this very same page, for 'Revolutions in Kingdoms.'

III. 124, *l.* **19.** *But what can I do? Mahmūd [Bughrā Khān] has shrunk from the work and people shut their eyes at him.*

چه کنم محمود که از وکاری آید و مردمان از و چشم زنند در لکهنوتی رفت; 122, l. 4.

"What can I do? Maḥmūd who can effect something [who can manage affairs] and of whom people stand in awe has gone off to Lakhnauti." چشم زنند occurs again in Barani, Text, 254, l. 6, and Dowson renders it there by 'do not heed him.' (159 *infra*). ایشان از هیچ ملکی چشم نمی زدند is found again at 411, l. 14, and is translated thus: 'they *had no awe of* any *malik* etc.' (224 *infra*). See also Text, 399, l. 10, where Barani says خسروخان از ایشان چشم می زد, but there Dowson translates it as '[Khusrau Khān] made some advances to them!' (219 *infra*). Steingass says چشم زدن means 'to fear.' The literal meaning seems to be 'to blink' or 'to be unable to look one straight in the face.'

III. 124, *l.* **3 from foot.** *The corpse of Sultān Balban was buried in the house of rest.*

'House of rest' may signify 'grave, tomb,' in general, but that is not the meaning here. What Barani says is that they took him to the *Dāru-l-Amān* در دار الامان ببردند (122, l. 14). The *Dāru-l-Amān* was the specific designation of the Mausoleum built by Balban for himself in his lifetime. Ibn Baṭūṭa explicitly tells us that Balban was buried in a house to which he gave the name of 'Abode of Security,' the *raison d'être* of the appellation being that it was a sanctuary for insolvent debtors and other delinquents. (593-4 *infra*). Sultan Firūz Tughlaq also states that he "had the *Dāru-l-Amān* of Balban repaired, as it was "the bed and resting place of great men." (*Futūḥāt-i-Firūzshāhi*, 384 *infra*). It is also mentioned in Abul-Faẓl's account of the monuments of Dehli. (*Āin*. Tr. II. 279). The building still exists. (Fanshawe, D. P. P. 278). Balban's favourite son, the Khān-i-Shahīd, was also buried here. (*Ibid*).

In this connection, Barani mentions the curious fact that after the death of Balban, the nobles and other men of note slept on the bare ground in the tomb of the Sultan for forty days, while the Sultan's special favourite, the Great Kotwāl Fakhru-l-Mulk kept up this rite of mourning for six months. (123, l. 10).

III. 126, *l.* **2.** *Malik Kawāmu-d-dīn who held the office of secretary.*

ملك قوام الدين علاقه دبير... ... عمدة الملك و نائب وكيل در شد ; 131, l. 7 f. f.

Dowson has assigned to the word *Ilāqa* the meaning of 'office,' but there is no warrant in the Dictionaries, for doing so. Barani also explicitly says that "*Qiwāmu-d-dīn 'Ilāqa* was 'Umdatu-l-mulk and Mushrif." (Text, 169, l. 16). Elsewhere he states that Malik "Qiwāmu-d-dīn *'Ilāqa* was invited to that assembly" (148, l. 13) and that 'Qiwāmu-d-dīn 'Ilāqa' was one of the grandees of Balban and Mu'izzu-d-dīn. (24, l. 13; 126, l. 6). So also F. (I. 84, l. 9, and 86, l. 20), and Ḥājji Dabīr. But علاقه may be a copyist's error for علاء with a *hamza*. Qiwāmu-d-dīn's original name was, perhaps, علاء and he was known as قوام الدين علاء دبير, because he had been a secretary, or because he was the son of 'Alā Dabīr.

III. 129, *l.* **1.** *Every day, he made some new move in the game and sought to remove the Khaljis who were obstacles in his path to sovereignty.*

و هر روز در تختِ شطرنجِ پادشاهی پیادهٔ دیگر میراند و روزگارِ غدّار برای سلطنتِ خلجیان مزاحمانِ ملك بلبنی را از دستِ او دفع کرد و فلك بر ریش و سلبِ نظام الدینِ خام طمع خنده‌ها میزد 138, l. 3 f. f.

"Every day, he played forward a new pawn on the chess-board of sovereignty and deceitful Fortune caused the enemies of the Balbani dynasty [*lit.* Kingship] to be destroyed by his means, with a view to [facilitate] the foundation of the empire of the Khaljis. The Heavens laughed at the beard and mustachios of the half-baked and ambitious Niẓāmu-d-dīn." It will be seen that the meaning of the second clause is turned almost upside down.

III. 131, *l.* **1.** *I have no inclination to pay homage to my son.*

The real sense of this passage is also inverted in the translation.

مرا در خدمت کردن پسر هیچ اکفتی در خاطر نمیگذرد ; 142, l. 4.

"There is no objection [or reluctance] at all in my mind [or heart] to pay homage to my son." Dowson's manuscript appears to have read الفت, but اکفت is shown to be right by what Bughrā Khān says immediately afterwards. He has no qualms or scruples in regard to the matter, he states, because "my son sits upon the throne of Dehli in my father's seat."

III. 134, *l.* **4 from foot.** *Poured out of the twelve gates of the city.*

Here, the Dehli of Mu'izzu-d-dīn Kaiqubād's days is said by Barani to have had twelve gates. But Amīr Khusrau says in the *Qirānu-s-s'adain* that there were thirteen. (524 *infra*). Ibn Baṭūṭa tells us that in the reign of Muḥammad Tughlaq, the three cities of Dehli had twenty-eight gates in all. (590 *Ibid*). Sharafuddīn Yazdi makes the total number thirty. He notes that Old Dehli [the Dehli of Mu'izzu-d-dīn Kaiqubād] had ten gates, but *three others* are said to have opened from Sīri ('Alāu-d-dīn's city) towards Jahānpanāh [Muḥammad Tughlaq's city]. (448 and 504 *infra* and Note). It would seem that Old Dehli had thirteen gates and not twelve at this time. Ibn Baṭūṭa gives the names of several of the gates.

III. 135, *l.* **9.** *The Sultan lying at the last gasp in the room of mirrors.*

There is no mention of any 'Room of Mirrors' in the Text. All that is said there is و سلطان معزالدین را نفسی و دمی مانده بود در جامخانه پیچید و لگدی چند بزد و در آب جون روان کرد ; 173, l. 3. "And Sultan Mu'izzu-d-dīn who was just able to breathe [to whom but a breath of life remained] was, after being rolled up in a carpet, given a few kicks and [his body] was thrown into the waters of the Jumna." Dowson has misunderstood the meaning of the word جامه خانه. It means 'carpet' and is used in the same sense again by Barani, where he speaks of 'a carpet of four square yards' in the following sentence.

کلماتی که بر چهار گز جامه خانه پیچیده و پاکیزه توان گفت در صحرا نبرد ; p. 259, l. 2.

F. has paraphrased Barani correctly, and he says that Mu'izzu-d-dīn was rolled up in a "*Jāmkhāna*, that is, *Carpet*" (جامخانه یعنی کلیم). (I. 88, l. 12). He also cites several couplets from a *Maṣnavi* in which the poet laments that the Sultan's body was rolled up in a (جامخانه) or carpet and kicked to death. (*Ibid.* I. 13). Musta'ṣim, the last Khalīf of the House of 'Abbās, had been put to death by the Mongol Hūlāgu about thirty years before, in nearly the same barbarous manner. He was 'tied up', says D'Obsson, "in a sack and trodden under foot by horses." (*Histoire des Mongols*, III. 243 *apud* Thomas, C.P.K.D. 254 Note; Price, Retrospect of Mahomedan History, II. 252). This inhuman mode of execution is explicitly said to have been adopted, because the Mongols had a superstitious dread of allowing royal blood to be spilt upon the ground. This fear was carried to such lengths that even in opening the veins of a Royal patient, great care was taken that the blood should not fall upon the Earth. Manucci tells us that when he bled the prince Shāh 'Alam Bahādur Shāh, the blood

taken was carefully weighed and buried in the garden after the performance of several ceremonies. (Storia. IV. 225). The contemporary historian Minhāj says that some well-meaning Muslims in the camp of the Mongols had, with a view to save the Khalīf's life, told those savages that if his blood was shed and fell on the ground, there would be such a tremendous earthquake that they would all perish to a man in the cataclysm. But these good intentions were unexpectedly frustrated, as some other Muslim traitors warned Hūlāgū that if the Khalīf was kept alive, there would be a general rising or mutiny. To avert these threatened disasters, Hūlāgū had recourse to this peculiar mode of execution and ordered his poor victim "to be carefully enclosed in *carpets* and his sacred person kicked until life was extinct." تا اورا در بجافظت جامغانها در پیچیدند ولکد بر تن مبارک او میزدند تا هلاک شد (T. N. 430, l. 7). The use of the word جامغانه by Minhāj also is decisive. Waṣṣaf (Tr. Von Hammer, 75-76, quoted by Yule in Tr. Marco Polo, I. 67-68) and Ibn-al-Furāt (Le Strange in J. R. A. S. 1900, p. 298), give a very similar account of the Khalīf's death.

III. 135, last line. *Sultan Jalālu-d-dīn ascended the throne.....in 688 H.*

The exact date of Jalālu-d-dīn's accession is given by Amīr Khusrau as Tuesday, 3rd Jumādī II, 689 H. (536 *infra*). Barani gives 688 H., but it is demonstrably erroneous. The *Tārīkh-i-Mubārakshāhi* says Mu'izzu-d-dīn was put to death on 19th Muḥaram, 689 H., (Text 59, l. 3 f. f. See also Thomas, C. P. K. D. 141 Note) and this statement is copied by Budāunī. (I. 165=Tr. I. 228). The numismatic evidence is clearly against Barani and in favour of Amīr Khusrau. All the known coins of Shamsu-d-dīn Kaiumaraṣ are dated in 689 H. (H. N. Wright, Coinage and Metrology of the Sultāns of Dehlī, p. 66; Numismatic Supplement No. II. to the J. A. S. B. (1904), art. No. 9, p. 229; Lucknow Museum Catalogue, No. 177).

The earliest known coins of Jalālu-d-dīn also are of 689 H. (H. N. Wright, Catalogue of Coins in the Indian Museum, II. No. 175). 3rd Jumādī II, 689 H., corresponded with 13th June, 1290 A. C., and fell on a Tuesday, just as Amīr Khusrau says. F. (I. 88, l. 11 from foot) states that Mu'izzu-d-dīn ceased to reign in the last days of 687 H. and Jalālu-d-dīn ascended the throne in 688 H. (I. 89, l. 2), but both these dates are wrong.

III. 136, *l.* 22. *Kilūghari then obtained the name of 'New Town.'*

If this means that the name شهر نو was given to Kilūghari or Kilūkhari by Jalālu-d-dīn or after his accession, it is not correct, as Kilūghari is spoken as شهر نو by Minhāj in the *T. N.*, which was completed in 658 H.=1260 A.C. (Text, 317 = E. D. 382, and Text, 318, l. 10).

The saint Quṭbu-d-dīn Bakhtyār-i-Kāki is said to have settled in Kilūghari in the reign of Īltutmish. (F. II. 379, l. 7. f. f.). B. observes that the ruins of Kilūghari were to be seen in his own time on the bank of the Jumna near the ford of Khwāja Khiẓr. (I. 157. Tr. I. 220). It was situated about eight miles distant from Dehlī, south-east of Humāyūn's tomb and north-by-west of Khiẓrābād. (Blochmann, J.A.S.B.

XXXVIII, p. 184 Note). Jalālu-d-dīn merely followed up the plans of Mu'izzu-d-dīn and *extended* the New City which had been styled *Shahr-i-Nau* 30 years before. The C. H. I. only propagates a demonstrable error when it states that it was Jalālu-d-dīn who "*named* Kilokhri *Shahr-i-Nau*". (III. 91). Mr. Vincent Smith had made the same mistake. (O. H. I. 230).

III. 138, *l.* **10.** *The most noted of them [rāwats and pāiks of Hindustān] received betel from him [Chhaju] and promised to fight against the standards of the Sultān.*

The real point is not brought out quite clearly in the translation. از پیش ملك چهجو بیرهٔ پان برگرفته بودند و دعوی کرده که برچترِ سلطان جلال الدین خواهیم زد (182, l. 9). What Barani is referring to is the ancient Hindu custom of *picking up* in the court or public assembly a packet of betel to symbolise the undertaking, even at the risk of certain death, of some extraordinarily difficult or dangerous enterprise. These swash-bucklers had not merely '*received* betel' passively from Chhaju. They had *picked* it up voluntarily or thrown out a challenge and boasted that on the day of battle, they would encounter the Sultān himself, strike down his umbrella and hurl it off from its place over his head. Elsewhere, Barani says that the *Pāiks* of Bengal who were perpetually bragging of their valour 'had *picked up* the betel of self-immolation' in the presence of the Bengal Sultān, Shamsu-d-dīn Ilyās, the Bhāng-eater. . . . . و پایکانِ معروفِ بنگاله که خود را مرد ها میگویانیدند بیرهٔ جانبازی از پیش الیاس بهنگی برگرفتند 593, l. 2. There is a graphic description of the ceremony in Tod's 'Rājasthān.' When Sarbuland Khān revolted against Muḥammad Shāh in 1730 A. C., all the great nobles of the State were, say *the Rājput chronicles* on which he relies, hastily summoned by that Emperor to a Durbār. "The *bīra* was placed on a golden salver which the *Mīr-i-Tūzuk* bore in his extended arms, slowly passing in front of the nobles ranged on either side of the throne, ... but in vain he passed both lines; no hand was stretched forth . . . . . none cast an eye upon the *bira* . . . . . The Rathor prince [Abhaya Sinha of Jodhpur] saw the monarch's distress, he stretched forth his hand and placed the *bira* in his turban." (II. 1039). Elsewhere again, Tod speaks of Sūr Singh Rāṭhor, Rājā of Mārwār, "having taken the *pan* against the king Muzaffar of Gujarat, when the latter rebelled against Akbar." (*Ibid.* II. 989).

This allusion in Barani shows that the custom is of respectable antiquity. There is a reference to it in Muḥammad Jaisi's beautiful Hindi poem, entitled 'Padmāvati,' which was written about 1540 A. C. See [Sir George] Grierson's Analysis in J. A. S. B. LXII. Pt. i. (1893), p. 197. The *Bīra* was not taken by the man from the hands of the king. It was picked up by the volunteer himself, like the 'gage' of the Knight in European Chivalry.

III. 138, *l.* **5.** *With yokes on their shoulders, their hands tied behind their necks.*

The word in the text is دوشاخها. The 'Doshākha' is defined in the *Burhān-i-Qāṭi'a* as a piece of wood with two branches, placed on the neck of criminals. It seems to have borne some resemblance to the Chinese 'Cangue', which was a sort of neck-halter, "a square wooden board which was made to rest on the shoulders without chafing the neck." (Hobson Jobson, *s. v.* Cangue). The word is again used by Barani at p. 601, l. 11, and Dowson has rendered it more correctly there by " wooden collars on the neck." (268 *infra*). It was really a kind of 'portable pillory' rather than a 'yoke.' Steingass and Richardson give 'Pillory' as its meaning.

III. 139, *l.* 18. *Malik Aḥmad Chap, deputy lord chamberlain.*

This sobriquet occurs frequently in Barani and is always spelt چپ. The Ṭ.A. reads it as حب, B. as چپ (I. 174, 177, 180) and F. as حبیب (I. 97, l. 9). 'Ḥab' and 'Ḥabīb' are errors or silly emendations of the copyists and the right reading seems to be 'Chap,' as Ḥājji Dabīr also calls him *Chap.* (Ẓ. W. 757, l. 18; 779, l. 14) and the T. M. favours the same spelling. (56, 62, 69, 70, 72). The *raison d'être* of the appellation is an enigma. چپ means 'left' and چپ دست 'left handed' (Rich). Aḥmad may have been so called on account of this physical peculiarity or because he was, as we know him to have been, *gauche*—a person blunt in speech, who often said right things just at the wrong time or in the wrong place. But another explanation also can be offered. Aḥmad was the deputy lord chamberlain, Nāib-i-Amīr-i-Ḥājib (249, l. 16) and it is possible that 'Chap,' 'Jab' or 'Jib' is the tail or short form of 'Ḥājib.' We are told elsewhere that Mubashshar, who was the Ḥājib of Sultan Muḥammad bin Firūz had this identical sobriquet, which is written 'Chap' by B. (I. 261=Tr. 344), 'Jab' in the T. M. (149, l. 10; E. D. IV. 24) and 'Ḥab' in the Ṭ. A. (123, l. 18). See my note on E. D. IV. 24, l. 9. The coincidence is not unworthy of note. Aḥmad Chap's exact relationship to the Sultan cannot be determined. Barani merely says that his father was a near relation قرابتِ نزدیک (186, l. 8) of Jalālu-d-dīn. F. states that he was the son of the Sultan's sister (I. 89, l. 11), but if so, it is wrong to call him 'cousin' as in the C. H. I, III. 95.

III. 141, *l.* 24. *Some 'thags' were taken in the city. ....about a thousand being captured.*

This is perhaps the earliest reference in Muslim historical literature to the 'Thugs,' in the specific sense which the word has now acquired. That the Hindi word is used here by Barani, not in the general signification of 'cheat, rogue, knave or swindler', but in the secondary one of a peculiar class of highway robbers and murderers, is shown from the fact that in the corresponding passage of the Ṭ. A., it is paraphrased by the Arabic قطاع الطریق 'highway robbers.' (59, l. 7 from foot). Another early reference to these miscreants is found in the 'Padmāvati' of Muḥammad Jaisi (written about 1540 A. C.). There, Rāghava, who complains of having been robbed, compares Padmāvati's glances to " a Thug's poisoned sweetmeats." ([Sir] George Grierson in J.A.S.B. 1893, p. 108). Thevenot also

mentions them (*Voyages*. V. 123) and Fryer has left it on record that fifteen were executed at Surat about 1673. (New Account, 97). Mr. Vincent Smith may be right in stigmatising Sultan Jalālu-d-dīn Khalji's action as 'particularly silly,' but when he asserts that it was the origin of the river-*thuggee* which is still prevalent in Bengal, (O. H. I. 231), he is guilty of a gratuitous assumption. Equally unwarranted and baseless is the suggestion that Sīdi Maulā was 'a patron and pensioner of the Thugs.' (C. H. I. III. 94). A similar accusation had been preferred against Niẓāmu-d-dīn Awliyā also by Mr. H. G. Keene in the first Edition of his 'History of Hindustan,' but he had the good sense to withdraw the calumny in later Editions.

III. 144, *l.* **5.** *He presented Amīr Khusrū with twelve hundred tankas.*

هزار و دویست تنکه مواجب پدر امیرخسرو بود برامیرخسرو مقرر فرموده ; 197, l. 3 f. f.

"And the twelve hundred *tangas* which were the (annual) allowance of Amīr Khusrau's father, he settled [or confirmed after the father's death] upon Amīr Khusrau." Amīr Khusrau's father was a Khiṭāi Turk named Lājin, who had taken refuge in India and had received from Iltutmish, the title of Amīr Saifu-d-dīn-i-Shamsi. He was killed in battle when his son was only seven years old. (Rieu, Persian Catalogue, I. 240-1).

III. 144, *l.* **11.** *Sīdi Maulā was cast under the feet of an elephant, after which event the Jalāli throne and family began to decline.*

Sīdi Maulā was neither "a pensioner of the Thugs" nor a proficient in alchemy or magic and thaumaturgy (کیمیا و سیمیا). He was, probably, the tool and stalking-horse of one of two factions at Court which were hotly engaged in a succession-feud. He appears to have been well-known for his intriguing proclivities and the kindly "bit of advice to beware of intimacy with *Maliks* and *Amīrs*" which Shaikh Farīd-i-Shakarganj is said to have given to him indicates that he had flirted with politics in the past also and was an old hand at that dangerous game. Sultan Jalālu-d-dīn's great age made it advisable for all parties in the state to be prepared for the political crisis which would be the immediate consequence of his demise. His two sons were both claimants for the succession and each was busy collecting adherents. Khān-i-Khānān, the eldest son, had for this purpose, allied himself with the ecclesiastical party headed by the Qāẓi Jalāl Kāshāni, and also with a section of the old Balbani *bloc*. The members of the latter party had learnt from experience that they had, in his rival, Arkali Khān, their most deadly foe, as it was he who had taken the leading part in scotching the rebellion of Chhajju, the nephew of Balban, and had brought him and his followers in chains and halters to Dehli. The sumptuous feasts and open house kept in the name of the Sīdi for the people of Dehli were part of his propaganda and the aim and object was to secure thereby the allegiance and active support of the proletariat of the capital. This lavish hospitality was really financed by the Khān-i-Khānān and the disaffected Balbani Amīrs. The bill was

footed by them and the gold *muhrs* which were found in corners and under bricks and coverlets really came from their coffers. So long as the eldest prince was alive, the leaders of the faction had nothing to fear and were not molested. His untimely death put an entirely different complexion on the matter. The conspirators had now no legitimate head and no powerful protector at court. It is also possible that they were divided among themselves as to the choice of a successor. The plan to marry Sīdi Maulā to a daughter of Nāṣiru-d-dīn Maḥmūd must have emanated from or was a compromise with the Balbani wing. The plot to assassinate the Sultan at once and precipitate a revolution was that of the hotter-headed men in the party. These dissensions naturally resulted in the discovery of the conspiracy. We may be sure that Arkali Khān, who was now the undisputed heir of his father, had all his own way and used all the influence he possessed with the Sultan to unravel the plot and bring to condign punishment, his old enemies, the men who had plotted with his brother to deprive him of his birthright. We read that it was he who egged on the *Māhout* to drive his elephant over the Sīdi and trample him to death. Barani who was a Sayyad by birth appears to have been horrified by the capital punishment, without trial or proof, of a venerated Darvīsh and the manner in which he speaks of the dust-storm (*Āndhi*) and the famine which followed the catastrophe indicates that he looked upon the Sīdi as a sort of martyr. But the story, as he himself and others relate it, clearly indicates that there *was* a conspiracy and that the Sīdi was deeply implicated in it.

III. 145, *l.* 6 from foot. *Shaikh Abu Bakr Tūsi was present with a number of his followers.*

Shaikh Abu Bakr Ṭūsi is said by Barani to have been a Ḥaidari Qalandar. The sobriquet refers to the founder of the order, Najmu-d-dīn Ṭūsi. The *Sarāi* of Shaikh Abu Bakr Ṭūsi in Dehli was existing in the reign of Sultan Firūz Tughlaq. (Shams-i-Sirāj, 303 *infra*). The Qalandars shave off the hair on the head and face and even the eyebrows. The Shaikh's follower, Baḥri, was able to whip out at once the razor with which he gave the first cuts to the Sīdi, because it was habitually carried about by the sect for their tonsorial operations. "Qalandars and Ḥaidaris" are again mentioned by Barani. (Text, 546, 558, 573).

III. 146, *l.* 18 and note. *He took the .....of Jhāin.*

و رفتنان جهاین را بگرفت; 213, l. 4. Dowson says he does not know what رفتنان means. The word is used again by Barani in two other passages, in which also he has left it untranslated. It signifies "immediately on going there," "as soon as he went there or reached the place." At p. 333, l. 8, Barani says that ملك نایب..... رفتنا معبر را هم فتح کرد "And he [Malik Kāfūr] conquered M'abar also *as soon as he reached it.*" At 369, l. 3, he again writes: و ملك کمال‌الدین گرگ .....رفتنا از ایشان کشته شد "And Malik Kamālu-d-dīn Gurg was killed by them as soon as he arrived there." Dowson's versions of these passages will be found at 204 and 208 *infra*.

III. 148, *l.* **6.** *Ghiyāspur, Indarpat and Talūka.*

The name 'Ghiyāspur' has fallen into oblivion, but it is what is now known as 'Niẓāmu-d-dīn.' Barani says that Niẓāmu-d-dīn Auliyā resided at Ghiyāspur in his lifetime (396, l. 11), and B. tells us that the saint's tomb is situated in Ghiyāspur. (I. 173=Tr. 236). The name may have been derived from Sultan Ghiyāṣu-d-dīn Balban, of whom Abul Faẓl states that he also built a fort in Dehli. (*Āīn*, Tr. II. 279). Mughalpūr (l. 7) is still the name of a village near Dehli and it is shown on the map prefixed to Thomas's Chronicles. Talūka تلوکه cannot be identified.

III. 149, *l.* **1.** *The Sultan..... thought that 'Alāu-d-dīn was so troubled by his wife and mother-in-law.*

سلطان جلال‌الدین نیافت که علاالدین از حشو و از حرم خود آزرده است ; 221, l. 2.

The B. I. Text reads the sentence *with* a negative, which has been overlooked by Dowson or was dropped out in his manuscript. The context which follows shows that the particle cannot be dispensed with. It is stated only a few lines lower down, that "Alāu-d-dīn was *averse* to bringing the disobedience of his wife before the Sultan." Jalālu-d-dīn did *not* know that 'Alāu-d-dīn was so "troubled by his wife." The nephew had been ashamed to speak openly about his domestic unhappiness to his wife's father. Niẓāmu-d-dīn Aḥmad (Ṭ. A. 63, l. 13) and F. (I. 94, l. 2 f. f.) have paraphrased the sentence correctly and both explicitly state that 'Alāu-d-dīn had *not* dared to say anything about his griefs to the Sultan on account of the great ascendancy (استیلای) of the Malika-i-Jahān.

III. 149, *l.* **13.** *He was afraid of the intrigues of the Malika-i-Jahān who had a great ascendancy over her father.*

Here, the mother is confused with the daughter. 'Father' must be a slip for 'husband'. The 'Malika-i-Jahān' 'Queen of the World' was the most honoured or most favoured wife of the Sultan and not his daughter. *Vide* 143 *supra*, where she is described as "the *mother* of his children" in Dowson's own translation.

III. 153, *l.* **16.** *He embarked on a boat at Dhamāi and proceeded towards Karra.*

دمهای in the Text, 231, l. 5. It is the 'Dubhāi' of Thornton, who says that it lies on the route from Budāun to Dehli, sixty miles south-east of the latter. Lat. 28°-12′ N., Long. 78°-16′ E. It is now in Anupshahr tahṣīl, Bulandshahr district, and lies between the two head-branches of the Chhoiya Nāla or river. (I. G. XI. 341). In the *Āīn*, the name is spelt Dambhai or Dhundai, (an older form of the name), and it is registered as a Mahāl in Sarkār Kol, Ṣūba Agra. (Tr. II. 186). It is the Dibai of Constable, Pl. 27. Dibāi is now a station on the East Indian Railway, thirty-three miles north-east of 'Alīgarh.

III. 154, *l.* **3 from foot.** *All.....began to repeat the chapter [of the Qurān] appropriate to men in sight of death.*

This is the سورهٔ یس *Sūra-i-Yāsīn*, the thirty-sixth Chapter of the 'Holy Book' of the Muslims. Muḥammad is said to have described it as

the "Heart of the Qurān." (Sale's Trans., 330 Note). Herklots says that "when a person is about to die, any learned reader of the Qurān is sent for and requested to read with a low voice the *Soorah-e-Yāseen*, in order that the spirit of the man, by the hearing of the sound, may experience an easy death; for they (Muslims) conceive that the living principles of the whole system become concentrated and shut up in the head, when death is the consequence." (Qanoon-e-Islam. 2nd Ed. 277 and Note).

III. 155, *l.* **7.** *The Sultan took 'Alāu-d-dīn's hand, and at that moment, the stony-hearted traitor gave the fatal signal.*

As this rendering implies that it was 'Alāu-d-dīn who gave the signal, it is misleading. F. (I. 99, l. 9 f. f.) and the C. H. I. (III. 98) assert this positively and indict 'Alāu-d-dīn, but all that Barani states here (234, l. 3 f. f.) is اشارتِ غدّارانِ سنگ دل درکار شد, "The signal of the stony-hearted *traitors* [in the plural] was translated into action." A few lines lower down on this very page, he is more explicit and declares that it was Nuṣrat Khān, [and not 'Alāu-d-dīn], who was "the giver of the signal", as Dowson himself puts it. He is called نصرت خانِ اشارت کننده in the Text, 236, last line.

III. 155, *l.* **8.** *Muhammad Sālim,..... a bad fellow of a bad family.*

محمد سالم که مفرد و مفرد زادهٔ بد اصل بود; 234, l. 3 f. f. "Who was a common soldier and the son of a common soldier of low birth." Such is the real meaning of مفرد and that is how it is explained by Ibn Baṭūṭa at 601, 603 *infra*. Barani uses مفرد و غیر مفرد at p. 279, l. 13; مفردانِ منرمند at p. 302, l. 3 f. f. and اسافل و لیام و مفردان و .... بازاریان at p. 34, l. 6. In the reign of Islām Shāh, مفرد (*lit.* a single person) was used for a 'private' (E. D. IV. 480). Compare the Mughal *Aḥdi* or *Yakka*. The 'Mufrid' was a 'private,' a man belonging to the rank and file, the Tommy Atkiṅs of those days.

III. 161, *l.* **4 from foot.** *Drums were beaten, Kabas were erected.*

Barani is describing what is called آئین بندی. *Qubba* means 'dome, vault, arch, cupola.' Shams describes these *Qubbas* as 'wooden pavilions hung with fine fabrics of different colours'. (*T. F.* Text. 88, l. 3 f. f.). "When the Sultan returns from a journey", writes Ibn Baṭūṭa, in his account of Muḥammad Tughlaq, "the town [Dehli] is decorated, and wooden pavilions (قبه) are built several stories high and covered with silk cloths, and in each story are singing girls, wearing magnificent dresses and ornaments, with dancing girls among them. In the centre of each pavilion is a large tank made of skins and filled with syrup water, from which all the people, natives or foreigners, may drink ..... The walls of the streets which the Sultan passes, from the gate of the city to the gate of the palace, are hung with silk cloths." (Gibb, Selections, 200-201; Defrémery, III. 247). The custom of آئین بندی is thus described in the *Tāju-l-Maāṣir*. "The city [Dehli] was decorated like the garden of Iram and the gates and walls were adorned with the gold tissues of Chīn and the brocades of Rūm and triumphal arches were raised.....and the glittering of the lightning of the swords.....which were suspended round them inspired terror

in the spirit of the beholder." (E. D. II. 222).

III. 165, *l.* **22.** *The Sultan also looked askance at him.*

سلطان علاالدین از بیباکی و دلاوری و صفدری او چشم زدن گرفت; 254, l. 5. This is the phrase which is wrongly translated as " people shut their eyes at him " on 124 *ante*, q. v. my Note; F. paraphrases Barani's expression by the words ازو در حساب شد (I. 103, l. 6 f. f.), *i.e.* 'Alāu-d-dīn felt that he was a man to be reckoned with, a man who might, one day, be dangerous as an adversary. Steingass says حساب از کسی بردن or حساب از کسی داشتن signifies 'to fear, or be afraid of'. One of the many meanings of چشم زدن also, according to him, is 'to fear'. Niẓāmu-d-dīn Aḥmad roundly says that 'Alāu-d-dīn was jealous and afraid of Ẓafar Khān, در غیرت و در بیم بود (71, l. 5).

III. 166, *l.* **1.** *Katlagh Khwāja, son of the accursed Zūd.*

The name of Qutlugh Khwāja's father was, as Dowson says, (*ante*, 42 Note), Dūā or Dawā. Waṣṣāf calls him 'Dūā' and B. 'Duā Khān.' (I. 184=Tr. I. 250). He reigned from 1273 to 1306 A. C. and is said, in the Mongol histories, to have " possessed himself of Ghazni, and from that stronghold as a base, to have made several expeditions into India and ravaged the Punjab and Sind at different times between 1296 and 1301 A. C." (Ney Elias and Ross, Tr. *Tārīkh-i-Rashīdi*, Introd. 35-36). 'Qutlugh' as a word, is said in Turki dictionaries, to mean 'auspicious,' 'prosperous,' 'blessed.' (Blochmann, J. A. S. B. 1869, p. 211 Note).

III. 166, *l.* **2 from foot.** *'Alāu-d-dīn marched from Sīri to Kīli and there encamped.*

Dehli antiquarians are not agreed as to the site of Kīli. Mr. Keene locates it about 10 miles *north* of the capital. (History of Hindustan, I. 76). Others identify it with what is now known as Khirki and which is marked as 'Kherhee' on the map of Dehli prefixed to Thomas's Chronicles. Muḥammād Tughlaq's fortification called 'Jahānpanāh' is said by that eminent archaeologist to have " formed an *enceinte* of five miles and to have enclosed the space from the Qutb, by Khirki (or Kherhee), Chirāgh-i-Dehli and Shāpuri (or Siri)". (*Op. Cit.* 261). The village of Khirki in Jahānpanāh still exists and contains a fine mosque attributed to Jauna Shāh, *i.e.* Khān Jahān II, Vazīr of Firūz Tughlaq. In an old 'Handbook for Delhi,' written by Mr. Frederick Cooper in 1868, Kherhee or Khirki is located two miles N. E. of the Quṭb. (p. 86).

III. 167, *l.* **6 from foot.** *The Mughals, thus on that day gained the advantage.*

مغل در آن روز بحیله شب گرفتند; 261, l. 6.

'The Mughals were, by a trick, just able to carry on through the night-time,' that is, they just managed, under the shades of night, to make a stand and cover their retreat. They contrived, somehow, to escape without suffering a crushing defeat. They did not " gain the advantage," as they are said to have been so discomfited that they did not stop in their flight or draw rein until they had put a distance of thirty *kos* between themselves and their victorious pursuers.

III. 168, *l.* 2. *If their [the Mongols'] cattle refused to drink, they used to ask if they saw Zafar Khān.*

This savours more of folk-lore than of fact. It is exactly the old story about Richard the Lion-hearted and the horses of the Saracens, which is told by the French chronicler, De Joinville. (Elliot's Note, I. 532-3). Another close parallel is found much nearer home in an anecdote told by Scott Waring about the Mahrattas. "When a horse refused to drink and started at his own shadow, it was, say the Mahratta chronicles, a common joke among the Moghals to ask him why he was afraid—. 'One would think you saw Dhunnaji (Jadhav) in the water.' " (Quoted by Grant Duff, History of the Mahrattas, 179 note). Enlarging on his theme, Joinville further states that the name of the English king "acted as a powerful sedative upon the children of the Saracens." There is a variant of this supplementary detail also in a Sindhi chronicle of the 17th Century. Mubārak Khān, the minister of the Jām Nanda, is there said to have so thoroughly subjugated the turbulent tribes of Kich [Kej] and Makrān and inspired such terror, that pregnant women miscarried if they heard of his approach, and the words 'Silence, the terrible chieftain is coming,' were enough to stop the crying of a wayward child." (Tr. *Tārīkh-i-Ṭāhiri*, in E.D. I. 276). Still another arresting analogue, or rather, picturesque Oriental metaphor expressive of extreme fright, is to be found in one of the yarns spun by Manucci. He says of Ruy Freire d'Andrade, (who was the Portuguese Governor of Ormuz in 1622 A. C.) that "among the Arab women of Muscat, it was customary to pronounce his name to pacify any restless or crying child and suppress and subdue the noise". (Storia, Tr. Irvine. III. 222). Lastly, Khwāfi Khān tells exactly the same tale of the Mughal general, Āghar Khān. His name was such a terror among the Afghāns, that mothers used to repeat it to frighten and send to sleep fractious and weeping children. (*Muntakhabu-l-Lubāb*, II. 246, l. 7 f. f.).

III. 171, last line. *Hamīr Deo, grandson of Pithaūra.*

The word used is نبسه (Text, 272, l. 2), which is often loosely employed for a distant descendant also. Hammīra Deva was the son of Jaitrasinha, the son of Vāgbhaṭa or Bāhaḍ, the son of Prahlāda, the son of Vallaṇa, or Bilhaṇ, the son of Govindarāja, the [son or] grandson of Prithvirāja. This is the pedigree given in the *Hammīra Mahā Kāvya*, a Sanskrit epic composed in the reign of Vīramadeva, Tomar raja of Gwalior, by Nayachandra Sūri in the 15th century A. C. (V. J. Kirtane's Ed. Introd. *passim*). پسر and فرزند also are similarly used for 'distant descendants'.

III. 174, *l.* 10. *Akat Khān rushed out of the tents and fled to Afghānpur.*

Afghānpur is said, at 235 *infra*, to have been three or four *kos* from Delhi. B. speaks of it as three or four *kos* from Tughlaqābād. (I. 224=Tr. I. 300). A village named Aghwānpur still exists about five miles to the south-east of Tughlaqābād. It is also mentioned in the *Qirānu-s-S'adain* of Amīr Khusrau in juxtaposition with Tilpat, which lies about twelve miles of Delhi. (528 *infra*). Blochmann says 'Ikit Khān' means the 'Young

Khān.' Mrs. Beveridge states that 'Yigīt' signifies 'young'. (B. N, Tr. 16).

III. 174, footnote. *Firishta says, each man filled his bag with sand and cast it into the trench (darra), which they call Rāran.*

Firishta's own words are, در درّهٔ که ازا رن میگویند انداختند (I. 108, l. 10). "They threw them into the valley, which is called *Ran*." What F. really states is that the 'Darra' or Valley was called 'Ran', not 'Rāran.' Dowson appears to have understood the preposition *Rā* as a part of the place-name. His error is clearly shown by the following quotation from 'Abul Faẓl. He tells us in his narrative of Akbar's siege of Ranthambhor that "*Ran* is the name of a high hill which overtops it, and people say that while all other forts are naked, this is mail-clad, because it is in the middle of the hill country." (A. N. Text, II, 335; Tr. II. 490). And Jahāngīr writes thus in his 'Memoirs': "There are two hills close to each other. They call one Ran and the other Thanbūr. The fort is built on the top of Thanbūr, and putting these two names together, they have called it Ranthambūr. .....The hill of Ran is a specially strong fortress (in itself) and the capture of the fortress depends upon the possession of this hill." (*Tūzuk*, Tr. II. 58. Text, 256, l. 15). B. also informs us that the hill called 'Ran' commands the fortress. (II. 107, Tr. II. 111). The fact is that Ranthambor stands on an isolated rock, 1578 feet above sea level, at the head of a *gorge* which can be very easily defended by a handful of men. (I.G. XXI. *s. n.*). The derivation given by Jahāngīr is an example of folk-etymology. The old Hindu name of the place is not certainly known. In the *Hammīra Mahākāvya*, it is always written as 'Raṇasthambhapura', 'City of the Pillar of the Battlefield', and this form occurs also in an inscription of the thirteenth century. (Ind. Ant. XLI. 85 ff ; Epig. Ind. XIX. 48 ff.) Some Hindu scholars, however, identify it with Rantīpur, which was the abode of Rantīdeva, Rājā of Maheshwar, whose sacrifice of cows is mentioned in the *Mahābhārata* and is alluded to by Kālīdāsa in the *Megha-dūta*. (N. Dey, Geographical Dictionary of Ancient and Mediaeval India, *s. n.* Rantīpura). 'Raṇasthambhapura' may or may not be a Sanskritised form of some indigenous name, but the restoration proposed by Colebrooke, "Raṇasthambhabhramara", "Bee of the pillar of War" (J. R. A. S., I. 142) is, almost certainly, factitious and inadmissible. In this connection, it is worth noting that the name is always written رنتبور [*Recte*, رنتبور] Rantapūr, in the Ṭ. N. (Text, 179, l. 13; 213, l. 5; 293, l. 1), and also in the Persian *Tūzuk-i-Bābari*, (Text, 179, l. 2 f. f.; E.D. IV, 261), while in two Afghān chronicles, the spelling is 'Ranthūr,' رنتهور (E. D. IV. 395 note and 478). Edward Terry, Sir Thomas Roe's chaplain, also spells the name as 'Rantipore' (E. T. I., 293) and De Laet writes it in exactly the same way. (Tr. Hoyland, 36).

III. 175, *l.* 23. *He was charged with the guard of the exchequer.*

شحنگی خالصه برتول داشت ; 278, l. 8 from foot. There is the variant رتول, which Dowson says is unintelligible. F. asserts that Ḥājji had occupied

the post of the سرشحنه (Chief Police Officer?) of Dehli in the reign of Jalālu-d-dīn Khalji. (I. 107, l. 8 f. f.). Barani's words really mean that he was 'superintendent or manager of the *Khāliṣa* lands' in some district. برتول looks like the name of a place and by a slight transposition of the diacritical points, may be read as نرنول Narnol. Nārnaul is about 86 miles south of Dehli, and we know that it was one of the districts usually included among the *Khāliṣa*, *i. e.* the Exchequer lands, in the time of Akbar. (A. N. II. 199, Tr. II. 309). But Nārnaul is always written *with* an *alif* by Barani and almost all other writers. I suggest that the right reading is رتول Rataul, a small town lying about fifteen miles north-east of Dehli which still exists and is now included in the Bāghpat taḥṣīl of Mīrat district. It is about 12 miles south of Bāghpat town and 26 miles S. W. of Meerut. Major Fuller's Ms. of the Barani's *Tārīkh* also read the name as 'Rataul' and his rendering was 'Superintendent of the Crown lands of Rataul' (J. A. S. B. 1869, p. 216), though neither he, nor his editor and annotator, the learned Blochmann, could say where Rataul was. We know from Barani that Dehli and the Ganges-Jumna Duāb, together with part of what is now Northern Rohilkhand, were included in the *Khāliṣa* lands, *i. e.* lands which were managed by the *Dīwān-i-Vizārat* or Chief Revenue Minister in Dehli through officials who were in direct relations with the peasants. Their proximity to the capital made this the most natural and convenient arrangement and we may be sure that Rataul was included in the *Khāliṣa* lands under 'Alaū-d-dīn. (T. F. 306, l. 1. See also Moreland, A. S. N. I., 38). Ḥājji Dabīr who had an excellent copy of Barani's Chronicle also reads 'Rataul.' خالصه رتول فی حوالته (Z. W. 804, l. 7).

III. 176, *l.* 7 from foot. *There was an 'Alwi (descendant of 'Ali) in Dehli who was called the grandson of the Shāh Najaf.*

This is a crabbed and doubtful passage and the popular designation of the unfortunate Sayyadzāda is written in all sorts of ways by the later compilers. The Ṭ. A. says that he was known as the 'Muḥtasib' محتسب (84, l. 10). F.'s reading is 'Shāhinshah' شاهنشه (I. 107, last line), and B. styles him شاه نبسه (I. 193 = Tr. I. 260). These are due to copyists' blundering attempts to correct what they did not understand. It seems to me that the reading in the B. I. Text of Barani نبسه شاه نجف 'Descendant of the Shāh-i-Najaf' is correct as well as straightforward and there need be no difficulty in accepting it. 'Shāh-i-Najaf' is 'Ali, the son-in-law of the Arabian Prophet. He lies buried at Najaf, which is about a hundred miles south of Baghdād, and four miles westward of the ruins of Kūfa, in the mosque of which town he was assassinated. The *Mashhad* or shrine of 'Ali at Najaf is said to have been built about 175 H. Kerbela, the Mausoleum of his son Ḥusain, is eight leagues north of Kūfa and marks the site of the battle in which Ḥusain was slain, with nearly all his family. (Le Strange, L. E. C. 76-78). Beale tells us that Shāh 'Abbās the Great went on pilgrimage to the tomb of the 'Shāh-i-Najaf' in 1032 H.

and he cites the chronogram which was composed in commemoration of the event. (*Miftāḥ*. 230, l. 5). Nādirshāh also inscribed on his coins the couplet خادمِ شاه نجف زیندهٔ تاج و نگین ـ بادشاه داد گستر نادرِ ایران زمین "Servant of the Shāh of Najaf, adorner of the Crown and the Seal-ring, the justice-spreading sovereign Nādir of the country of Irān." Sir Wolseley Haig, as usual, follows F. and avers that the 'Alawi had "the suggestive name of *Shāhinshāh*" (C. H. I. III. 104), but *Shāhinshāh* can have no real application here and looks like an ignorant emendation of شاه نبسه 'Grandson of the Shāh,' which seems *prima facie*, much more appropriate and preferable, as the poor 'Alwi *was* descended from a daughter of Īltutmish. Ḥājji Dabīr says he was known as ابن بنت شه, 'Son of the daughter of the Shāh'. (805, l. 3). A noble named Quṭbu-d-dīn 'Alawi, who adhered faithfully to the sons of Jalālu-d-dīn Khalji after the downfall of the dynasty, is mentioned at 161 *ante*. (Text, 246, l. 11 and 251, l. 6).

III. 177, *l.* **5**. *Malik Ḥamīdu-d-dīn .....Amīr-i-Koh .....went into the city.*

The Ṭ. A. reads this as *Amīr-i-Kūi* (74, l. 12) and is followed by B. (I. 194, l. 4), who says that Ḥamīdu-d-dīn میرکوی داشت, "held the office of Chief of the Streets", though Ranking speaks of him as 'Amīr-i-Koh' in his translation (I. 261), probably because he could make nothing of میرکوئی. But the *Tārīkh-i-Mubārakshāhi* says of the Sayyad Sultan, 'Alāu-d-dīn 'Ālam Shāh that he gave the office of 'Shaḥna' (Chief of Police) of Dehli to one of his brothers-in-law, and that of 'Amīr-i-Kūi' (Prefect of the Roads) to the other. The two men quarrelled in his absence and the latter was put to death at the instigation of the *Shaḥna*, upon which the inhabitants rose in revolt and killed the *Shaḥna*. (E.D.IV. 87, *q. v.* my note). 'Amīr-i-Kūī' *may* be right.

III. 177, *l.* **7**. *They proceeded towards the gate of Bhandar-kāl.*

Sic also in the C. H. I. III. 105, but it has no meaning and the correct name is, most probably, Bhadrakāli, one of the names of the goddess Durgā, otherwise called Pārvati, Māyā, Bhavāni, Kāli, etc. The name may have been given, either because a temple dedicated to her was situated in the vicinity or because this gate led to it. The still-existing Mandir of Kālikā in the village of Bahāpur which lies about six *kos* south of Shāhjahānābād (*Āṣāru-s-Ṣanādīd*, Pt. 1. p. 15) is known to be of great antiquity and the gate may have been named after this temple. The 'Bhadra' or Citadel in Aḥmadābād is so called because there was a temple of Bhadra Kāli on the spot in pre-Muhammadan times.

III. 179, *l.* **11**. *And the angel of destiny took him to the blessed city.*

و قضا اجل در آمد اورا بوقتِ آوردنِ شهرِ مبارك دریافت ; 283, l. 8 f. f. Barani can hardly mean that the Angel of Death took Ulugh Khān, whose perfidy and inhuman cruelty he has denounced so frequently, to Paradise. Elsewhere, he speaks again of the event thus:

والنخان را زحمتی حادث شد و درآوردنِ شهر میانِ راه در منزلی نقل کرد ; 229, l. 6 f.f. The sentence first quoted means that "the Angel of Destiny approached

and seized him [Ulugh Khān] when he was being brought to the *auspicious city*", *i. e.* Delhi. The second signifies that "Ulugh Khān was taken ill, and died at a halting place on the way, while being brought to the city." According to the Ṭ. A., Ulugh Khān was seized with illness, soon after the capture of Ranthambhor, and died *en route* to Delhi. در راه وفات یافت (75, l. 1). F., as usual, copies its very words در راه دهلی وفات یافت (I. 108, l. 16). B. also states that he died while on the road. (I. 194=Tr. I. 261). This rendering of شهر مبارك by 'Blessed City' is equivocal and not unlikely to be misunderstood. It means only 'auspicious city' and is nothing more than an honorific epithet of Delhi. Ḥājji Dabīr states, on the authority of Ḥusām Khān's *Ṭabaqāt-i-Bahādurshāhi*, that Ulugh Khān was poisoned while returning from Ranthambhor to Delhi. (Ẓ. W. 811, l. 11).

III. 180, *l.* **1.** *Nobles dared not speak aloud even in the largest palaces.*

ملوك را در هزار ستون امکانِ سخن کشاده گفتن نمانده بود; 284, l. 11. Barani is not speaking of 'large palaces' in general, but of *the Palace* built by 'Alāu-d-dīn for himself in Sīrī, which was known as the *Hazār Sitūn*, 'The Thousand-pillared,' because it possessed a capacious Hall of Audience which had an *indefinitely* large number of columns. Muḥammad Tughlaq raised another *Hazār-Sitūn* in Jahānpanāh, which Ibn Baṭūṭa describes as "an immense chamber called 'Thousand Columns', the pillars of which were of varnished wood and supported a roof painted in the most admirable style." (612 *infra*). Abul Faẓl also says of Muḥammad Tughlaq that he "raised a lofty pile with a thousand columns of marble in the New City which was founded by him." (*Āīn*, Tr. II. 279). 'Abul Faẓl's description is evidently 'embroidered.' The *Hazār-Sitūn* of 'Alāu-d-dīn is frequently mentioned in Dowson's own translation of Barani's history. (209, 222 *infra*). It is also referred to by F. (I. 112). The ruins of the *Hazār-Sitūn* of Muḥammad Tughlaq can be still seen S.W. of Jahānpanāh. The date of its completion, 727 A. H., is recorded in Badr-i-Chāch's Arabic chronogram, فادخلوها, 'Enter then her gates.' (B. I. 222 = Tr. I. 296). Recent excavations at the Bijaya Mandal in Old Dehli have brought to light the stone bases of the pillars of Muḥammad Tughlaq's *Hazār-Sitūn*.

III. 180, *l.* **6.** *He prohibited wine-drinking and wine-selling, as also the use of beer and intoxicating drugs.*

The word rendered as 'beer' is بگی (Bagni or Bugni). It is defined in the *Burhān-i-Qāṭi'a* and other Persian lexicons, as a kind of light or *unintoxicating* wine, which is placed by the theologians in the same category as نبیذ *Nabīdh*, an unfermented infusion of dates, raisins etc., which can be *lawfully* imbibed by the orthodox. (Hughes, Dict. of Islam. *s. v.* Nabīdh). But Steingass says that 'Bagni' is malt liquor or beer, and that 'Bagni-i-arzan' is beer made from millet. In that case, it would be the same as or very similar to فقاع, 'Beer made from barley'. 'Alāu-d-dīn, inspired by a recent convert's burning zeal for 'total prohibition,' appears to have classed *Baqni* with the *unlawful and intoxicating* drinks and gone

further than the theologians.

III. 182, *l.* 9 from foot. *From the Khūta to the Balāhar.*

Blochmann was puzzled by the first of these words. He thought that it was the Arabic خوط, 'a fine strong man.' Steingass states that the primary meaning of the word is 'a limber twig' and the secondary sense 'a corpulent man, yet handsome and active.' But 'Khūṭ' is admittedly used by Barani for 'a landowner, village head-man or *zamīndār*,' and it is not easy to understand the transition of meaning and say how a 'limber twig' or 'corpulent man' could have come to denote 'a rural chief or land-holder.' The fact seems to be that *Khūṭ* is, just like *Balāhar*, one of the numerous vernacular vocables which Barani interlards so freely with his Persian. It seems to have nothing to do with the Arabic خوط and the phonetic resemblance is purely accidental. Landholders called 'Khots' are to be found still in Gujarāt and the Dekkan. The word *may* be derived from the Sanskrit *Kūṭa*, 'chief, head.' The village headman is called *Grāmakūṭa* in more than one grant of the Kings of Valabhi. 'Grāma' means 'village' and 'Kūṭa' (or Kūḍa), 'chief, leader'. Compare the dynastic title *Rāshṭrakūṭa*. (Bom. Gaz. I., l. 82, 119. See also H. M. H. I., I. 157, III. 460). Another possible derivation is from Mahrātti, *Kheta*, field.

Mr. W. H. Moreland upholds Blochmann's hypothetical derivation, but his conjecture or assumption that "the Arabic *Khūṭ* passed from Delhi to the Dekkan" at the time of 'Alāu-d-dīn's conquest and became naturalised there as 'Khot' (A. S. M. I. 226) seems to be largely invalidated by the fact that *Grāmakūṭa*, of which 'Khot' looks like a short or decapitated form, was the designation of the village headman or landowner even in the seventh century. He does not lead any historical evidence to support the conjecture and the linguistic argument by which he seeks to reinforce it appears to me to be untenable. He lays great stress on the point that "Barani writes the word with two Arabic letters, and this fact makes its derivation from any Sanskritic language highly improbable." (*Ibid*, 225). This argument is easily answered. In the first place, it is exceedingly doubtful if خ is an 'Arabic letter' at all. All the Arabic and Persian grammarians include only eight signs of their alphabet in this category, *viz.* ث - ح - ص - ض - ط - ظ - ع and ق. Budāuni also gives exactly the same list of Arabic letters. (II. 307, Tr. 316). *Khā* (خ) is even called حای معجمه, the *Persian Hā*, in Richardson's Dictionary. But granting that خ is an Arabic letter and that خوط contains *two* of them, it would be easy to show that this does not at all preclude the possibility of its "derivation from a Sanskritic language". There are several words in Arabic which are spelt with two of these letters and yet are demonstrably loan-words, vocables which are derived from Sanskrit, Greek or Latin. Witness the following:

اصطبل Stable; اصطرلاب Astrolabe; بطریق Patriarch; خنطل or خنطبل

Colocynth; طریاق (Gr. Theriakon); قیراط (Gr. Keration); قنطار Quintal, (from Lat. Centum); فارقلیطا (Gr. Parakletos); قرطاس (Gr. Khàrtes, leaf of papyrus) Paper. شطرنج (Sansk. Chaturanga); بیطار (Lat. Veterinarius); نفط (Gr. Naphth, Zend. Napta); اقلیم (Gr. Klima), منجانیق and مغناطیس are examples of loan-words which have one Arabic letter.

I am aware that the derivation of 'Khot' from *Kūṭa* is not without difficulties, but in any case, it seems to me fairly certain that the word is not of Arabic origin and that it did not "pass from Dehli to the Dekkan" in the 14th Century.

III. 183, *l.* **10.** *Sharaf Kāi, Nāib-wazīr, rigorously enforced his demands.*

In the Manuscript belonging to Major Fuller, the sobriquet is written Qāīni قاینی, and Blochmann had no doubt that it was correct. (J. A. S. B. 1870, p. 8 and note). Elsewhere in the Bibl. Ind. Text of Barani, (337, ll. 4 and 5), Sharaf is styled 'Qāīni' and the identical spelling is found in Ḥājji Dabīr. (Ẓ. W. 824, l. 16). A man named Abu Ibrāhīm Qāīni was the Kadkhuda (Steward or Manager) of Khwāja Aḥmad Ḥasan Maimandi, the Vazīr of Maḥmūd of Ghazna, and another called Abu Muḥammad Qāīni was his secretary. (Baihaqi, Text, 178; E. D. II. 70-1). Qāīn and Tūn are the chief cities of Quhistān. The district is also known as 'Ṭabas and Tūn.' Qāīn is marked in Bartholomew's Every Man's Library Atlas, Map. 45. Lat. 33° N., Long. 59° E. Qāīni is, most probably, right.

III. 184, *l.* **21.** *The glorification of Islām is a duty and contempt of religion is vain.*

غزّتِ دینِ اسلام حق است و خواری دینِ باطل است; 290, l. 6 f.f. The *iẓāfats* have been read wrongly and the real meaning consequently obscured. What the Qāẓi really says is that the humiliation of the Ẕimmi and the throwing of the dirt (*Recte*, spittle, خوی) by the tax-collector into his mouth redounds to "the honour of the Religion of Islam which is true and to the degradation of the Creed which is false, *viz.* the Creed of the Hindus." There is a parallel expression in 'Utbi which is so striking that it may bear quotation. After describing the crushing defeat of Trilochanapāla by Maḥmūd near Nandana in 1013 A.C., he writes: "Slaves were so plentiful that they became very cheap and men of respectability in their native land were degraded to the possession of slaves of common shopkeepers. *But this is the goodness of God, who bestows honour on His own religion and degrades infidelity.*" (E. D. II. 39).

III. 185, *l.* **2.** *Kari (house-tax) and Chari (pasture-tax).*

The first word is variously spelt as کری - کهری - کرهی, but there can be little doubt that it should be pronounced *Ghari*, گهری, from the Hindi گهر house, residence. Shams-i-Sirāj gives its Persian and Arabic synonyms as کرایه زمین and مستغل, *i.e.* (Ground-rent, Rent of land by which the owner makes a profit). (Text, 375, l. 13; 363 *infra*). B. speaks of this 'Ghari' as identical with the خانه شماری 'House-tax' and of 'Charāi' as the same as the گاو شماری 'Cattle-tax' of later reigns. (I. 228, 237=Tr. I. 305, 316).

III. 188, *l.* 4. *Extortion I punish with the torture of the pincers and the stick.*

مالِ مطالبه بزخمِ انبر و چوب میطلبم ; 295, l. 4. "I exact all moneys due to the state with pincers and the stick." مالِ مطالبه does not mean 'extortion,' but the taxes, revenue cesses, and all moneys or arrears due to the State from the cultivator, tax-collector, fief-holder or any other individual. The words مطالبه and مطالبات occur frequently in Barani's History (107, l. 8; 418, l. 4; 480, last line; 574, l. 20) for 'demand, exaction, mode of recovering moneys', and also 'arrears due'. Dowson renders the phrase مطالباتِ سخت as 'heavy demands and oppressive exactions of the revenue' in the third of these passages. (243 *infra*). In the second, دفترهای مطالبه و جمع خرج can only mean "Ledgers of Outstandings due and of Revenue and Expenditure." It has been the universal practice of Oriental as well as Occidental administrations to regard all debts due to the State as the first charge on the assets of the individual who was liable for them, and it was customary to spare no coercive measures and no mode of punishment in recovering and exacting the very last denier from a debtor or defaulter. Maḥmūd Ghaznavi and many other princes had been as inhuman as 'Alāu-d-dīn and made as cruel use of the whip, the pincers and the rack to enforce their claims. (Baihaqi, Text, 146). The only new thing about his proceedings was that he avowed and flaunted his barbarity with such a flamboyant disregard of law as well as equity, that even Barani has punctuated the report of his speeches with marks of horror and amazement.

III. 193, *l.* 12. *In the country dependent on the New City, half the Sultan's portion (of the produce) was to be taken in grain. In Jhāin also, and in the villages of Jhāin stores were to be formed.*

The New City, شهرِ نو, stands here not for Sīri, but for the 'New Town' founded by 'Alāu-d-dīn *near* Jhāīn. Barani means that the grain collected in this 'New City' and its dependent villages was to be stored in granaries in the district itself, so as to be easily available for conveyance to Dehli in time of need. Barani has said before that when Ulugh Khān died, 'Izzu-d-dīn Būr Khān became Vazīr of the New City, *Shahr-i-Nau*, (near Jhāīn), and that the tribute of the 'New City' was assessed, by actual measurement, at a certain rate per *bisva*, *i.e.* 1/20th of a *Bingha*, *just as in the environs of the Capital.* (188 *supra*). This leaves no doubt that the 'New City' of this passage is the 'Shahr-*i*-Nau' near Jhāīn and not Sīri.

III. 195, *l.* 3 from foot. *If in such a season, any poor reduced person went to the market and did not get assistance,*

و اگر در امساکِ باران از هجومِ خلق کسی از مسکینان و ضعفا زیر پای آمدي و موازنهٔ در آمدِ خلق درونِ منده محافظت نشدي ; 309, l. 3. "And if in years of deficient rainfall, any indigent or old and feeble persons were trodden under the feet [and killed] on account of the rush of the populace and if adequate arrangements were not made in regard to the due proportion or average

of people allowed to enter inside the market."

III. 197, *l.* **4 from foot.** *That one or two horsemen would tie by the neck and bring in ten Mughal prisoners and one Musalmān horseman would drive a hundred Mughals before him.*

یك دو اسپه ده مغل را رشته درگردن انداخته می‌آورد و یك سوارِ مسلمان صد سوارِ مغل را پیش کرده میدوانید ; 320, l. 7. "That one *Doaspah* [the groom or follower who led the second, spare or relay horse and was paid only seventy-eight tangas *per annum*] would bring in *ten* Mughals, having thrown a rope round their necks, and a single Musalman trooper [*suwār*] would drive a *hundred* Mughal horsemen before him." This passage is important in connection with the real meaning of the word '*Doaspa*.' He is placed here evidently in a much lower grade than the *Suwār*—the fully-equipped horseman. (or مرتّب). It is clear from what Barani says that this '*Doaspa*' was only a follower, lightly armed, a sort of adjunct or attendant of the *Suwār*. He was probably the groom who led the spare horse, the sumpter or relay. In that case, there should be no difficulty in understanding why the 'Doaspa' was to be paid only 78 *tangas*, while the allowance of the *Suwār*, *Murattab* or fully-equipped trooper was 234 *tangas*. It would seem that the *Yak-aspa* or 'one-horse trooper' was paid 156 *tangas*. Barani does not make any specific reference to the allowance of the *Yak-aspa*, but Firishta explicitly states that 'Alāu-d-dīn fixed three scales of مواجب or soldier's pay: First class, 234 *Tangas*; Second, 156 *Tangas*, and Third, 78 *Tangas*. (I. 114, l. 17). I take the meaning to be that the *Murattab* with two horses was in the First class, the *Yak-aspa* or trooper with one horse in the Second, and the *Doaspa* or the groom who led the relay in the Third. It is possible that the meaning of the word 'Doaspa' in the days of 'Alāu-d-dīn, or as used by Barani, was very different to what it was in those of Akbar. If this interpretation is accepted, the paradoxical statement at p. 192 *ante*, (*q. v.* Dowson's Note on 625-6 *infra*), explains itself and becomes perfectly intelligible.

III. 201, *l.* **12.** *He was to come to an arrangement and retire . . . . . lest Laddar Deo should get the better of him. If he could not do this, he was for the sake of his own name and fame, to bring the Rāi to Dehli.*

و در بندِ آن مباشی که رای لدر دیو بر تو آید یا برای نام و آوازه برابرِ خود کرده رای را بدهلی آری ; 327, l. 5. "And do not insist that Laddar Deo should wait upon thee and *do not* bring the Rāi [Laddar Deo] along with thee to Delhi, for the enhancement of thy own fame and glory."

'Alāu-d-dīn appears to have been alluding to what had been done in the expedition of the preceding year. Kāfūr had then compelled Rām Deva to accompany him to Dehlī and 'Alāu-d-dīn had had to send that ruler back to Deogiri after a six months' detention in the capital. Before despatching him on this second expedition, the Sultan

specially warned Kāfūr against the repetition of such impolitic proceedings.

At p. 389, l. 4, Barani again uses this phrase, رایان و مقدمانِ آن دیار برو در آمدند and Dowson correctly renders it thus: "All the Rāīs and *Muqaddims* of the country waited upon him." (214 *infra*). Elsewhere, Barani says, رام دیو در آمد و او را اطاعت نمود (223, l. 7). "Rām Deo came in and made his submission" to 'Alāu-d-dīn. (150 *ante*).

III. 201, *l.* **17.** *Malik Nāib Kāfūr ..... marched to Rābari, a village in the fief of the Mālik.*

Rāpri has disappeared from most of our modern maps, but it was a place of considerable importance in the old days, on account of its commanding one of the fords on the Jumna. (Elliot, Races. I. 26). It is frequently mentioned in the *Tārīkh-i-Mubārakshāhi*, (E.D.IV. 47, 64, 65, 68) and also in the *Bābur-nāma*. (Trans. 523, 581, 582, 598, 643). Is is now a ruined village, about forty-four miles south-west of Mainpuri town in the Shikohābād tahṣīl of Mainpuri district. (I. G. XXI. 236). It was near Chandawār, another old town which has sunk into insignificance and been supplanted by Firūzābād. Lat. 26°-58′ N., Long. 71°-36′ E. (I.G. XIII. 34).

III. 202, *l.* **9.** *When Malik Kāfūr arrived in Tilang, he found the towns and villages in his way laid waste.*

قصبات و دیها که برسرِ راه بود نهب و تاراج شد; 329, l. 8. The towns and villages were looted, sacked and devastated by the invading host with a view to inspire terror, and not 'laid waste' by the people of those parts. F. says that when Kāfūr arrived at Indūr on the frontiers of Tilang, he gave orders "for plundering and ravaging the country and killing and enslaving the inhabitants, who were plunged thereby into indescribable consternation." (I. 119, l. 4).

III. 204, last line. *He was desirous that all the business of the state should be concentrated in one office, and under the officers of that office; and that the control of all matters should be in charge of men of his own race (Zāt).*

Barani's meaning seems to be that 'Alāu-d-dīn wanted all power to revert to and be concentrated solely in his own house or family and the slaves of his own house, خواست که امارتِ تمامی ممالك بیك خانهٔ او و به بندگانِ خانهٔ او باز گردد (p. 334, l. 9 f. f.) and that the control of all matters relating to political administration should be vested in his own individual person. و حاکم کلیات و جزئیاتِ مصالحِ ملکی و امورِ وجهانداری در یك ذاتِ او باشد

The real sense seems to be that the protracted exercise of despotic power had unhinged the balance of 'Alāu-d-dīn's mind. He had become intolerant of advice or counsel, and had ousted all his wise old counsellors in favour of incapable and obsequious minions. He wanted to gather into his own hands the threads of all administrative authority even to the smallest detail and establish a Dictatorship.

III. 206, *l.* **12.** *Disturbances (Ibāhatiān) broke out in the city.*

در شهر اباحتیان و بودهگان پیدا آمدند ; 336, l. 5. اباحت according to Richardson, means 'license, licentious men'. Hughes defines 'Ibāḥiyah' as "a sect of libertines who consider all things lawful". (Dictionary of Islam, *s. v.*). F. informs us in his paraphrase of the passage that these 'Ibāḥatiān' belonged to a society of which the members, males and females, used to assemble on a certain day every year and indulge in promiscuous sexual intercourse. (I. 120, l. 8 f. f.). For this explanatory gloss, he is indebted to Amīr Khusrau, who writes thus of the *'Aṣ'hāb-i-Ibāḥat'* of 'Alāu-d-dīn's days: "It was discovered that among these shameless wretches, mothers had cohabited with their own sons and aunts (mothers' sisters) with their nephews, that the father had taken his daughter for his bride and there had been connection between brothers and sisters". (*Khazāinu-l-Futūḥ*, Text, 21, l. 7 ; Tr. 12). Prof. Ḥabīb thinks that the reference is to the Ism'āili heretics and he may be right, as they are "indiscriminately called Qarmaṭians, Bāṭinis, Malāḥidas and even *Mazdakians* in Persian literature." (Browne, L. H. P. I. 172, 312). Shahrastāni notes that in Khurāsān, the 'Bāṭiniyas' were known as 'Ta'alīmites' and 'Malāḥida', but in 'Irāq as 'Qarāmiṭa' and 'Mazdakis'. (*Kitāb-i-Millal wa Nahal*, Ed. Cureton. 147, l. 8. See also Houtsma, E. I., I. 670). The last designation indicates that they were accused, wrongly or rightly, of holding the abominable communistic doctrines associated with the name of the heresiarch Mazdak. As the Ism'āilis claimed to have been emancipated by their gospel from the obligation to observe the moral and religious code of Islam, they were believed by their detractors to be capable of every kind of wickedness and dissolute antinomianism and accused of "permitting marriages within the prohibited degrees and practising incest in their secret assemblies." M. Clement Huart assures us that towards the end of his career, Qarmaṭ *did demand* from his followers *community of wives and property*. (Houtsma, E. I. II. 246). The Zikris and Maulāis of Makrān and Chitrāl are Ism'āilis and they have also been accused, by their enemies, of incestuous practices. (I. G. VII. 291). In the *Futūḥāt-i-Firūzshāhi*, the *Ibāḥatiān* and *Malāḥida* are mentioned in juxtaposition and almost assimilated together and their real or alleged orgies of lust and libidinous excess are described in almost identical terms. (368 *infra*).

بودهگان presents greater difficulty and Blochmann confessed that he could make nothing of the word. (J. A. S. B. 1870, p. 51 note). I venture to suggest that the 'dāl' should be read as a 'rā' and that the right lection is بورهگان. I suggest that the reference is to the Borahs who are a branch of the Ism'āilis. They also are reckoned by the Sunnis among the *Rāfiẓis*, *i.e.* Heretics. They belong, in fact, to the Musta'ālian division of the Ism'āilis or 'Sect of the Seven' and are a sub-division of the Malāḥida, with whom the *Ibāḥatiān* are associated and identified by Sultān Firūz. Just as 'Utbi charges Dāūd of Multān with *Ibāḥat* (263, l. 1 f.f.) and Ibnu-l-Athīr with *Ilḥād* (*Kāmil*, Bulāk Ed., IX. 64, l. 25; E. D. II. 248), so *Borahgān* and *Ibāḥatiān* are here bracketed together by Barani. The laws of marriage,

divorce and inheritance, etc. of the Borahs are opposed, in several points, to those of the Sunnis. They have also cut down the five daily prayers which are obligatory on all Sunnis practically to three. They pray also like all Shī'as with their arms straight by their side, while the Sunnis do so with the arms folded. (Enthoven, Tribes and Castes of Bombay. II. 226). The Faṭimide or Ism'āīli Khalīf Mustanṣir who reigned from 1036-1094 A. C. had two sons, Must'ali and Nizār. Their rival claims divided the sect into two rival branches, a Western (Egyptian or North African) and an Eastern (Persian and Syrian). The Borahs belong to the former or Musta-'ālian section, the Khojas or followers of Ḥasan-i-Ṣabbāḥ to the latter or Nizārian. (L. H. P. II. 199, 204, 210, 460). According to the traditional history of the sect, 'Abdulla, their first *Dā'i*, Missionary or Apostle, is said to have landed at Cambay in A. H. 460=1067 A. C. and a second propagandist named Muḥammad 'Ali to have arrived in 532 H.=1137 A. C. (Enthoven. *loc. cit*; Houtsma, E. I., I. 738-9; J. B. B. R. A. S. New Series, IX. 1933, pp. 42, 45). Ibn Baṭūṭa met at Gandhār near Broach the wealthy Musalman shipowner Nākhodā Ibrāhīm, the son of Khoja *Bohra*. (Defrémery, IV. 58). Both these sects were persecuted by Aurangzeb as heretics.

III. 207, *l.* 1 from foot. *This eunuch and minion had the chief place in his regards.*

368, l. 7. 'And in the heart (or mind) of that eunuch and catamite, the desire of becoming the Head [of the State] was implanted' [or became fixed]. F. (I. 122, l. 5 f.f.) says of Kāfūr that "the vain ambition of imperial sway had taken root in his head". Elsewhere, Barani states of Malik Niẓāmu-d-dīn, the minister of Mu'izzu-d-dīn Kaiqubād who aspired like Kāfūr, to the throne, that (T. F. 132, l. 2) and Dowson's paraphrase is "His *head was filled* with ambitious designs." (126 *ante*).

III. 208, *l.* 2. *Their feud involved the whole state.*

398, l. 9. It did not merely *involve* the whole state. It uprooted and brought about the fall of the dynasty. "And the gist of it all is that the overthrow of the Kingdom of 'Alāu-d-dīn resulted from the feud between them."

III. 209, *l.* 8 from foot. *While he was thus engaged in endeavouring to remove all the family of late Sultan.*

In this connection, Barani mentions a curious and interesting detail, which is left out by Dowson in the translation. He informs us that Kāfūr used to retire after business-hours to the 'Khurramgāh' which had been erected for him on the terrace of the *Hazār-Sitūn* palace and "play Koḍis" there with other eunuchs. (375, l. 1). In the corresponding passage, the T. A. (86, l. 1 f. f.) and F. (I. 124, l. 1) employ the phrase and explain that 'Chaupar' is a game akin to *Nard* or Backgammon and a mode of gambling. The game

of 'Chaupar' is described in the *Āīn*, (Tr. I. 303-4). It seems to me that Barani is referring not to *Chaupar*, but to the old Hindu game of *Pachīsi* which was then in much greater vogue and is also more ancient. It is necessary to make use of 'Cowrie shells' in playing *Pachīsi*, but this is not the case with *Chaupar*. (Herklots, Qanoon-i-Islam, Ed. Crooke, 333-4). The great antiquity of *Pachīsi* is proved by the fact that it is represented in a painting in the Ajanta caves. (Bom. Gaz. XII. 528).

III. 211, *l.* 2. *Sultan Kutbu-d-dīn ..... ascended the throne in the year 717 H.*

The correct year is that given by Amīr Khusrau, 716 H. (557 *infra*). The date of his assassination is given by F. as 5th Rabʿīu-l-awwal, 721 H. (I. 128, l. 13 f. f.). But there can be no doubt that the year is wrong and that the event took place in 720 H., as the Ṭ. A. (95, l. 13) and B. (I. 216 = Tr. 290 and 221 = Tr. 296) state. The error is due to Firishta having followed Barani, in post-dating the death of ʿAlāu-d-dīn by a year. That Sultan died on the 7th or 8th Shawwāl, 715 H. Kāfūr was murdered 35 days later, *i.e.* about the 12th or 13th of Ẓī-l-qʿad, 715 H., and Quṭbu-d-dīn, after acting as regent for about two months, ascended the throne on 24th Muḥarram, 716 H. (557 *infra*). He ruled for four years and four months *altogether*, as F. himself avers. (I. 130, l. 4). The true date of his assassination must therefore be 5th Rabʿī I. 720, not 721 H. Again, as Khusrau's usurpation endured for only four months and some days, the accession of Ghiyāṣu-d-dīn Tughlaq could not have taken place later than 1st Shʿabān, 720 H.

The numismatic evidence on the point is decisive and the coins provide a continuous and irrefragable chain or series of dates for determining the chronology. The latest coins of ʿAlāu-d-dīn are dated in 715 H. All the known coins of Shihābu-d-dīn ʿUmar exhibit the identical year. The earliest coins of Quṭbu-d-dīn Mubārak were struck in 716 H., the latest in 720 H. All the monetary issues of Nāṣiru-d-dīn Khusrau bear the date 720 H., which is also the year inscribed on the money put forth by the founder of the House of Tughlaq in the initial year of his reign. (See H. N. Wright, I. M. C. II. 41-47; Coinage and Metrology of the Sultans of Dehli, 112-115; Thomas, C. P. K. D. 158, 176-192).

F. (I. 129, l. 4 f.f.), misled by the author of the *Tārīkh-i-Mubārakshāhi* (Text 92, ll. 2 and 12), fixes the accession of Ghiyāṣu-d-dīn Tughlaq on Saturday, 1st Shʿabān 721 H. but 1st Shʿabān 721 H. corresponded to Wednesday, 26th August 1321 A. C. The correct date must be 1st Shʿabān 720 H. Its Julian synchronism was *Saturday*, 6th September 1320 A. C. Barani explicitly states that the battle between Khusrau and Ghāzi Malik was fought after the *Nimāz-i-dīgār* on a Friday. (420, l. 9). The week-day on which the accession took place must have therefore been a Saturday. The Ṭ. A. gives the year of Tughlaq I's accession correctly as 720 H. (95, l. 13).

III. 212, *l.* 2 from foot. *The wages of labourers rose twenty-five per*

cent, and servants who had received ten or twelve tangas now got seventy or eighty.

و اجرتِ مزدوریها یکی بچهار شد ; 385, l. 5. "The wages of labour grew from one to four", *i. e.* rose four hundred per cent and not twenty-five only. What follows about the corresponding increase in the allowances of domestic servants from ten or twelve *tangas* to seventy or eighty *tangas* may be also urged in support of the contention that such is the *literal* meaning of Barani's words, though both these averments are obvious solecisms or exaggerations. Like many other old authors and orators, Oriental as well as European, Barani sometimes indulges in hyperbolical expressions. For instance, he talks light-heartedly of a 'ten times', a 'hundred times' or even of a 'thousand times' increase (30, l. 10; 130, l. 18; 568, l. 6 f. f.) and 'a hundredth part' or 'a thousandth part of this or that. (482, 499, 554, 556). But such comparisons should not be understood literally. They are only stock phrases or similes employed for capturing the attention or imagination of the reader or hearer. The author himself would probably be the first to disown any intention of formulating arithmetically correct equations.

III. 214, *l.* 3. *An army was sent to put down the revolt of Alp Khān who had slain Kamālu-d-dīn Garg.*

This is putting the saddle on the wrong horse.

برای دفع بلغاکیانِ الپ خان که کمال الدین کرك را کشته بودند ; 388, l. 10. It was not Alp Khān who "had slain Kamālu-d-dīn *Gurg*". *He* had been slain by the machinations of Kāfūr, and his followers or partisans revolted, because 'Alāu-d-dīn had unjustly put Alp Khān to death. Kamālu-d-dīn had been appointed Governor of Gujarāt in place of Alp Khān after this murder and so when he went there, Alp Khān's adherents refused to recognise him and ultimately slew him.

III. 215, *l.* 2. *Deogīr had been taken possession of by Harpāl Dao and Rām Deo.*

So also in the B. I. Text, 389, l. 13. But it is frequently corrupt and wrong, as Blochmann has shown in his notes to Major Fuller's Translation. (J. A. S. B. 1870, pp. 3, 28, 37, 39, 50). Dowson also remarks that it is very faulty. (97 *ante*). Rāma Deva had died at some time during the reign of 'Alāu-d-dīn. Harapāla was the son-in-law [داماد] of Rāma Deva and the conjunction or *wāv* between the two names in the text must be an error of the copyist who has inadvertently dropped داماد.

III. 217, *l.* 4. *Malik Shāhīn one of his vile creatures.*

There is no warrant in the text for such detraction and defamation. What Barani says is that Malik Shāhīn was the Sultan's father-in-law. ملك شاهين كه خسرِ او بود ; 395, l. 5 f. f. Elsewhere, Barani says that Sanjar, who was given the title of Alp Khān was the Sultan's خسر بوده, the son of his father-in-law, *i.e.*, wife's brother (Text, 242, l. 7; 157 *supra*) and that Jalālu-d-dīn was 'Alāu-d-dīn's خسر (378 l. 6). Dowson or his Ms. must have inadvertently confused خسر with خسیس.

III. 218, *l.* 9. *A Gujarāti named Tauba was supreme in his palace and this low-born bhand would call the nobles by the name of wife or mother.*

The name is probably 'Ṭhobo', which I have often heard in Kāṭhiāwād. It is not easy to say what 'calling the nobles by the name of wife or mother' means. These words are a too literal rendering of ملوك را نام زن و مادر میگفت ; 396, l. 5. What Barani wants to say is that this Ṭhobo used to abuse the wives and mothers of the great Amīrs, دشنام زن و مادر میگفت. He probably uttered some of the filthy and brutal terms of vilification which are used only too often by the vulgar in India. He called them dirty names. Steingass says نام کشیدن means 'to revile, or call names'. Two of the foulest of such expressions are alluded to in Hobson Jobson (p. 56) by Yule who speaks of them as "terms of abuse which I should hesitate to print, if their odious meaning were not obscure to the general."

III. 218, *l.* 14. *Hisāmu-d-dīn, maternal uncle of Khusrū Khān.*

Here the phrase used in the B.I. Text is برادر مادر (396, l. 3 f. f.), but it must be an error for برادر مادری, as only two lines lower down and no less than four times on the page following (397, ll. 7, 9, 15 and 17) and also on pp. 408 and 410, he is called 'the brother' برادر of Khusrāu Khān by Barani himself. Unfortunately, برادر مادری also seems to have more than one meaning. It is used for a brother on the mother's side only, *i. e.* a 'half-brother' and for a full brother also. The Ṭ. A. speaks of Ḥisām in one passage as the "brother" and in another "as brother on the mother's side," برادر از جانب مادر (90, l. 1, and 93, l. 17). F. (I. 125, last line) styles him برادر مادری, but he must mean 'full brother', as he employs برادر غیر مادری in the sense of 'step-brother', 'brother by a different mother'. (I. 7, l 4 f.f.). B. states (I. 216=Tr. I. 290) that Ḥisām was Khusrau's 'brother on the mother's side', but the phrase he elsewhere employs is برادر اخیافی, *i e.* half-brother or step-brother. (I. 211=Tr. I. 285). Ibn Baṭūṭa is content with stating roundly that he was Khusrau Khan's brother. (605, 607 *infra*). The uncertainty of the relationship is further accentuated by the fact that برادر itself is often loosely used for a 'cousin.' For instance, Malik Asadu-d-dīn is spoken of in one place by Barani as Quṭbu-d-dīn Mubārak's brother, برادر (392, l. 14), but on l. 3 of the identical page, he is more precisely described as the son of Yaghrash Khān—the uncle of 'Alāu-d-dīn. On the whole, Ḥisāmu-d-dīn would appear to have been the half-brother or cousin of Khusrau. He was certainly not his maternal uncle.

It may be noted that Barani speaks of a maternal grandfather as جدّ مادری or جدّ مادرین (32, l. 18; 119, l. 13), and a cousin as برادر عمّی (65, l. 16). Minhāj uses برادر ابی و امی for 'full brother'. (Ṭ. N. 278, l. 13).

III. 218, *l.* 7 from foot. *Malik Wahīdu-d-dīn Kuraishi who in comparison was a worthy man.*

که حسباً و نسباً شایستگی سروری و مهتری داشت ; 397, l. 11. "Who by merit as

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well as by (nobility of) descent, was fit for command and leadership". Barani means that he was capable as well as nobly born. This is indicated by the 'nisba' *Quraishi*. Shams also tells us that he was a Sayyad and his son had the title سيّد الحجّاب (T. F. 445, l. 16). Barani uses the phrase صحت نسب و بزرگی حسب again in connection with Sayyads. (111, l. 10). حسب و نسب signifies, according to Steingass, "genealogy and acquirements, nobility by birth as well as merit." Jahāngīr, in his beautiful pen-picture of Akbar, cites the verse حسب هم بادشاهی در نسب هم بزرگی در "By force of merit great, by lineage also a King." (*Tūzuk*, 14, l. 3 f. f.).

III. 219, *l.* **3.** *Malik 'Ainu-l-Mulk, Tāju-l-Mulk and Yamkhīru-l-Mulk were sent as Governors and assistants to Deogīr.*

The reading of the last name in the B. I. Text is 'Mukhīru-d-dīn' (398, l. 2). 'Yamkhīru-l-Mulk' is an impossible name and I venture to suggest that the right reading here is *Mujīru-l-Mulk* or Mujīru-d-dīn. 'Mujīr' signifies 'Protecting against oppressions'. Malīk Mujīr-i-Abū Rijā is mentioned by Shams-i-Sirāj (T. F. 451, l. 10) as the uncle of the notorious Shamsu-d-dīn Abū Rijā, who was *Mustaufi-al-mamālik* in the reign of Firūzshāh Tughlaq. Shams says that Mujīr was put to death by the orders of Malik Kabīr who was regent at Dehli in the last year of the reign of Muḥammad Tughlaq. (*Ib.* 451-454). Malik Mujīr, the son of Abū Rijā, is said by Ibn Baṭūṭa also to have been one of the Amīrs of Muḥammad, who was very arrogant and tyrannical. (Defrémery, IV. 5; see also III. 230, 318). Mujīr-i-Abū Rijā is mentioned by Barani as one of the twelve evil counsellors and unscrupulous sycophants of Muḥammad Tughlaq. (472, l. 11). His name arrests attention in another corrupt form as ابو رجا ججر [Jajar], in Barani's list of the Pillars of that tyrant's State (454, l. 10), but it is correctly written by him as *Mujīr* at *Ibid*, 472, l. 11. Moreover, the T. M. (101, l. 5 f. f.) and B. (I. 228; Tr. I. 235) inform us that Muḥammad Tughlaq entrusted to Mujīru-d-dīn-i-Abū Rijā the task of destroying completely the fort of Kalānor, after the invasion of Tarmashirīn. Ḥājji Dabīr also avers, citing Barani as his authority, that in 718 H., Sultan Quṭbu-d-dīn appointed 'Ainu-l-Mulk to the امارت (Governorship) of Deogir and *Mujīru-d-dīn-i*-Abū Rijā to the Deputy-governorship. (Ẓ. W. 157, l. 2). This shows that his copy of the *Tārīkh-i-Firūz-Shāhi* had the correct reading. He repeats the statement at 844, l. 16. This should settle the question. The name of *Fakhr*u-d-dīn-i-Abū Rijā is entered in the B. I. Text of Barani (379, l. 14) in the list of Sultan Quṭbu-d-dīn Mubārak's grandees, but here also *Fakhr*u-d-dīn *may* be an error for *Mujīr*u-d-dīn and it can be easily accounted for by the resemblance between فخر and مجير in the Semitic script.

III. 219, *l.* **7.** *When Khusrū Khān marched from Deogir to M'abar, ...he acted in the same way as Malik Nāib Kāfur had done.*

The T. M. gives some additional details about this expedition which are interesting. The author declares that after defeating the Rājā of

Tilang, Khusrau proceeded to invade the country of Maithili, where he acquired 20 elephants and a diamond weighing six *dirhams*, after which he entered the country of M'abar. (*Bibl. Ind.* Text, 85, l. 3). Both these statements have been copied by B. (I. 212, Tr. I. 286) and F. (I. 126, l. 12).

Maithili is Motupilly, a very old town near the mouth of the river Krishna. It is now only a fishing village in the Bāpatla *t'aluqa* of Kistna district, Madras. (I. G. XV. 321). Constable, 34, E b. It was a great centre of trade in the northern part of the kingdom of Warangal. Marco Polo writes: "When you leave Mabar and go in a northerly direction, you come to the kingdom of Mutfili." He goes on to say that it had been ruled for forty years by a queen, a lady of great discretion, who was a lover of justice, equity and peace." He then describes its diamond mines and states that the most delicate buckrams were wrought there, which look like spiders' webs. (Tr. Yule and Cordier, II. 359-63). The queen was Rudrammā Devi, the grandmother of Rudrapratāpa—the Laddar Deo of Amīr Khusrau and Barani.

III. 219, *l.* **8 from foot.** *Khusrau made some advances to them.*

He did no such thing. He was greatly afraid of them. خسرو خان از ایشان چشم می زد; 399, l. 10. "And Khusrau Khān stood in awe of them." See my note on III. 124, l. 19 *ante*. Barani again uses the phrase at 411, l. 9 f. f. از هیچ ملکی و امیری چشم نمی زدند and Dowson has translated it correctly, thus: "They had no awe of any Malik or Amīr". (224 *infra*). The sobriquet of Amīr Talbagha, which is written here (l. 27) as 'Yaghda', is most probably 'Bughda,' which occurs frequently in Mongol names and is said to mean 'cutlass'. (B. N. Tr. 40 note).

III. 221, *l.* **6.** [*Khusrau*] *begged that he might be allowed to send unto Bahlawāl and the country of Gujarāt for some of his connections.*

'Bahlawāl', بهلوال (Text, 402, l. 6), looks like a mistranscription of نهروال, Nahrwāla, to which Ḥisāmu-d-dīn is said to have gone with the Amīrs and officers who were placed under him on 218 *ante*. F. says Ḥisāmu-d-dīn went to Gujarāt and collected his friends and relations who were in Paṭṭan (which is also called Nahrwāla) and its neighbourhood. (I. 126, l. 2). But Barani spells it as نهروالہ correctly. (218 *ante*; 396, l. 21). If بهلوال is what he wrote, and Ḥājji Dabīr also has بهلوال (845, l. 19), the place may be Bhīlmāl, to which it bears a closer phonetic resemblance. Bhīlmāl lies about 50 miles west of Ābu, which was ruled then by Paramāra Rājputs.

III. 221, *l.* **22.** *They might then, after the deed was done, call the maliks and amīrs together and make them accomplices, or kill them on their refusal.*

The B. I. Text reads کردگان سازند; 403, l. 5. The word occurs again at 409, l. 6, and in both these places, Dowson has read it as کردگان and rendered it by 'accomplices.' See 223 *infra*. But the right reading must be

گروگان *Garogān*, 'pledges', 'hostages'. And that this is the true meaning is shown by the fact that they were kept under surveillance ; درنظرِ خود داشتند (409, l. 2 f. f.). The Ṭ. A. puts into the conspirators' mouths the words, امرا را بگرو نگاه داریم (91, l. 9). گروگان داشتند is used by Barani on 172, l. 14 and Dowson has understood it there rightly as 'hostages'. (134 *ante*). Gardezi also says that Abā Kālanjār, the Amīr of Ṭabaristān, was compelled by Sultan Mas'ūd Ghaznavi to acknowledge his suzerainty, pay an annual tribute and send his son and nephew as *hostages* (گروگان) to his court. (Z. A. 100, ll. 12, 14). See also the Ṭ.A. 12, l. 3. The expression پسر را باید که بگروگان اینجا پله کنند is found in Baihaqi (324, last line= E. D. II. 121) who employs رهینه 'pledge' as the synonym of گروگان at *Ibid.* 328, l. 2 f. f. *Garogān* occurs also in the Ṭ. N. (Text, 271, l. 2 f. f.). There is no such word as کردگان [Kardagān] in any Persian dictionary.

III. 222, *l.* **18.** *Randhol, the maternal uncle (nīyā) of Khusrū.*

The penultimate letter is a consonant and not a vowel and the correct pronunciation is *Raṇdhaval*. The name of Raṇdhaval Puār [Pāramāra] is mentioned in the *Rās Mālā*. (Ed. 1878, p. 90 note). Vīradhaval and Yashodhaval also occur. (*Ibid*, 201, 202, 181; Duff, C. I. 176, 179, 183). Rāidhaval arrests attention in Tod, (A. A. R. II. 242). So Jāhariya is the contemptuous form of 'Chāhaḍ,' a name borne by the great Hindu Rājā of Narwar and many other persons also, *e.g.*, one of the ministers of Kumārapāla Chālukya of Gujarāt. (*Rās Mālā*, *Ib.* 144). Pratāpadhaval is another combination of the same class. (I. G. XXI. 322).

III. 224, *l.* **8.** *'Ainu-l-mulk Multāni ... was entitled 'Ālam Khān.*

عالم is not vocalised in the text, 410, l. 17, and the title may be read also as *'Ālim* Khān, 'The Learned Khān.' There is this to be said in favour of the reading *'Ālim*, that 'Ainu-l-Mulk was one of the most erudite men in the country. (See 369, l. 17 *infra* and my note there). Barani elsewhere states that Maulānā Burhānu-d-dīn, the father of Muḥammad Tughlaq's teacher and Wazir, Qutlugh Khān, was given the title of عالم ملك, which can be read either as 'Ālam Malik or 'Ālim Malik, by Ghiyāṣu-d-dīn Tughlaq I. (423, l. 2 f. f.; 424, l. 10; 428, l. 11).

The T. M. states that Maulānā Niẓāmu-d-dīn, the brother of Qutlugh Khān, was given, after his father's death, this identical title, which appears as عالم ملك in the Text at p. 111, l. 2, but as عالم الملك at *Ibid*, p. 98, l. 8 f. f. The fact that the title عالم ملك is written عالم الملك by Firishta also, (I. 140, ll. 1, 8, and 141, l. 2 f. f.) *may* indicate that the first word is عالِم not عالَم. 'Ālamu-l-mulk would be nonsense.

III. 225, *l.* **9 from foot.** *But Fakhru-d-din, the hero of Īrān and Tūrān reached Sarsuti.*

The son is strangely confounded here with the father. Malik Fakhru-d-dīn Jūnā or Jaunā—afterwards Sultan Muḥammad Tughlaq—is spoken of by Barani and rightly as تهمتن زادهٔ ایران و توران; 414, l. 15. "*Son of* the Tahmtan [an epithet of Rustam, the Achilles of Firdausi's Shāhnāma]

of Irān and Tūrān." A few lines higher up (414, l. 9), he is called صفدر زادهٔ خراسان و هندوستان "*Son of the* breaker of the ranks (of the armies) of Khurāsān and Hindūstān", *i.e. son* of Ghāzi Malik. At 226 *infra*, the sword of Ghāzi Malik is said to have "made Khurāsān and the land of the Mughals to tremble". Ibn Baṭūṭā found in the mosque at Multān an inscription in which it was stated that Ghiyāṣu-d-dīn was called Ghāzi Malik because he had fought with and defeated the Tātārs twenty-nine times. (606 *infra*; Defrémery, III. 262; Thomas, C. P. K. D. 192). Elsewhere, Barani also speaks of Ghāzi Malik having broken twenty times the front ranks of the Mongol hosts. (416, l. 8).

III. 226, *l.* 19. *And passing the town of Daliya, he left the river behind.*

The reading in the text, 416, l. 5 f. f. and in Ḥājji Dabīr (Ẓ. W. 850, l. 8) is دلالی or دلالہ. Raverty supposes it to be دہلی a village thirty-six miles to the westward of Abohar. It lies, he says, between Debālpūr and Sarsūti (or Sirsa), on the old channel of the Sutlej called the Nāiwāl or Nyewāl. (Mihrān, 260 Note; see also I. G. XI. 101). د لیای can be read as دہلی and the identification may be correct, but it is not certain. There are two places called Dabwali in Constable's Atlas, Pl. 25, A c, one of which is in Sirsa, *south-east* of Abohar and another (Dabwali Nyewāl) in Bikāner, *south-west* of it. The T. M. puts the site of the battle at a place called Hauẓ-ī-Bhāṭṭi, near Debālpur (90, l. 1 f. f.) and B. has turned this into the Hauẓ (*i.e.* the Holy Lake) of Thānesar (I. 219=Tr. 293) which must be an error. F. locates it somewhere near Sarsūti. (I. 129, l. 12).

III. 229, *l.* 7 from foot. *He severely punished the men who unlawfully married Khusrū to the widow of Quṭbu-d-dīn three days after her husband's murder.*

According to Musalman law, no widow can be lawfully married to another person before the expiration of the period of عدّت, which is four months and ten days. (Hughes, Dict. of Islam, *s. v.* 'Iddah').

Sir Wolseley Haig says that Tughlaq punished "all who had been concerned in marrying the beautiful Deval Devi to the vile upstart Khusrau" (C. H. I. III. 127), but there is not a word in Barani that points to the lady referred to having been the Rājputni. All that he tells us is that she was a زن, a *wife* of Quṭbu-d-dīn. (410, last line; 426, l. 14; see also 224 *supra*). The Ṭ. A. says that Khusrau gave away the wives (حرمها) of Quṭbu-d-dīn to his relations and partisans and married his زن himself. (93, l. 17). All that F. also avers is that *the* lady married unlawfully to Khusrau was a زن of the murdered Sultan. (I. 128, l. 9 f. f.; I. 130, l. 16). B. is equally vague but styles her his حرم محترم, his 'most honoured wife'. (I. 216; Tr. I. 290). Now, we know that Quṭbu-d-dīn had several wives. One of them was the daughter of Malik Shāhīn (Barani, 395, l. 5 f. f.) and another that of Malik Dinār (*Ib.* 388, l. 3 f. f.). Ibn Baṭūṭa informs us that Muḥammad Tughlaq greatly respected the حرم of Quṭbu-d-dīn and afterwards gave her in marriage to the son of

the Qāẓi of Cairo. (Defrémery, III. 428). He may mean the حرم محترم.

Budāuni's assertion that the lady thus illegally married was his حرم محترم also proves that he had several wives and may indicate, if correct, that she was the most honoured one, *i. e.* the senior wife, the wife *first* married. Mrs. Ḥassan Ali assures us that a Muslim's *first* wife is his most honoured wife (حرم محترم). "The first wife is always considered the head of his female establishment. Although he may be the husband of many wives in the course of time and some of them prove greater favourites, yet the first wife, the wife by the first marriage, takes precedence in all matters where dignity is to be preserved". (Observations on the Mussalmans of India, I. 340). Now there can be no doubt that Deval Devi was *not the Sultan's first wife.* F. asserts that Deval Devi was taken into his harem *after* the murder of Khiẓr Khān. But even if such was the case, there is not a word, not a particle of anything deserving to be called evidence, for *assuming* that the particular wife who was married to Khusrau Khān contrary to law and custom was the ill-fated heroine of the *'Ashīqa.*

III. 232, *l.* **10.** *'Ubaid the poet . . . fanned the strife.*

Firishta inserts here one of his guesses or glosses which are more often wrong than right and asserts that this man was the 'famous poet 'Ubaid,' (عبید شاعر مشہور) and that he was the 'satirist' (هزال) and 'ribald (*lit.* impudent) bard of *Rākān'* (شاعر بیباک راکانی), who had then recently come to Hindustān. (I. 131, l. 17). Ranking observes in a note that in one of his Mss. of Budāuni's *Muntakhab* also, this 'Ubaid is described as 'Ubaid-*i-Rākāti.* These asseverations indicate that F. and perhaps B. also imagined that the 'Ubaid of the text was identical with one of the greatest Persian poets of the 14th century, *viz.*, *'Ubaid-i-Zākāni,* as 'Rākāni' or 'Rākāti' is an evident blunder for 'Zākāni'. But any such identification is quite out of the question. Any one who reads Daulatshāh's account of 'Ubaid-i-Zākāni' (*Taẕkiratu-s Shu'arā*, Ed. Browne, 238-294) or the admirable appreciation in Browne's History of Persian Literature, (III. 230-257) must be convinced that the two 'Ubaids are entirely distinct. Barani, B. and F. all concur in stating that this 'Ubaid was put to death in 723-724 H. But we know from Ḥamdulla Mustaufi's *Tārīkh-i-Guzīda* (I. 846. Tr. II. 235) that Khwāja Niẓāmu-d-dīn 'Ubaidulla the Zākāni was alive in 730 H. (Browne, *loc. cit.* 230). We also possess works known to have been composed by 'Ubaid-i-Zākāni in 740 and 750 H. (*Ibid.* 235), and he seems to have lived upto 772 H. or 1371 A. C. (*Ibid*). See also Houtsma. E. I, IV. 984. The T. M. says that this 'Ubaid was one of the attendants and domestic servants (ملازمان و خدمتگاران) of Shaikh Niẓāmu-d-dīn Awlīyā and tells a story of a cruel and dirty practical joke played by him upon a simple-minded Hindu admirer of the Saint. (95, l. 1). Budāuni states of this ill-starred poetaster, who paid the penalty of his mischievous activities with his life, that that he was the rival and envious detractor of Amīr Khusrau, against whom he vented his spite in

squibs and lampoons.

III. 235, *l.* **18.** *A thunderbolt from the sky descended upon the earth.* صاعقهٔ بلاي اسمانی بر زمینیان نازل شد ; 452, l. 4 f. f. " The thunderbolt of a heavenly calamity descended upon the inhabitants of the Earth ". This metaphorical expression is synonymous with 'a bolt from the blue'—an unexpected catastrophe—and Barani does not appear to have had any intention of saying that the pavilion was destroyed by a thunderbolt or by lightning. This seems fairly clear from another passage in which very similar words are employed in the annals of the reign of Quṭbu-d-dīn Mubārak. نه از آسمان بلاي كه قابلِ علاج نبود بر زمینیان بارید ; 387, l. 8 f. f. " Nor did any irremediable calamity come down from heaven upon the residents of the Earth."

F. observes that according to the author of the *Tārīkh-i-Ḥājji Muḥammad Qandahāri*, the disaster was due to the pavilion having been struck by lightning and he opines that this " explanation appears, on a consideration of the facts, to be nearer the truth or more probable than any other ". و این روایت برتقدیرِ وقوع بصحت اقرب مینماید ; 132, l. 5 f. f. The metaphorical phrase used by Barani lends no support to this interpretation, though this surmise has something to be said for it, as very violent dust and thunder-storms (*Āndhis*) visit Dehli frequently in the summer, the season in which the Sultan was killed.

The date of the death by accident or design of Tughlaq Shāh I is given in the *Tārīkh-i-Mubārakshāhi* as Rab'ī I. 725 H. (Text, 96 l. 2 f. f.). But the chronology of this author for the earlier period of Dehli history is often demonstrably faulty, and this particular date appears to be wrong in regard to the month. Ibn Baṭūṭa assures us that Shaikh Niẓāmu-d-dīn Awlīyā died some time before the Sultān's return to Dehli and that Muḥammad Tughlaq bore his bier upon his shoulder. (610 *infra*). Another contemporary witness, Dimishqi, also refers to the fact and states that a friend of his had seen Muḥammad Tughlaq " at the funeral of a *faqīr of great sanctity* and that Muḥammad bore the coffin on his shoulders." (580 *infra*). We may be sure that this 'faqīr of great sanctity' was no other than Niẓāmu-d-dīn. It is also stated that the news of the Saint's death reached Amīr Khusrau, when he was returning from Bengal in the train of Tughlaq Shāh. (Houtsma, E. I, II. 980). Now, all the Musalman hagiologists are agreed that the Shaikh died on Wednesday, the 18th of Rab'ī II. 725 H.=Wednesday, 3rd April, 1325. (F. II. 398, l. 11; *Āīn*, Tr. III. 365; *Āṣār*, Pt. i. 34). Ibn Baṭūṭa states that Shaikh Ruknu-d-dīn was one of those who had gone to Afghānpur on the day of the catastrophe. Firishta, in his biography of this Shaikh, tells a story which corroborates to a certain extent, the account of Ibn Baṭūṭa. He states that the Shaikh happened to be in Dehli at the time, because having received news of the death of Nizāmu-d-dīn, he had undertaken a journey to the capital for visiting the tomb of the Saint. (II. 412, l. 16). This necessarily implies that the tragedy occurred two or three weeks, if

not more, *after* 18th Rab'ī-l-ākhir, 725 H., as some time must have elapsed between the date of the Saint's demise and Shaikh Ruknu-d-dīn's arrival in Dehli.

But this is not all the evidence available. The British Museum possesses a very old copy of the *Ṭabaqāt-i-Nāṣiri* (Add. Ms. 25785), which, Dr. Rieu assures us, contains on folio 316, "a summary account of the successive usurpers of the throne of Dehli from the time of Ghiyāsu-d-dīn Balban to the defeat and death of Khusrau Khān. The interesting fact about this fragment is that the anonymous writer appears to be no less a personage than Malik Fakhru-d-dīn Jūna, afterwards Sultan Muhammad Tughlaq Shāh, for he speaks in the first person of his flight from the degrading yoke of the Hindu's child (هندو بچه) and of the subsequent defeat of the same by his (the writer's) father, Ghāzi Malik, afterwards *Ghiyāsu-d-dīn Tughlaq, who is stated in the last line, to have reigned subsequently four years and ten months.*" (Persian Catalogue, I. 73-74).

It is scarcely necessary to stress the importance of the statement made at the conclusion of this most 'interesting' postscript. As Ghiyāṣu-d-dīn ascended the throne on 1st Sh'abān 720 H., his death must have taken place at some time in Jamādi I. (if not Jamādi II) 725 H., if he reigned, *as his son and successor explicitly declares*, for 4 years and 10 months. This is just the conclusion to which we are driven by the facts derived from other sources and Rab'ī I must be therefore rejected. The first day of Jamādi I. 725 H. corresponded to 15th April 1325 A. C.

III. 236, *l.* **8.** *He was well acquainted with the..... Būm-i Salīm Nāmah.* بو مسلیم نامه, in the B. I. Text, 463, l. 3 f. f., is a short form of 'Abu Muslim Nāma' or 'Qiṣṣa-i-Abu Muslim', *i.e.* the History of Abu Muslim [or Bu Muslim], who was the صاحب الدعوة العباسیه (*q. v.* Ṭ. N. Text, 34, l. 14; Raverty's Tr. 311; E.D. II; 282). Abu Muslim (719-754 A.C.) was "the man who raised the House of 'Abbās upon the ruins of the House of Umayya. The leading figure of his age, he changed, by his wisdom, zeal and generalship, the whole outlook of Islam." (Muir, Caliphate, 446; see also Nöldeke, Sketches from Eastern History, 111; Nicholson, Literary History of the Arabs, 252). The قصه بو مسلیم is again mentioned by Barani at 468, l. 8; see also Ḥājji Dabīr. (Ẓ. W. 887, l. 4). F. states that Muḥammad had the 'Qiṣṣa' of Abu Muslim and that of Amīr Ḥamza "on the tip of his tongue" or "at his fingers ends". (I. 133, l. 16). B. informs us that this Qiṣṣa was a favourite book of Akbar's and that it was bracketed with the *Shāh-nāma*, the *Jām'iu-l-Ḥikāyāt* and the *Qiṣṣa-i-Amīr Ḥamza* among the Persian classics which were regularly read out to him. (II. 320; Tr. II. 329).

III. 238, *l.* **11.** *He [Sultan Muhammad] thought he ought to get ten or five per cent more tribute from the lands of the Doāb.*

در دل سلطان افتاد که خراجِ ولایتِ میانِ دواب یکی بده و یکی به بیست میبایدستد; 473, l. 2. "It occurred to the Sultan that the *Khirāj* (land-tax) of the territory of the Duāb should be raised from one to ten or from one to twenty."

There can be little doubt that such is the meaning of the words as they stand. If the *Khirāj* had been raised by only five per cent. or even by ten or twenty per cent., it would not have broken the backs of the peasantry or given rise to the political turmoil and economic chaos which ensued. But it is also extremely unlikely that an augmentation amounting to 2,000 or even to 1,000 per cent. should have been contemplated or considered as even remotely feasible by any ruler who had not gone absolutely out of his senses. The Bibl. Ind. Text of Barani is frequently corrupt and it is not at all improbable that this palpably absurd statement may be due to some blunder of transcription. F. (I. 134, l. 16) asserts that the increase was three-fold or four-fold (ده سی و ده چهل گردانید) and Ḥājji Dabīr agrees with him. (Z. W. 877, l. 12). B. states, in one passage, that it was only doubled, ده بیست مقرر سازند (I. 228). In another place, he quotes the words used by the author of the *Tārīkh-i-Mubārakshāhi*, to the effect that the Khirāj was doubled, یکی بده بیست قرار یافت (Text, I. 237), which literally mean that it was raised in the ratio of ten to twenty, or just doubled. In the circumstances, it is quite possible that what Barani really wrote was not یکی بده و یکی به بیست but یکی بده بیست. In other words, the و and the second به یکی may have been interpolated by some copyist who did not understand the idiomatic use of یکی بده بیست and thought he knew better than the author. Mr. W. H. Moreland thinks that the phrase used by Barani is rhetorical and not arithmetical and that it has no precise numerical significance at all. He takes it as a mere mode of locution which signifies nothing more than that the enhancement was 'huge', 'marvellous', or 'enormous'. (Agrarian System of Moslem India, 48 Note). This looks like cutting the knot and not untying it, but the conclusion may, nevertheless, be sound.

III. 241, last line. *The sixth project ..... was the design he formed of capturing the mountain of Karā-jal.*

Ibn Baṭūṭa says that the mountain of Karāchīl was ten days' journey from Dehli (617 *post*) and B. states that it was also known as Himāchal and situated between Chīn and Hindustān. (I. 229 = Tr. 306). The latter repeats the fable which he had read somewhere that heavy clouds form and rain pours in torrents on these hills at the sound of men's voices or their shouts and the neighing of horses. The Ṭ.A. speaks of it as Himājal. (102, l. 10). It seems to me that the reference is to the mountains of Garhwāl and Kumāon, "the outer range of tertiary hills, which runs parallel to the foot of the Himalayas, separated from it by valleys or *Dūns*". It is the Sub-Himalaya of modern geologists. The name Qarāchal has been supposed to mean "black mountain", from the Turki 'Qarā' and the Sanskrit 'achal', but such hybrid derivations are suspect and unworthy of credit.

I venture to suggest that it is a corruption either of Kurmāchal, the old Hindu name of the province of Kumāon, derived from the *Kurmāvatāra*, (Grierson, Ind. Ant. XL. 1911, p. 150), or of Gārgāchal. We are told in the Imperial Gazetteer that Gagar is the name of a range of mountains

in Naini Tāl and Almora districts, U. P., which forms a portion of the outer Himalayan range. It is also known as *Gārgāchal*, from the legend that the Rishi Gārga once dwelt in it. It presents a line of higher elevation than any range between it and the main ridge of the Central Himalayas (I. G. XII. 121). It is impossible not to be struck by the resemblance between Kurmāchal or 'Gārgāchal,' and 'Qarāchal.' It may be noted that this name Gārgāchal assumes another more perverted form in the 'Kūkā' hills of the *Ẓafarnāma* and the *Malfūẓāt*. (E. D. III. 514, 464). I have suggested elsewhere that کوکا is a mistranscription of کرکا or گرگا, Karkā [chal] or Gargā [chal], the 're' having been read wrongly as a 'wāv'.

The real objective and purpose of this expedition has been grossly misunderstood by Elphinstone who makes the fanciful statement that Muḥammad dreamt of conquering China and "filling his exhausted coffers with the plunder of that rich monarchy." (History, p. 404). Elphinstone has been followed by Mr. Vincent Smith, (O.H.I. 241) and also by Sir W. Haig. (C. H. III. 155). This is all due to an uncritical acceptance of the highly sophisticated and imaginative narrative of F. (I. 135). There is not a word about any intention to invade China or even Tibet in either of the two contemporary authorities—Barani or Ibn Baṭūṭa—and the T. M. (Text, 103-4), Ṭ. A. (102, ll. 9-13) and B. (I. 229=Tr. I. 307) are also equally silent. All that Muḥammad aimed at seems to have been the conquest of Kumāon and Garhwāl, which are "bounded on the north by south-western Tibet." (Th. 365). We know that Akbar also tried and failed to subdue these regions and an expedition sent by Shāh Jahān under Nijābat Khān in 1645 A. C. met with a fate almost as disastrous as this invasion of Muḥammad Tughlaq's.

III. 243, *l.* **4 from foot.** *Warangal, where cholera (wabā) was prevalent.*

'*Wabā*' means 'any kind of epidemic disease, plague or pestilence,' and not necessarily the specific disease we know now as cholera. Khwāfi Khān uses it for the 'bubonic plague' which broke out in the Dekkan about 1685 A. C. (E. D. VII. 337). Epidemics of cholera in India are described by Correa, Garcia d'Orta and other Portuguese writers in the 16th century and they were probably known also in much earlier periods, but there is nothing to show that the particular visitation mentioned here had any connection with that disease.

III. 245, note. *Subjugation of the rānas of the hills; the carrying away of the village chiefs and headmen, Bīrāhas, Mandāhars, Jats, Bhats and Manhis to Dehli.*

آوردنِ سران و مقدمان و بیراهان و منداهران و جیوان و بهتان و منهیان; 483, l. 5 f. f. Dowson leaves بیراهان untranslated. Richardson explains بیراه as "one who deviates, errs or loses the way", a 'blind guide' as we say. No Rajput tribe called 'Bīrāh' is known. The only tribal designation bearing a distant phonetic resemblance to it would be پرِیہار *Parīhār*. The Mandahārs are a well-known Rajput sept in these parts. (Crooke, Tribes and Castes. III,

32, 33). In the B. I. Text, the third name is written as 'Jīwān' [*Recte*, Jatwān], but in the corresponding passage in the T. A. (104, l. 8) and F. (I. 137, l. 4 f. f.), the reading is چوهان 'Chauhān.' *Bhats* is an error for '*Bhaṭṭiān*' and *Manhiān* must be meant for the 'Maī' or 'Maīn', who are "a branch of the Bhaṭṭis, and live in the Punjab as landholders and highway robbers." (M. U. II. 24, l. 16). Malik Firūz Maīn, Kamālu-d-dīn Maīn and Dā'ūd-i-Kamāl Maīn are frequently mentioned in the T. M. (E. D. IV. 22, 28, 29, 32, 40, 54), along with Khulchain Bhaṭṭi and Hansu Bhaṭṭi, his son. "Jats, Khokhars, Bhaṭṭis, Mīnas [Maīns?] and Mandāhars" are mentioned in association with one another as notoriously refractory and turbulent tribes at 109 *ante*. (Text 65, l. 4 f. f.) براهان seems to be used here as a synonym of سران and مقدّمان 'heads, or leaders, [who were bad guides]'.

III. 245, last line. *One of the relations of Kanyā Nāyak whom the Sultān had sent to Kambala apostatised from Islām.*

Dowson says he cannot 'discover the place' and suggests that it may have been identical with Kampīla in the Ganges-Jumna Duāb. It is in reality the Kampīla or Kampīl of 236 and 239 *ante*, where it is mentioned along with 'Tilang.' Kampli lies 8 miles east of Anegundi in Hospet tāluka, Bellāry district. It has an ancient history, having been a Chālukya capital in the 11th century and still possesses an old fort. Lat. 15°-25′ N.; Long. 76°-36′ E. (I. G. XIV, 328; XVII, 203). Constable, 34 C b. Kanyā [Krishnā] Nāyak was probably the Rājā of Warangal who had been permitted to succeed to a reduced and dwindled principality after the death of his father Rudra Pratāpa. (F. I. 138, l. 9; see also Duff, C. I. 292).

III. 246, *l.* 19. *He halted near the town of Khor on the banks of the Ganges.*

Khor was an old town, the ruins of which lie about three miles from Shamsābād in Kāimganj taḥṣīl, Farrukhābād district. There was a ford here on the Old Ganges or the Buḍh Gangā. Shamsābād itself is situated in the marshy tract on the right bank of the Ganges, eighteen miles north-west of the modern town of Farrukhābād. Lat. 27°-39′ N., Long. 79°-28′ E. (Th.). Ibn Baṭūṭa says (619 *infra*) that the Sultan was encamped on the Ganges, about ten days' journey from Dehli. The actual distance is about 170 miles. Shamsābād is said to derive its name from Shamsu-d-dīn Īltutmish, who founded it after destroying Khor, about 1228 A. C. (I. G. XXII, 229).

III. 246, *l.* 9 from foot. *'Ainu-l-Mulk held the territory of Oudh and Ẓafarābād.*

Ẓafarābād lies on the old road to Benares about 4¾ miles to the south-east of Jaunpur. It was named after Ẓafarkhān, the third son of Sultan Ghiyāṣu-d-dīn Tughlaq I. An inscription of that ruler dated in 721 A. H. has been found in the town. (Führer, The Sharqi Architecture of Jaunpur. 64-66). Ẓafarābād is supposed by Dr. Vost to stand on the site of an older town called Manaich and Manaich is further identified by him with the Munj said to have been captured by Maḥmūd of Ghazni

(J. R. A.S. 1905, pp. 131-142), but these suppositions are highly problematical. Ibn Baṭūṭa also mentions Ẓafarābād in his account of this rebellion. (Defrémery, III. 342).

III. 247, *l.* 10 from foot. *That of Shahāb Sultāni ..... He had misappropriated about a kror of Tankas from the revenue.*

What Barani really says is that this Shihāb was a بقال (grain-dealer or merchant?) who had taken the Revenue farm or *Ijāra* of the entire district of Bīdar for a period of three years and undertaken *to pay one crore of Tangas* annually for the same. As he was unable to realise from the district and pay into the State Exchequer one-third or even one-fourth of the stipulated amount and knew the penalty which he would have to pay for his *default*—not misappropriation—he rebelled. The man was only a reckless speculator, a former slave of the Sultan, who had no stake in the country, and possessed neither administrative experience nor knowledge of the revenue capabilities of the district. He had taken the *Ijāra* merely on the off-chance of squeezing a much larger amount from the peasantry and coining power into money.

III. 248, *l.* 22. *And a force came from Ahmedābād.*

So in the B. I. Text also, 489, l. 4 f. f., but it must be a copyist's blunder for احمد ایاز Aḥmad Ayāz. Cf. Text 491, l. 11, where Aḥmad Ayāz is mentioned in connection with this revolt. The Ṭ. A. reads احمد ایاز in the corresponding passage (105, l. 3 f. f.) and F. also says that Khwāja-i-Jehān [Aḥmad Ayāz] came up with the army of Dehli (I. 139, l. 12) to the Sultan's assistance. Aḥmadābād in Gujarāt was not in existence at this time. It was founded only in the fifteenth century by Aḥmad Shāh I who came to the throne in 813 A. H.

III. 248, *l.* 7 from foot. *They crossed the Ganges below Bangurmū.*

Bangarmaū is now in Ṣafīpur taḥṣīl, Unāo district, and lies at the crossing of two old thoroughfares, the road from Qanauj to Faiẓābād (Ayodhyā) and the road from Dehli to Benares. The town contains the tomb of a saint called 'Alāuddin, which bears an inscription dated in 1302 and another tomb erected by Firūz Shāh Tughlaq in 1374 A. C. (I. G. VI. 380). It is mentioned by Bābur also (B. N. Tr. 601) and marked in Constable, Pl. 28 B b. Thornton says it is 43 miles west of Lucknow and four miles distant from the west bank of the Ganges, which explains why the rebels are stated to have crossed *below* Bangarmau, not *at* it.

III. 250, *l.* 10 from foot. *The officers entrusted with the distribution of the loans from the public treasury.*

The word used in the text (498, 499) for 'loans' is the vernacular "Sundhār", which occurs also in the *Tārīkh-i-Firūzshāhi* of Shams. (92, ll. 3, 11; 93, ll. 4, 14). It is said by Elliot to be synonymous with another Hindi word, "Harauri" (*lit.* ploughing), which he explains, is "an advance of about two rupees in money and two maunds in corn given to a ploughman when first engaged." (Races, II. 345). Niẓāmu-d-dīn

Aḥmad and F. have employed in the counterpart passage the now familiar Arabic term 'Taqāvi.' (Ṭ. A. 107, l. 13; F. I. 140, l. 15). The total amount lent is said by Barani to have been seventy and odd lakhs of *tangas*, but Shams raises it to two krors. (*loc. cit. Ibid*). The discrepancy is glaring and not easy to explain. It has been suggested that the lower figure relates to the advances made during the first two years only and that Shams's 'two krors' include the amounts which may have been disbursed in subsequent years. (A. S. M. I., 50 Note). But the scheme was a failure from the first and no further advances are said to have been made. Another explanation may be that Shams wrote fifty years after Barani and that distance in time had lent more imposing proportions to the aggregate amount in the popular memory or imagination. In the C.H.I. (III. 161), Barani's figure is swelled to '*seventy millions* of tangas,' but this must be due to a slip or confusion between 'lak' and 'million.'

III. 253, *l.* 6. *'Azīz Himār, the Nāib-wazīr of Gujarāt.*

The sobriquet of this ruffian can be read as حِمار ass, حَمّار ass-driver and خَمّار, wine-seller. The Ṭ. A. (108, l. 105), F. I. (140, l. 10) and Ḥājji Dabīr (Ẓ. W. 874, 875, 879), give the preference to the last and they are followed in the C. H. I., (III, 166 note), but the B. I. Text of Barani invariably reads حمار. (503, 505). It may be said in favour of 'Ḥimār' that it was formerly borne by a much better-known individual, the last Umayyad Khalīf, Marwān II, who was universally so styled. In that case, however, the nickname is said to have been given, not by way of derision or contempt, but in admiration of his great powers of physical endurance. (Muir, Caliphate, Ch. lviii, p. 429). But Ibn Baṭūṭa, who knew 'Azīz personally and had been appointed by the Grand Vazīr as one of the members of a Commission to inquire into and submit a report on a violent altercation between 'Azīz and one of his colleagues, repeatedly speaks of him as the "Khummār" or "Seller of Wine." He agrees with Barani in giving him a very bad character and says he was a notorious tyrant and cruel oppressor of the poor. (Defrémery, III. 364, 436-440).

III. 254, *l.* 8. *He proceeded to Sultānpur, about fifteen kos from Dehli.*

This Sulṭānpur must be the place of that name which is now in Gurgāon district, and lies about twenty-five miles south-west of Dehli. Constable, Pl. 27, C a.

III. 254, *l.* 11 from foot. *I have no pleasure in these revolts.*

مرا از چنین فتنها التفاتی نیست; 509, l. 6 f. f. "I am not at all perturbed by these revolts." التفات means "anxiety, uneasiness, care, worry, perturbation." Elsewhere, ملتفت خاطر (Text, 520, l. 13) is rendered by Dowson as 'disheartened' (262 *infra*) and التفاتی (Text, 447, l. 14) as 'uneasiness' (232 *supra*). Barani again uses ملتفت and مشوّش as synonymous terms at 439, last line. ملتفت خاطر occurs in the Ṭ. N. also (Text, 40, l. 11) and Dowson's rendering there is "his mind was much disturbed." (E. D. II. 285).

III. 254, *l.* 6 from foot. *I have read in royal histories.*

در تاریخ کسروی خوانده ام; 509, last line. The reference is not to histories

in general, but to a certain Chronicle in particular. The book quoted is the *Tārīkh-i-Kisravi*, a History of the Sāsānian and other ancient sovereigns of Persia. The work is mentioned by Barani in his Preface also, along with other well-known classics, *e. g.* the *Tārīkh-i-'Utbi*, the *Shāhnāma* of Firdausi, the *Tāju-l-Maāṣir*, *Ṭabaqāt-i-Nāṣiri* and others. (p. 14, l. 8). A book with a somewhat similar title, a *Tārīkh-i-Khusravi* or 'History of the Ancient Kings of Persia,' written by Abul-Ḥasan Muḥammad-i-Sulaimān-al-Ash'ari, is mentioned by Mīrkhwānd in his list of authorities (*Rauẓatu-s-Ṣafā*, Bombay Lith. I. p. 8, l. 7 f. f.) and also arrests attention in the formidable catalogue of Arabic and Persian chronicles bodily 'conveyed' by Abul Faẓl without acknowledgment, from the *Rauẓat*, in the *Āīn* (Tr. II. 35). A *Tārīkh-i-Akāsira* also is quoted more than once by Muḥammad 'Awfi in the *Jawām'iu-l-Hikāyāt*. (Niẓāmu-d-dīn, J. H. 55, 560, 214). But Barani's *Tārīkh-i-Kisravi* is neither the *Tārīkh-i-Khusravi* nor the *Tārīkh-i-Akāsira*. It is, most probably, the history written by Musā bin 'Īsā *Al-kisrawi* which is cited by Alberūni more than once in his discussion of the chronological difficulties relating to the history of Ancient Persia. (Sachau's Tr. of the *Āthāru-l-Bāqiya*, or Chronology of Ancient Nations, 122 127, 208).

III. 256, *l.* **23.** *Mān Deo, chief of the mountains of Sālīr and Mālīr.*

This was the Rāṭhor Rājā of Baglāna and Sālher and Mulher were his strongholds. His name is said in the C. H. I. (III. 167) to have been Mān Singh, but this form is, really, even less correct than Barani's 'Mān Deo.' A Sanskrit poetical history of this dynasty which was composed by Rudra Kavi in Shaka 1518=1576 A. C. has been recently published in the Gāikwāḍ's Oriental Series. It appears from this work that the name of the Rājā, who was contemporary with Muḥammad Tughlaq, was neither 'Mān Deo' nor 'Mān Singh', but Nāna Deva. He is said to have secured the fort of Shālāgiri (Sālher) and Mayūragiri (Mulher) and built the town of Jaitrāpuri (Jaitāpur), now a ruined village near Mulher. (*Rāshtraudhavansha Mahākāvya*, Introd. iii, xvi-xvii; Text, 17-18).

It is pertinent to note that Ḥājji Dabīr has somehow got the name quite right and calls him نانیو. (Ẓ. W. 880, l. 13).

The name Nānya Deva occurs in other places also. It was borne by the founder of the dynasty which ruled at Simrāun in Nepāl from 1097 to 1322 A. C. (I. G. X. 139; XIX. 31-2; Ray, D.H.N. I. 203, 393).

III. 257, *l.* **11.** *Pisar Thānesāri, the vilest of men, went to Deogīr.*

"Pisar" is not a part of the name and means "son". The person denounced was 'the middle son of Rukn-i-Thānesari,' who is mentioned just two lines higher up. Barani says that this Rukn-i-Thānesari had three sons, every one of whom was an unmitigated scoundrel. He holds them up to execration along with the twelve infamous counsellors who formed the camarilla which abetted and encouraged Muḥammad in his diabolical cruelties and ferocious executions. (472, l. 9). 'Rukn' is the short form of Ruknu-d-dīn and F. calls the father Ruknu-d-dīn-i-Thānesarī. (I. 141,

l. 6 f. f.)

III. 257, *l.* **12.** *Zīn-banda.....who was called Majdul-Mulk.*

The Ṭ. A. (101, l. 8) and F. (I. 141, l. 6 f. f.) agree in speaking of this man as Zainu-d-dīn. Ḥājji Dabīr calls him زین رنده Zain-i-Rinda, (880, l. 19) and in F. he is styled 'Zainu-d-dīn-i-*Rind*', *i.e.* Zainu-d-dīn, the debauchee, drunkard, reprobate, rascal or knave. Barani describes him here as بدبختی کافر صفتی which Dowson renders as a "wicked iniquitous character." The true pronunciation of the name must be *Zain* and not Zīn. "Banda" may signify that he had been at one time a common slave, if such is the right reading of the nickname.

III. 257, *l.* **9 from foot.** *But at the end of the first stage* [*they revolted*].

Barani does not state where the *émeute* took place, but F. (I. 142, l. 2), locates it at the Darra-i-Mānik-dūn. B., copying from the T. M., (111, l. 12), calls it the Pass of Mānikganj (I. 235, Tr. 313) and Ḥājji Dabīr has 'Mānikbanj.' (Z. W. 158). I suggest that it is the Pass of Mānikpunj in Nāsik district, about forty miles north-west of Daulatābād. It is about six miles south of Nāndgāon and two or three miles from the Kāsarbāri Ghāt or Pass. There is a ruined old fort still in the vicinity. (B. G. XVI. (Nāsik District), 456). The old trade routes from Gujarāt and Mālwā enter the Deccan at the Manmāḍ and Kāsarbāri gaps and Mānikpunj lies west of the latter. (I. G. V. 134). Nāndgāon is marked in Constable, 31 C a.

III. 258, *l.* **8 from foot.** *And on New Year's Day all the Musalmans of the place went to wait upon the Sultan.*

و تمامی مسلمانان که در دیوگیر بودند در صحبت نوروز کرکن بجانب شهر روان کرد و فتح نامه دیوگیر ..... در شهر فرستاد; 515, l. 11. "And [the Sultan] sent all the Musalmans who were in Devgīr, to the City [Dehli] in the company of [*i.e.* under the military escort of] Naurūz-i-Kargan and the report of the victory at Devgīr [the defeat of Mal or Makh or Fatḥ Afghān] was despatched along with him to the City of Dehli." Naurūz-i-Kargan is said by Barani (533, l. 14) to have been the son-in-law of Tarmashirīn Khān. Naurūz had entered the service of Muḥammad Tughlaq and been greatly favoured by him. This statement is repeated by F. (I. 144, l. 13). Ḥājji Dabīr calls him نوروز کرکز, Naurūz Karkiz (892, l. 2). In the corresponding passage of the Ṭ. A. (109, last line) and F. (I. 742, l. 17), it is explicitly said that the Sultan sent most of the inhabitants of Deogīr back to Delhi with Amīr Naurūz Kargan or Gurgīn as they write the second name, taking it to be the name of his father. But کرکن may be only the Mongol 'Gurgan', meaning 'son-in-law', and he may have been so called because he stood in that relation to the great Pādishāh of Turkestān, Tarmashirīn. Taimūr was called 'Gurgān' for a similar reason. (Barthold's Art. on Gurkhān in Houtsma, E. I., II. 184). But it may be another way of spelling the Mongol name Qarghan. See my note on III. 264, l. 11, *infra*.

III. 258, last line. *Taghi had been a slave of the general, Malik Sultāni.*

که بندهٔ صفدر ملك سلطانی بود; 515, l. 3 f. f. "A slave of Ṣafdar Malik-i-

Sulṭāni." Here, 'Ṣafdar' is not a common noun signifying 'general', but is a part of the title of his master. Ṣafdar Malik's name occurs in the list of Muḥammad Tughlaq's Amīrs and he is said to have been *Akhurbak-i-Maisara*—Master of the Horse of the Left Wing. (Barani, 454, l. 13). Ibn Baṭūṭa calls him صفدر ملك and says his real name was Qirān and the T. M. also tells us that Malik Qirān was given the title of Ṣafdaru-l-mulk at the accession of Muḥammad Tughlaq. (98, l. 5 f.f.). Ibn Baṭūṭa explains that 'ṣafdar' means 'He who marshals (*aligne*) the soldiers.' (Defremery, III. 332). The sobriquet 'Sulṭāni' indicates that he had been, like 'Imādu-l-Mulk Sartez-i-Sulṭānī, originally a slave of the Emperor. Ibn Baṭūṭa explicitly states that 'Sartez,' the meaning of which he explains as 'sharp-head,' was a 'Mamlūk' of Muḥammad Tughlaq. (*Ibid.* III. 94; S. Lee's Trans. of 1832, p. 100). F. speaks of him not as 'Ṣafdar Malik' but as 'Ṣafdaru-l-Mulk,' and adds that he had been a slave of Aḥmad Āyāz (I. 142, l. 11 f. f.), but this trifling discrepancy proves beyond doubt that 'Ṣafdar' was part of his title. Ḥājji Dabīr also states that the rebel Ṭaghi was a slave of Ṣafdaru-l-Mulk-al-Sultāni. (Z. W. 881, l. 21). The epithet 'Sulṭāni' was in fact a much coveted title of honour. Another 'Imādu-l-Mulk, whose original name was Bashīr, is often called Bashīr-i-Sultāni, as he was a personal slave of Sultān Fīrūz Tughlaq. (347, 372 *infra*). Still another Amīr entitled Ṣafdar Khān-i-Sultāni is mentioned in the T. M. (Text, 149, l. 15; E. D. IV. 24).

III. 259, *l.* **7.** *If I had sent him as a memorial to the King of Eden.*

Dowson can scarcely mean the Eden of the Book of Genesis, which has been located in Mesopotamia, Arabia or the Nile Delta. It is not the Garden in which Adam and Eve dwelt in "blissful solitude", but Aden. Marco Polo mentions it and says that the ships which came from the West, as from Hormos, and from Kīsa [Kīsh], and from *Aden and all Arabia*, laden with horses and other things for sale, used to touch at Kāyal. (Tr. Yule, Ed. Cordier, II. 370). Ibn Baṭūṭa speaks of Aden as "the port most frequented by the people of India. Great ships arrive there from Cambay, Tāna, Kaulam, Calicut, Fandarāina *et cetera*." (Defrémery, II., 177). Aden was one of the most ancient and celebrated ports in the Indian Ocean. "Its position in the Gulf, commanding the entrance of the Red Sea, gave the power holding it control over the whole trade of the East, which passed to Europe by way of Egypt.....Allusions to it in the mediaeval Arab. chroniclers are frequent." (Dames, Tr. Barbosa, I. 53, Note).

III. 260, *l.* **8 from foot.** *On the third or fourth day, he reached Karra.*

The Text reads كده بتى "Kadah-Bati" (518, l. 2 f. f.), which is a miswriting of كدى پتن "Kaḍi Paṭṭan", *i. e.* Kaḍi near Paṭṭan. Paṭṭan or Pāṭan is the old Nahrwāla or Aṇahilvāḍ. Kaḍi is now the chief town of a district in the Gāikwāḍ's dominions. It is frequently mentioned in connection with military operations in Gujarāt in the reign of Akbar. (E.D.V. 179, 431). The Ṭ. A. (110, l. 14) and F. (I. 142, l. 2 f. f.) call the place كرى or كرهى in their summaries of Barani.

III. 261, *l.* 8. *Taghi.....proceeded to Kant-barāhi.*

'Kant-barāhi' is a toponym belonging only to the realm of phantasy. It does not exist and will not be found in any map or atlas. Dowson's reading and interpretation is followed in the C. H. I. III. 170 and the place-name is there supposed to represent or misrepresent Khambhāliya in Jāmnagar, Kāṭhiawāḍ, though there is little or no resemblance, even in sound, between the two names. The fact of the matter is that the translation is not correct. Barani's words are در کنت براهی رفت (519, l. 14), which really mean that Ṭaghi "went to *Kant by some road* [*or route*]." *Barāhi* is not a part of the place-name at all. It is merely براه *i.e. rāh* road, with the preposition *ba* prefixed. Dowson has, somehow, fallen into an exactly similar error in connection with a place called 'Karcha,' which has been read by him as 'Karchabarāh' in E. D. VII. p. 62, l. 14. The Ṭ. A. understands Barani to say that Ṭaghi "went towards Kant, in the province of Kachh, after crossing the waters of the Raṇn." از آبِ رن گذشته بجانبِ کنت رفت از ولایتِ کچهه (110, l. 20). F. (I. 143, l. 3) takes exactly the same view and copies these words. Ḥājji Dabīr also states that Ṭaghi fled to Kānth. (Ẓ. W. 883, l. 15). This consensus should settle the matter and both 'Kantbarāhi' and 'Khambhālia' must be rejected. Kant or Kanth may be "Kanth-Koṭ" in Vāgaḍ in the east of Kachh. There is an old fort there on the top of an isolated rocky hill. Mūlarāja the Solanki (or Chālukya) King of Aṇahilvāḍ is said to have sought refuge there, when pursued by Tailapa about 950 A. C. Muẓaffar I of Gujarāt also besieged it in 1410 A. C. and it is mentioned by Abu-l-Faẓl as one of the two strongest forts of Kachh. (*Āīn*, Tr. II. 250; B. G. Vol. V, (Cutch), p. 227).

If Kant-barāhi *is supposed* to be a *real* toponym, Koṭhāriā or Kanṭhāriā, which are both the names of places still existing in Kachh (I. G. XIV. 405), and Kāṭhiāwāḍ (I. G. XVI. 2) respectively, would be more plausible emendations or restorations than Khambāliya. Kothāria in south-west Kachh is situated about twelve miles south-east of Jakhau. (B. G. V. Cutch, 231). Kanthāria is now in Babāriāwād under Junāgaḍh, and lies about eight miles north of Jāfarābād. (B. G. VIII. 505).

III. 264, *l.* 4. *Khankhār and the Rāna of Karnal being taken prisoners, were brought to the court.*

Sic in the B.I. Text کهنکهار وزانه کرنال را گرفته بدر گاه آوردند (523, l. 9). But the conjunction must be an error and it had not been interpolated in Ḥājji Dabīr's copy of Barani's History, as he rightly and explicitly tells his readers that *Rānā Kankhār was the lord of Karnāl*, رانا کنکهار صاحبِ کرنال (Ẓ. W. 885, l. 2). Indeed, Barani himself in an earlier reference to the subject at 262 *ante*, states that the "Sūltan first directed his attention to the taking of Karnāl and the fort of Khangār" [or "to the extirpation of Khangār]." سلطان محمد مهمِ کرنال و قلعِ کهنگار مقدم داشت (521, l. 4). قلع signifies both 'fort,' 'castle' or 'stronghold' and 'uprooting or extirpation.' Barani uses قلع for 'extirpation', قلع و قمعِ سومسگان,

" Extirpation and eradication of the Sūmras" on 524, l. 7.

The history of the Chuḍāsamā Princes of Karnāl, *i.e.* Girnār or Junāgaḍh, is now fairly well-known from epigraphic sources, the Jaina Chronicles of the Chālukyas of Gujarāt, a Sanskrit poetical history called the *Māndalik Kāvya* and other local records. The name Khengār occurs five times in the dynastic list of this family and the Khengār, in whose reign Girnār was besieged by Muḥammad Tughlaq, was the fourth of that name and the son of Mahipāla. (See B.G. I. Pt. i. 231; *Ibid*, VIII. 497; *Tārīkh-i-Sorath*, Tr. Burgess, 114, 129; Burgess, Antiquities of Cutch and Kāṭhiāwāḍ, in the Arch. Surv. of Western India Reports, II, 164; Duff, C. I. 284). He is mentioned in two inscriptions also in the temples on Mount Girnār as the repairer of the great shrine of Somanāth after its desecration by the army of 'Alāu-d-dīn Khalji, (B.G. I. i, 190; B. G. VIII, (Kāṭhiāwāḍ), 497).

In this connection, it is necessary to state that the author of the Ṭ. A. is responsible for the dissemination of another error. He has interpolated by way of gloss, the statement that Khengār was the Rājā of Kachh (111, l. 12) and this has been copied from him by F. (I. 143, 14) and from the latter, by many other writers, including Sir Wolseley Haig. (C. H. I. III, 172). The origin of this extraordinary imbroglio appears to be that Khengār *happened* to be the name of the Rājā of Kachh in this author's day. That Khengār took a prominent part in the Gujarāt Revolt of 991 H., which Niẓāmu-d-dīn assisted in putting down. The fortuitous coincidence of the names seems to have led him to jump to the conclusion that Khengār was the dynastic title of the Rulers of Kachh and that the Khengār of Barani must have been so called because he was the king of that country. The local history of Kachh in the mediaeval age has been put together from the records of the Bhāṭs and Chāraṇs and the dynastic list of the Jāḍejās may be found in the fifth Volume of the Bombay Gazetteer. It appears from this that the Khengār who was king of Kachh in the days of Akbar was the first ruler of the whole province who had borne that name. He does not appear, at least so far as our knowledge extends, to have had any namesake of note among his predecessors. It is not impossible that some outlying districts of Kachh may have been overrun or harried and plundered by the Musalman troopers during Muḥammad's stay in Gujarāt or in his march to Sind, but there was nothing bearing even a distant resemblance to a conquest of the country and there is not a tittle of evidence to indicate that the Rājā of Kachh appeared before Muḥammad to make his submission or acknowledge him as his overlord. The only reliable authority on the Muḥammadan side is Barani and it is significant that *even the name of Kachh does not occur anywhere in his History*. The guesses and glosses of the subsequent compilers and their reiteration by modern European authors should not mislead us.

III. 264, *l.* **7.** *This [Gondal] is a place in the direction of Tatta, Sumargān, and Damrīla.*

این کوندل موضعی است برسمت تتهٔ سومرگان و مریله ; 523, l. 1 1. Dowson understood 'Sūmargān' as the name of a place and has registered it as a place-name in his Geographical Index. (VIII. p. xxxvi). But تتهٔ سومرگان means "*Ṭhaṭṭa* of the Sūmras". The Sūmras were a powerful local tribe who held sway in southern Sind from about the middle of the eleventh century to the first quarter of the fourteenth. On the immediately following page, Dowson himself makes Barani speak of "crushing the Sūmras of Tatta", قلع و قمع سومرگان تتهه ; 524, l. 7.

In the B.I. Text of Barani, what Dowson calls 'Damrīla' is, in this passage, written مریله 'Marela' (523, l. 11) and so also at 269, l. 11, and 348, l. 5. But it is spelt 'Damrīla' on 519, l. 16. The place has not been identified and even Raverty was unable to make up his mind about it. He tells us that the ruins near Shakarpur [or Shāh Kapūr], about 28 miles east of Ṭhaṭṭa, may be those of Damrīla (Mihrān, 229 Note), but elsewhere in the same monograph, he opines that the petrified city near Lahri Bandar mentioned by Ibn Baṭūṭa may stand on the site of Damrīla. (*Ibid.* 323 Note). He postulates that Damrīla must have been in close proximity to Ṭhaṭṭa, because they are mentioned together by Barani, but this assumption is neither necessary nor warranted and it is quite possible that Ṭhaṭṭa and Damrīla are named and bracketed together as the southern and northern limits of the kingdom of the Sūmras. It may be also pointed out that the ruins near Shāh Kapūr are believed by Elliot, General Haig and Mr. Cousens to be those of Muḥammad Tūr and not of Damrīla. In Elliot's extracts from the *Tārīkh-i-Jahānkushā*, the name of this place appears on one and the same page as *Darbela* and *Damrīla* (E. D. II. 398), while the Text has 'Marīla.' It is *not impossible* that 'Damrīla' may be an error by metathesis of 'Darbela,' a fairly well-known place which lies about ten miles north of Naushahro. Constable, Pl. 26, B b.

But if the right reading is *Marela* and Ḥājji Dabīr also spells it مریله (Z. W. 885, l. 4), it may be Maṭelo or Mathelo, a very old town near Ghotki railway station (*q. v.* my note on Vol. I. 231) or some other place of the same name in Southern Sindh.

III. 264, *l.* 13 from foot. *He was there joined by Altūn Bahādur with [reinforcements] sent by.....the Amīr of Farghan.*

فرستادهٔ امیر فرغن ; 524, l. 3. But the T.A. has 'Qarghan,' قرغن (111, l. 24; 112, l. 14) and so also F. (I. 143, l. 6 f. f.). The T. M. (118, l. 9) and B. explicitly state that Amīr Qarghan (variant *Qazghan*) was the regent (نایب) of the Pādishāh of Khurāsān (I. 240, Tr. I. 320), which indicates that they knew him to be the all-powerful minister of Sultan Qāzān. Ḥājji Dabīr has "Qazghan". (Z. W. 885, l. 13). It is clear from the histories of the Mongols also that the right reading is Qarghan. According to the *Shajrat-al-Atrāk*, Sultan Qāzān ascended the throne of *Māwarāu-n-Nahr* in 733 A. H. One of his most powerful nobles, Amīr Qarghan rebelled against him and was defeated in the first battle, but was victori-

ous in the second and Sultan Qāzān was slain. Qarghan then raised two puppet-princes successively to the throne and remained the virtual ruler and king-maker until his assassination in 760 H. by Tughlaq Tamūr, his own brother-in-law. (Tr. Miles, 374-377. See also Oliver's paper on the Coins of the Chaghatāi Mongols. J. A. S. B. LX, p. 10). According to Ney Elias and Ross (Tr. *Tārīkh-i-Rashīdi*, Introd. 49), Sultān Qāzān reigned from 744 to 747 A. H. (1343 to 1346 A. C.). Erskine also states that Qāzān Khān was slain in 747 H. in a revolt headed by Amīr Qazghan. (H. B. H. I. 540).

III. 272, *l.* 16. *It was decided that Tughlik Shāh should proceed to the villages (talwandi) belonging to Rāna Mall.*

Elliot says (*ante* 70 note) that *talwandi* or *talwāra* is "a common name for a village in many parts of the Upper Punjab." It may be therefore worth while to observe that its original signification in the 14th century is thus stated by Barani himself. و تلوندی گردونهاست که رعایا در آن صحرا که اندک آبی یشنوند گردونها را و مواشیها را آنجا برند سال دوازده ماه با زن و بچه در گردونهای هتوطن گردند; 568, l. 10. "A Talwandi consists of the carts which the peasants carry with their cattle to those spots in the wilderness where a moderate quantity of water is said to be obtainable. They take up their residence in those carts, with their wives and children, all the year round (*lit.* for twelve months in the year)". Barani's 'talwandi' would therefore appear to have been very similar to the 'Laager' of the Boers of South Africa, which is defined in Chambers' Twentieth Century Dictionary as "a camp made by a ring of ox-waggons set close together, the spaces beneath being filled up with the baggage of the company".

Should we not read the name of the father of the girl as 'Raṇmal Bhaṭṭi' instead of 'Rāna Mal Bhaṭṭi'?

III. 273, *l.* 20. *The author's great grandfather used to say that he had given Firoz Shāh a cup of milk.*

The word used in the text is فرجدّه, which means 'great grand*mother*'. She is said to have "put a cup of her own milk into the mouth of the infant Firūz". من جامِ شیرِ خود در دهانِ مبارکِ سلطان فیروز میدادم (Text, 39, l. 6 f. f.). What Shams really says is that his *great grandmother* had sometimes suckled Firūz, as her own son had been born at about the same time as the Sultan. She had acted as a sort of foster-mother or wet-nurse at times.

III. 274, *l.* 12. *The Sultān [Ghiyāṣu-d-dīn Tughlaq] was engaged for four years and a half in travelling about his dominions.*

سلطان تغلق چهار و نیم سال در ملك جولانگری نمود; 41, l. 6 f. f. "The Sultan Tughlaq galloped upon [or displayed his skill in riding] the steed of sovereignty for four years and a half", which really means that he ruled the state and wielded the powers of a sovereign during that period. We may be sure that the Sultan was not and could not have been "travelling about his dominions" all this time and we know that almost the only

occasion on which he is recorded to have left Dehli was in connection with the expedition to Lakhnauti in the last year of his reign. Shams is very fond of this metaphorical expression and it occurs very frequently in his pages : در مقامات فرحت جولانگری نمودند (182, l. 1) ; در زیر سایه چند شاهی و پادشاهی ازجملهٔ سلاطین ; (480, l. 7 f. f.) درصدر عزّت جولانگری نمودند ; (242, l. 2) جولانگری نمودند ; جولان means دوانیدن اسپ, according to the *Ghiyāsu-l-Lughāt*. (255, l. 7). که در زمین .....جولانگری نمودند

III. 277, *l.* **3 from foot.** *The first act of Firoz Shāh was to invest Shīr-ābrū-chashm with the duties of 'Imādu-l-Mulk.*

"Shīr-ābrū-chashm" is impossible as a collocation and nonsensical as a name. سلطان فیروز اول .... در روز جلوس این امر کرد و گفت بشیرا برو حشم را گرد آر آزین شغل عماد المللی او یافت (48, l. 11). "The first order issued by Sultan Firūz on the day of his accession was this: He said 'Bashirā, go and bring together [collect, arrange in proper order, or marshal] the troops' [who had been dispersed and scattered after the death of Muḥammad Tughlaq]. On account of this [the assignment of this duty to him], he obtained the office or title of 'Imādu-l-Mulk."

On page 61, l. 7, of the Text, Shams speaks of this man as Malik 'Imādu-l-Mulk Bashīr; on 216, l. 11, he is called "Bashīrā, that is, 'Imādu-l-Mulk". At 285, l. 4 f. f., it is explicitly stated that Sultan Firūz conferred the office of Commander-in-Chief (*Sar-lashkar*) upon his slave Bashīrā and gave him the title of 'Imādu-l-Mulk, soon after his accession. Dowson himself calls him "'Imādu-l-Mulk Bashīr-i-Sultāni". (347 and 372 *infra*).

III. 284, *l.* **7.** *Accordingly, he [Khwāja-i-Jahān] started from Dehli on a Thursday and on the same day arrived at Ismā'īl, which is twenty-four Kos distant. On the next day, being Friday, after prayers, he proceeded to the Hauz-i-Khās-i-'Alā.*

There is something amiss here. Khwāja-i-Jahān could not have arrived at a place 24 *Kos* distant from Dehli on a Thursday and also left Dehli and "proceeded to the Hauẓ-i-Khāṣ," which was very near Dehli, on a Friday. There is no such confusion in the Text, which clearly states that it was *Qiwāmu-l-Mulk, Khān-i-Jahān* who had left Dehli and reached Ism'āīl on the Thursday. Khwāja-i-Jahān followed him as soon as he knew of his departure, on the ensuing day—Friday—and proceeded to the Hauẓ-i-Khāṣ outside the city. Cf. the *Tārīkh-i-Mubārakshāhi* also which states that when Khān-i-Jahān left Dehli with all his followers on Thursday, the last day of Jamādi II., 752 H., Khwāja-i-Jahān was, of necessity, obliged to follow on the next day. (Text, 122, l. 9 f.f.).

III. 285, *l.* **16.** *His turban off, a tālika (?) on his head.*

و یگ از سر او فرود آورده وطاقیه بر سر خود نهاده ; 70, l. 5 f. f. The right reading is "Ṭāqia" not "Tālika". It means a skull-cap, fillet or head-covering which is used by Dervishes and Faqīrs and the humble poor who cannot afford the expense and were not permitted the luxury of a turban.

By the upper classes, it is concealed and worn under the turban. As Khwāja-i-Jahān appeared before the Sultan as a criminal who knew that his life was forfeit, he doffed his turban in token of his abject condition. But as he had entirely shaved off his hair and as it would have been a gross breach of court etiquette to appear bare-headed before His Majesty, he covered it with the skull-cap commonly worn by tonsured recluses and ascetics who have renounced the world.

Khwāndamīr says that when Sultān Mas'ūd Ghaznavi was in prison, his nephew 'Abdu-r-Raḥmān mockingly snatched away the "Ṭāqia" (skull cap) from his uncle's head, but the other brother 'Abdur-r-Raḥīm took it away from him and replaced it, for which respectful behaviour, Maudūd spared his life, when he subsequently put to death his uncle Muḥammad and all his other sons. (E. D. IV. 199). The story is copied by F. (I. 44, l. 17). The words کلاه و طاقیه occur in the *Tārīkh-i-Khān Jahān Lodi* also and are correctly rendered by Sir H. Elliot as 'caps'. (E. D. V. 76; see also my note on V. 180, l. 19). The word is used more than once in this sense in the *Humāyūn Nāma* of the Princess Gulbadan. (Text, 72, l. 1; 90, l. 3 f. f.; 93, l. 10.=Tr. 173, 195).

III. 285, *l.* **20.** *He sent his own Chaudol to convey him to the grass-plot, where he promised to meet and converse with him.*

The B. I. Text has نجورم گاه برند (71, l. 10) and one of the Mss. reads و یکی خورمگاه و چند پرکاله سراپچه بر آرند. The real meaning of the word *Khurramgāh* is explained by Ibn Baṭūṭa as "a kind of room constructed of planks hung with cloths". He says Malik Kāfūr used to sleep in a *Khurramgāh* on the terrace of the *Hazār-Sitūn* palace and that he was assassinated there shortly after 'Alāu-d-dīn's death. (602 *infra*). It was in fact a wooden tent or pavilion and the سراپچه پرکاله were, no doubt, the "pieces of cloth", or hangings mentioned by Ibn Baṭūṭa. Barani also tells us that a 'khurramgāh' was pitched for Kāfūr on the terrace of the Hazār-Sitūn, where he used to hold secret consultations and play 'Koḍis' with his adherents and associates. (374, l. 2 f.f.). In the counterpart passage, the Ṭ. A. (86, l. 3 f. f.) and F. (I. 124, l. 5) use the shorter and more modern form خرگاه. Steingass says that خرمگاه is the same as خرگاه 'a large tent'.

III, 286, last line. *The Sultān ....marched in great state from Karoda towards the city. After several stages, he arrived at Hānsi.*

The text reads (78, l. 10) اکروده, Akroda or Agroda. We have only to read the 'dāl' as a 'wāv' to get the real name, اگرووه, *Agrowah*, a very old town which lies about twenty-seven miles north of Hānsi. Thornton says Agrowa lies on the route from Hiṣār to Sirsā and 12 miles north of the former. He also states that Hānsi is 89 miles and Hiṣār 104 miles north-west of Dehli. This اکروده, *i. e.* Agrowa has been mentioned before also by Shams (Text, 70, l. 6), as the place near Dhānsūr, where Khwāja-i-Jahān had alighted before appearing in the presence of Fīrūz Shāh in

his camp near Ikdār or Fatḥābād. According to the I. G., Agrowah, which is now in the Fatḥābād taḥṣīl, lies 13 miles north-west of Ḥiṣār. (V. 91). Constable, Pl. 25, A c. Lat. 29°-20′ N., Long. 75°-38′ E. Dhansūr is Dhānsūr, eight miles north of Ḥisār. It is now a station on the North-Western Railway.

Sir Wolseley Haig says "Agroha is now Hissār" (C. H. I. III. 153), but this is hardly correct, as the two towns are entirely distinct and 13 miles distant from each other and are separately shown in Constable's Atlas. Agrowa is mentioned also by Barani, who says that Sultan Muḥammad Tughlaq went from Sunnām to Agroha and thence to Dehli. (245 *ante* = Text 483, l. 8). Ibn Baṭūṭa speaks of it as lying between Sarsūti and Hānsi and calls it اکروهه. (Defrémery, III. 372).

III. 287, *l.* **13.** *The Sultān, in reverence of the Shaikh, promised to abstain from hunting.*

He gave no such promise or undertaking. Indeed, it is common knowledge that hunting continued to be his favourite diversion upto almost the end of his long life and that he remained passionately and almost inordinately fond of it. What he really did on this occasion was to give an evasive reply. Its purport was to beg the Shaikh to kindly pray to Allah that that "He might draw him away from this thing". فرمود خدمتِ شیخ دعا کنند که الله از این چیز باز آرد. (80, l. 6.) Shams states that the Shaikh took this polite refusal to repent in great dudgeon and was so aggrieved, that he forthwith left the Sultan's presence and declined to accept a costly robe which was sent to him as a present or souvenir on the ground that it was made of silk.

III. 290, *l.* **10 from foot.** *The Sultān and Khudāwand-Zāda used to sit down together in the robe room.*

سلطان فیروز شاه و خداوند زاده هر دو در جامه خانه می نشستند; 100, last line. "Sultān Fīrūz Shah and Khudāwand-zāda sat down on the same carpet."

The word used is جامه خانه which is neither a 'robe room' nor 'a room of mirrors', but a "carpet." It occurs several times in this work and this is the only meaning that can be consistently assigned to it. For instance, in his description of the rules of etiquette which were observed when the Sultān held court, Shams says that Ẓafar Khān *ibn* Ẓafar Khān sat in front on the carpet (جامه خانه) on the left side. (281, l. 5). On 348, l. 7, he writes, و خانجهان دستور برجامه خانه آرام گرفته " and Khān-i-Jahān the Vazīr was resting or reclining on the carpet". Elsewhere, we are told that when Sultān Fīrūz and Sayyid Jalālu-d-dīn Bukhāri met for the last time in their lives, they sat down on the same carpet. هر دو بزرگوار درآن محل بر یك جامه خانه نشستند (514, last line). According to the Code of Court-etiquette, no one was permitted to sit down on the same carpet as the king, unless he was a person of equal rank or dignity and even the greatest nobles and the Chief Minister of State sat upon carpets at certain fixed distances, which were most jealously and meticulously adjusted according to clearly defined rules.

As Khudāwand-zāda was the daughter of one Sultān and the sister of another, whom Firūz held in the greatest veneration as his patron and benefactor, an exception was made in her favour and she enjoyed the privilege of sitting on the same carpet as the Sultan, while her husband had to stand and her son to sit *behind* her. It would be easy to cite any number of instances illustrative of this rule of etiquette. Jauhar the 'Āftābchi' informs us that when Humāyūn was a refugee in Persia and paid his last visit to Ṭahmāsp, the Shāh folded up his carpet, so that no one could share any portion of it and Humāyūn would be forced either to stand or sit on the bare ground. A Mughal named Ḥājji Muḥammad had the presence of mind to save the situation, by tearing off the ornamental cover of his quiver and spreading it out, so as to improvise a seat for his master. (Stewart's Tr. Reprint, 106; Erskine, H.B.H., II. 293-294). Ḥājji Dabīr tells us that when Āṣaf Khān, one of the greatest nobles of Bahādur Shāh of Gujarāt, returned from Mekka, Sultān Maḥmūd Laṭīf went forward and embraced him. They then sat down on the same carpet and Āṣaf Khān was forthwith appointed Regent with full powers and the title of *Vakīl-i-Muṭlaq*. (*Z. W.* 290).

Another anecdote exemplifying this feature of the Oriental code of manners is told in the *Maāṣiru-l-Umarā*, in the Life of Miyān Fahīm. He is said to have roundly abused Sundar, Rājā Bikramājīt, to his face, because he, a Hindu, had had the impudence to sit on the same carpet with Dārāb Khān, the grandson of Bairam Khān. (I, 712, l. 6).

III. 291, *l.* **9.** *The Sultan paid his accustomed visit* [*to Khudāwand-zādah*] *and sat down to converse as usual.*

Here again, the author's words are در یك جامه خانه نشستند; 102, l. 8. "They sat down on one and the same carpet". This word جامه‌خانه is understood and rendered in the C.H.I., III. 87, as 'bedding,' but Sultāns and Sultān's daughters do not sit down to converse on 'beddings'. Barani uses the phrase بساطهای منقش و جامه خانهای ملوّن "Figured and variegated carpets." (*T. F.* 32, l. 9).

III. 291, *l.* **10.** *Dāwar Malik, son of Khudāwandzāda, but by another husband than the base Khusrū Malik, sat behind.*

Shams does not tell and perhaps did not know the name of the other husband, but Barani clears up this mystery. He says that Dāwar Malik's father was Qāẓi Ṣadru-d-dīn-i-'Ārif, who was the son of the daughter نبیسهٔ دختریں of the Ṣadr-i-Jahān Minhāj-i-Jūzjāni—the author of the *Ṭabaqāt-i-Nāṣiri*. We learn from him that Ṣadru-d-dīn-i-'Ārif was chief Qāẓi and Ṣadr-i-Jahān under 'Alāu-d-dīn. (247, l. 15; 351, l. 12). This is corroborated to a certain extent by the T.M., which states that Dāwar Malik was the title bestowed on Maulānā Yūsuf by Muḥammad Tughlaq at his accession and that Muḥammad's daughter was given to him in marriage. (Text, 98, l. 14). The epithet *Maulānā* seems to support Barani's statement and this Yūsuf must have been chosen as the Sultān's son-in-law because he was his sister's son (nephew). There is some

confusion in Dowson's translation about the parentage of Dāwar Malik. At page 276 *ante*, he makes Shams say that Dāwar Malik was Khudāwandzāda's son by Khusrau Malik, though there is nothing in the text to warrant the assertion. (*Vide* Text, 45, l. 11). Its erroneousness is also shown by the categorical denial in the passage under notice and the point is further placed beyond doubt by the statement I have cited from Barani. F. makes *Khusrau* Malik the son of Muḥammad Tughlaq's sister and states that he was the commander of the Qarāchal expedition and one of those who met their death there. (I. 135, l. 14). This is all utterly wrong and flatly belied by the authorities of weight.

III. 291, *l.* 9 from foot. *Rāi Bhirū Bhatti remained in attendance.*

He is said in the Text (103, l. 5 f. f.) to have been the بنا *Binā* of the Sultān, which has no meaning and must be a perversion of نیا, mother's brother, maternal uncle. Barani says that Muḥammad Maulānā was the نیا of Sultān Quṭbu-d-dīn Mubārak. (381, l. 5 = 211 *suprà*). Richardson says نیا *Niyā*, means grandfather, but the *Ghiyāṣu-i-Lughāt* adds that it is also used for the maternal uncle, who is styled ماموں *Māmūn* in Hindustān. Steingass gives both these senses. Elsewhere, Barani speaks of Raṇdhaval as the نیا of Khusrau Khān. (408, l. 10; 410, l. 12; 222 *supra*). The real name is most probably not 'Bhiru' but the Punjābi *Pheru*. Cf. Pherushahr, the original and correct name of the place now called Ferozeshāh. (Hobson Jobson, 350).

III. 293, *l.* 2. *Two names were selected to be mentioned after that of Firūz Shāh, viz. 1. Muhammad bin Firoz Shāh; 2. 'Alāu-d-dīn Sikandar Shāh, and till the end of the reign, these names were mentioned in the prayers.*

There must be something wrong here. How could the name of 'Alāu-d-dīn Sikandar Shāh, who ascended the throne five years after the death of Firūz Shāh have been mentioned, in the *Khuṭba* upto the end of the reign of Firūz, *i.e.* while he was alive? But Shams does not really say any such thing. His words are:

دو تاجدار برگزیده حضرتِ ودود را خطبه بعد از سلطان فیروز قرار یافته یکی سلطان محمد بن فیروز شاه دوم سلطان علا الدین سکندر شاه فی الجمله تا غایتِ ایام خطبا نای خوش کلام . . . . . خطبه بنامِ این تاجداران . . . . میخوانند (107, l. 5).

"The Khuṭbas of two crowned heads, the chosen of the Almighty, *came to be established after* [*the death of*] *Sultān Firūz, viz.*, of (1) Sultan Muḥammad *bin* Firūz Shāh and (2) of Sultan 'Alāu-d-dīn Sikandar Shāh. In short, eloquent Khaṭībs have been reciting the Khuṭba in the names of these rulers *upto the present time.*" (*lit.* upto the end of these days, *i. e.* the time of writing).

This passage must have been indited at some time during the short reign of 'Alāu-d-dīn Sikandar Shāh between Rab'ī I and Rab'ī II, 795 A.H. =January-March, 1394 A. C. Thomas also was puzzled by it, because he misunderstood it (C. P. K. D., 306 note), having taken غایتِ ایام to

mean " End of the reign [of Firūz] " like Dowson.

III. 294, *l.* **12.** *And the Sultan followed by way of Champāran and Rāchap.*

As Dowson could make nothing of ' Rāchap ', he has noted the *variae lectiones* of his Mss., جسارت راچتر and جیارن رچتر. The B. I. Text reads سلطان فیروز شاه رای جیارن راچتر داده (111, l. 13). " Sultan Firūz bestowed an umbrella (conferred the honour of carrying one) upon the Rājā of Chapāran." *Jīāran* in the B. I. Text, is an obvious miswriting of چیارن 'Chapāran.' Barani says that when Firūz marched through Kharosā and Gorakhpur, the Rājās of those districts did him homage and paid up all the arrears of tribute. In return, the Sultan gave the Rājā of Gorakhpur, who was " a very great Rāi, an *umbrella*, (چتر), a diadem and a dress of honour." (587, l. 16). Now, we know that early in the fourteenth century, one of the local chiefs had "founded a kingdom which extended over a considerable area in both *Gorakhpūr and Champāran.*" (I. G. XII, 333; Ray. D. H. N. I. 203). The Rājā of Kūrākhūr [*Recte*, Gorakhpur] is said, in the T. M. also (Text, 124, last line; E. D. IV. 8), to have waited upon the Sultan, offered a tribute of twenty lacs of *Tangas* with two elephants and to have been received into favour. His name is also given as Udi Singh. It seems to me that Barani's Rājā of Gorakhpur must be identical with the ' Rājā of Chapāran ' of Shams and there can be little doubt that the B. I. Text gives the clue to the right reading.

III. 294, *l.* **14.** *The Sultan . . . . . threw up batteries (Kungura) and dug entrenchments all round it.*

" Batteries" is hardly the right word in this context or for those times. The B. I. Text again differs and gives the better reading and the better sense, و گرد بر گرد لشکر خود کتگره بندانید و خندق کاوانید (111, l. 3 f.f). " And all round the lines of his army, he had a wooden stockade constructed." The word is not *Kungura*, but ' Kaṭghara ', lit. 'wooden house,' which is frequently used by Amīr Khusrau and explained by Dowson as ' a wooden defence ' (81 *supra*), that is, a ' palisade ' or ' stockade '. Shams uses it again on 149, l. 9, and there Dowson has given it the meaning of 'wooden huts'. (308 *infra*). See also Text, 167, last line, where a کتگهره or wooden palisade ten *gaz* in breadth and seven *gaz* in height is said to have been put up all round the jungle, into which the wild elephants were driven and caught, by what is known as the ' roping-in ' or ' Kheḍḍah ' method of capturing these beasts.

In the very valuable account of Sultan Firūz's first invasion of Lakhnauti, which can be read in Barani's history, he explicitly states that " the men in the army received orders to set up a *Kaṭghara.*" فرمان شد تا خلق لشکر کتگهره مرتب کنند (590, l. 6). The word occurs again at the same page on l. 12 and at 591, l. 10, where it is said that when the camping-ground was changed, the soldiers came out of the ' Kaṭghar.' از کتگهر بیرون آمدند

III. 294, *l.* **2 from foot.** [*Shamsu-d-dīn*] *fortified himself in the islands of Ikdāla.*

It is clear from this author's description, that Ikdāla was situated

somewhere near Pandua in the midst of swamps and that there was a river at a distance of seven *Kos* from it. Westmacott identified it with the village of Ekdāla in the Dhanjar pargana of Dinājpur district. This place lies about twenty-three miles north of (Ḥaẓrat) Pandua in Mālda district, forty-two miles north of Lakhnauti or Gaur, and 15 miles west of Ghorāghāt on the Mālda side of the river Tangan. (J. A. S. B. 1874, pp. 244, 245). Westmacott's identification has been confirmed and upheld by later research. Mr. H. E. Stapleton recently declared in a paper read before the Royal Asiatic Society of London that " Ekdāla occupied an area of about 25 miles in the present Dinājpur district. It was enclosed within a broad moat which was formed by linking up the Chiramati and Buliya rivers by canals. The site of the battle between Shamsu-d-dīn Ilyās and the Dehli Sultan must have been the plain that stretches to the south of the southern moat for ten or twelve miles, almost to the present boundary of Mālda district." (Report in the Times of India, 24th April, 1934). See also I. G. XIX. 392, where the same view is taken.

In the C. H. I. (III, 176), Ikdāla is described as "a village situated on islands in the Brahmaputra and protected by the dense jungle which clothed the river's banks," but a glance at the map must show that any reference to the Brahmaputra in the Mālda or Dinājpur district is unthinkable and must be founded on some inadvertence or misapprehension.

III. 294, foot note. *Barani says ..... that the Sultān's march was through Gorakhpur, Kharonsa and Tirhūt.*

Abul Faẓl says Kharonsa was a *Maḥāl* in *Sarkār* Bahrāich, *Ṣūba* Awadh, and that the town had a stone fort in his day. (*Āīn*, Tr. II. 176). There is a village named Khorasa in the Gondā district of the U. P. It has a branch post-office (*vide* the Post Office Guide) and lies about five miles distant from the modern town of Gondā.

III. 296, *l.* 21. *Tātār Khān cried, 'O Shams-i-Siyāh (Black Sun), whither art thou flying?'*

'Black Sun' is meaningless and can have no application in this context. What Tātār Khān really said was یا شمس ِ سیاه رو کجا میروی (l. 11). " O black-faced Shams[u-d-dīn], whither art thou wending? "

' Black-faced' has, probably, a double meaning. It refers primarily to the dusky complexion of the Bengal Sultān who was not fair and ruddy like the Turks. It is also employed as a term of reproach or revilement, signifying a coward, dastard or poltroon, whose face had been blackened or disgraced by flight. The inhabitants of Bengal are contemptuously called سیاه رویان by Barani also, who says in his account of Firūz Shāh's invasion that " heaps and heaps of those *black-faced ones* were slain." از کشته شدگان ِ آن سیاه رویان خرمنها و تود ها بر آمد (592, l. 3 f. f.).

III. 297, *l.* 14. *For Bengal was a land of swamps.*

زمین بنگاله زمین رجاله است; 119, l. 5 f. f. Dowson says in the footnote that three Mss. agree in reading رجاله or رحاله, words which have no appropriate

meaning. He has therefore read the word as چهله. But رجاله is quite correct. It means 'virile or stalwart fighting men, infantry.' It has the same signification as the Persian 'Piāda', the Hindi *Pāik*, and the English 'Foot'. Shams uses the word more than once in this sense. For instance, he says that Shamsu-d-dīn Ilyās attacked Firūz Shāh "with a large army and innumerable foot-soldiers". بالشکر فراوان و رجالهٔ بی پایان (114, l. 1 f. f.). Elsewhere, he writes, و شاه بنگاله با نام رجاله درون جزائر آکداله حصاری شد (149, l. 15). "The King of Bangāla entrenched himself in the islands of Ikdāla with all his foot-soldiers" [رجاله]. It is also said of Ẓafar Khān that he had "a countless number of Bengali foot-soldiers in his train". در تبع او رجاله بنگاله بسیار و بیشمار بود (207, l. 1). B. also employs the phrase چندین هزار پیادهٔ رجاله, "several thousand brave (lit. manly) foot-soldiers". پیادهٔ رجاله is found also in the Ṭ. A. (236, l. 2 f. f.). رجل means 'a man, a man of intrepidity'. It also signifies 'the being or standing on foot' and رجال is the plural form (Richardson). F. speaks of اردو لشکر و رجاله (I. 49, l. 5) and رجالهٔ اردو (I. 73, l. 17). ابطال رجال "Brave warriors" also occurs. (I. 50, l. 2). Ḥājji Dabīr uses راجل for 'infantry'. (Ẓ. W. 906, l. 18). Turmuẓ was called مدینه الرجال 'The City of Men', because it was 'a virgin city' and had never been captured by any enemy. (Miles, Tr. *Shajrat-al-Atrāk*, 147 and 148 *Note*). Barani repeatedly speaks of the martial spirit and truculence of the *Pāiks* of Bengal who are the رجاله of this passage. (Text, 83, l. 2 f. f.; 593, l. 2). They were, in fact, "the landed militia of the province, who combined with the most profound barbarism, and the blindest devotion to the will of their chiefs, a fervency and unquietness of disposition which rendered them an important and formidable class of the population". (Stirling Account of Orissa. 1810, p. 38). What Shams means is that the province was difficult to conquer, because its kings could command an inexhaustible supply of man-power in these Pāiks.

III. 298, last line. *In that country, there is no other village than the Kharak.*

The meaning of this vernacular word is not quite certain, but the above rendering is, in any case, erroneous. What Shams says is در آن زمین هیچ دیهی بغیر کهرک نباشد; 125, l. 2. "In that district, there is no village [دیهی] without a *Kharak* [or *Kharaks*]". Shams has just stated that there were "fifty *Kharaks* in Great Larās and forty in Little Larās". Dowson remarks that the reading of Mr. Thomas's Ms. is یعنی, instead of بغیر. But if کهرک means the same as دیه 'village', it is difficult to understand how Great and Little Larās, each of which is spoken of as a دیه (village), could have contained fifty or forty 'villages'. Raverty tells us that "*Kharak* in Hindi means a cattle shed, but here seems to refer to a dwelling such as the Jats of the Kharal and Siāl tribes construct—a flat roof of thatch or canes raised on poles, but without sides or walls". (Mihrān in J. A. S. B. 1892, p. 266). 'Kharak', in other words, is the French 'Hangar" "a cart-house, or covered shed". The Hindi Dictionary

published by the *Nāgari Prachāriṇi Sabhā* called *Hindi Shabda Sāgar* says it means 'a cattle-shed or enclosure', but it is also said to be used for 'a field in which cattle can graze', *i.e.* lands which are not culturable, but good enough for pasture, and that may be the meaning here.

III. 300, *l.* **5.** *That [the canal] from the Jumna was called Rajīwah and the other [that from the Sutlej] Alagh-Khāni.*

Raverty proposes the emendations, 'Rājirah' and 'Aghamāni' (Mihrān, 267), but these names carry no meaning with them. The right readings seem to me to be 'Rajabwāh' and 'Ulughkhāni.' The designations were given, I think, in honour or commemoration of the Sultan's father and his cousin. The former's name was Sālār *Rajab* and the latter had the title of *Ulugh Khān* [not 'Alagh Khān'], before he became Sultan. رجبواه 'Rajabwāh' means "the *Wāh* or Canal of Rajab." Mīr-wāh, Khān-wāh, Maqṣūda-wāb are well-known canals in Sindh. Sultān Fīrūz himself has left it on record that when he founded two new *qaṣbas* near the village of Malūḥ or Malcha, he gave one the name of Sālārpur and the other that of Tughlaqpur. (*Futūḥāt*, 381 *infra*). There is a Sālārpur in Alwar and a town called Rajabpur is mentioned in the *Ẓafarnāma* of Yazdi and the *Malfūẓāt*, in connection with the invasion of Timūr. (492 and 428 *infra*). There is another Rajabpur in Morādābād district, U.P. also. (Post Office Guide).

III. 300, *l.* **8.** *The author's father .... held the office of Shabnavis.*

Dowson has not explained the meaning of 'Shabnavis' and it is not easy to say what it means or to describe the duties of the office. The words in the text are عهدهٔ شب نویسی خواصان داشت (127, l. 4 f. f.) which may mean that he "held the post of Night-clerk of the *Khawwāṣ*", *i.e.* of the body of special slaves, servants or courtiers, who had to be in attendance upon the Sultan by turns. As the author's father is said to have been employed in the Sultan's own palace [درون محل] and to have been one of the اهل اختصاص, it is not unlikely that he was the clerk who kept the muster-roll of the *Khawwāṣ* and registered the attendance of those who were bound to do night-duty. Elsewhere also, Shams declares that his father was included among the special attendants of the Court. میان خواصان درگاه خدمت میکرد (138, l. 3 f.f.). This word 'Shabnavis' occurs also in the T.M., where it is said that Khwājā Ḥājji *Shabnavīs* was made *Nāib-i-'Arz-i-Mamālik* (Text, 83, l. 5), but this is the only other instance of its use that is known to me.

III. 301, *l.* **9.** *Kasbas of Janīd and Dahātrath and the town of Hānsi and its dependencies.*

'Janīd' must be an error for 'Jīnd' or 'Jhīnd'. Dhātrath lies about ten miles north-east of Jhīnd. Dowson seems to have read شهر هانسی و تعلقه, but the B.I. Text has قصبه هانسی و تعلق پور عرف سپیدم "City of Hānsi and Tughlaqpur *alias* Sapīdam [Safīdon]", which seems correct. Jīnd, Dhātrath and Tughlaqpur are all registered in the *Āīn* as Maḥāls in the Sarkār of Ḥiṣār Fīrūza. (Tr. II. 294). Tughlaqpur and Aspandi (Safīdon) are both mentioned in the *Ẓafarnāma* of Yazdi and the *Malfūẓāt-i-Tīmūri*. Safīdon was seven *kos* from Kithal and Tughlaqpur six *Kos* from Safīdon. (431,

494 *infra*). Safīdon is about 15 miles north-east of Jhīnd and shown in Constable, Pl. 25 B c. The name is said to be derived from *Sarpadamana*, "the wholesale destruction of serpents" by Janamejaya to avenge the death of his father Parīkshit, which is said to have taken place on this spot. (I. G. XXI. 349).

III. 303, *l.* **5.** *The Sarāi of Shaikh Yār Parān.*

Barani mentions Malik Yār Parān among the holy men who lived in the reign of Ghiyāṣu-d-dīn Balban. (112, l. 9). See also Dorn, History of the Afghāns. (II. 12). Abul Faẓl includes the Tomb of Malik *Yār-i-Pirān* [Friend of the Saints?] among the architectural monuments of the Dehli of his day. (*Āin*, Tr. II. 279).

III. 303, *l.* **11 from foot.** *The fare of a carriage was four silver Jītals.*

There is nothing corresponding to the word "silver" in the text (136, l. 6) and it is an interpolation which is calculated to mislead the reader. The *Chītal*, *Jītal* or *Jaitīl* was a copper [or billon] coin of small value. Its weight is not definitely known. It was either about 144 or 172 grs. in weight and it is a moot point whether 50 Jītals or 64 were equal in value to the *Tanga* of silver, which weighed about 175 grs. The question is discussed at length by Mr. H. Nelson Wright and Mr. H. R. Neville in Art. 248 of the Numismatic Supplement No. XXXVIII to the J. A. S. B. (1924).

III. 304, *l.* **3 from foot.** *He [Zafar Khān] received 30,000 tankas to get his clothes washed.*

بوجه سر جامه شستن یافته; 141, l. 4. This curious phrase or custom finds an echo in the Travels of Ibn Baṭūṭa who declares that soon after his arrival in Dehli, the Vazīr Aḥmad Āyāz made him a present of two thousand dīnārs, saying "This is to enable you to get your clothes washed". (Lee's Tr. 139; Defrémery, III. 381; Gibb, 206). Elsewhere, he states that whenever a stranger of position pays his respects to the Sultan, the latter gives him "a robe of honour and a sum of money to wash his head according to their custom". (Gibb, 200; Defrémery, III. 226). Manucci says of the Mughal princesses "that in addition to their fixed allowances and pensions, they often receive from the King, special presents in cash, under the pretext that it was to buy betel or perfumes or shoes." (Storia, II. 341). He also states that "the Revenues of the City of Surat which are said to have amounted to twelve lacs of Rupees had been given by Shāh Jāhān to his daughter, Begom Saeb, to meet her expenditure on betel". (*Ib.* I. 65). Baihaqi writes that Sultan Mas'ūd gave ten thousand *dirhams* to the Khalīf's ambassador to go to the *garmābeh*, *i.e.* the bath. (Text 456, l. 4 f. f.).

III. 305, *l.* **3 from foot.** *There were.....two tents for cooking and domestic work. There were also one hundred and eighty standards of various kinds.*

و [دو] دهلیز مطبخ و مراتب هم صد و هشتاد نشانه از هر جنس; 144, last line. The word 'Marātib' is here rendered by "tents for domestic work". When it occurs again (Text, 225, l. 3; 247, l. 13), it is translated as "titles". (329 and 336 *infra*). It is clear from other passages in which it is used that both the

above explanations are wrong and that it really signifies "drums, trumpets and banners" or other 'emblems of rank or dignity'.

For instance Shams writes: (275, l. 17).

آن نشانهای مراتبِ دولت را در علمخانهٔ خاص گرد می آوردند

اصحابِ علمخانه برابر مراتب در محلِ درون میرفتند (363, l. 4)

حضرت خلیفه چند نشانهٔ مراتبِ خویش نیز برابر داد (274, l. 6)

Ibn Baṭūṭa informs us that when he sailed down the river Indus with 'Alāu-l-Mulk, the governor of Lahri Bandar, two out of the fifteen ships carried the Amīr's *Marātib*. He then explains that they consisted of "banners, kettle-drums, trumpets, clarions and flutes". (Defrémery, III. 110=Gibb. 186). Elsewhere, he states that such *Marātib*, *i.e.* "kettle drums and banners" اطبال و علامات were conferred only on the great Amīrs. (Defrémery, III. 106). The drums and trumpets appear to have gone with the banners, the standards of which may have been fixed or attached to the musical instruments. Minhāj states that in Chingiz Khān's army, there were 800 (or 600) علم, *i.e.* banners or standards and one thousand horsemen were enrolled under each banner. (Ṭ. N. 338, l. 2; Raverty's Tr. 968). As Sultan Firūz is said to have marched with ninety thousand cavalry under just one hundred and eighty نشانه and مراتب, there must have been two of these insignia for every troop of one thousand.

In the Mughal period, the *Māhi-Marātib*, the Fish-banner or standard was one of the highest honours. A fish of gilt copper, about four feet in length, was placed horizontally on the point of a spear and borne on an elephant or a camel, along with two gilt balls. (Irvine, A. I. M. 31, 33).

III. 307, *l.* 14. *The Sultān bethought him that they were not near Hisār-Firozah, the neighbourhood of which was in a disturbed state.*

شاه فیروز گفت که مقطع حصار فیروزه آین جانب نیست که درآن سمت تشویشِ ملاعین بسیار است; 148, l. 2. The meaning is that as the fief-holder [مقطع] of Hiṣār Firūza, *i. e.* the Amīr who held charge of the district on behalf of the Sultan and was responsible for the preservation of law and order in it, was not at his post, it was necessary to depute a specially qualified officer who could cope with the 'accursed' Mongol hosts and prove an efficient Warden of the Marches against their aggressive inroads and predatory violence. In the *Tārīkh-i-Mubārakshāhi* (Text, 127, l. 5 f.f.; E. D. IV. 9), Tatār Khān is said to have been appointed Governor of Multān to guard the Ghazni frontier and after his death, Malik Mardān Daulat to have been sent there because there was no other Amīr capable of putting down the assaults of these accursed foes. (*Ibid.* Text, 133, l. 9, Tr. E. D. IV. 13-4). این جانب [*lit.* this side] is a periphrastic phrase like 'undersigned'. The author of the *Maāṣiru-l-Umarā* states that after Aurangzeb's death, the prince Muḥammad 'Aẓam Shāh wrote to his son Bīdār Bakht to stay in Mālwa until his own arrival there; که تا رسیدنِ این جانب بمالوه اقامت نماید (III. 659, l. 11). اینجانب and آن جانب or این حدود and آن حدود are frequently used for 'the person writing' and 'the

person addressed' in the *Inshā-i-Harkaran*. بدینجانب also occurs in a letter of Bābur quoted by F. (I. 192, l. 9).

III. 308, *l.* 2 from foot. *During the night, the "King of the Blacks" mounted the eastern roof and urging his Bengalis to work energetically, they laboured all night and restored the ruined fort.*

This is very different from the real meaning. What Shams writes is چون شب درآمد و شاهِ سیارگان بربامِ مشرق بر آمد اهلِ بنگاله با قوتِ کمال بهمه حال یکدیگر شباشت برجِ حصار بر آوردند (151, last line). "When the night came to an end and the King of the Wanderers, (or the Planets, *i. e.* the Sun) mounted the balcony of the East, [when the Sun rose], the people of Bengal rebuilt the bastion of the fort in a single night by [dint of] the most strenuous labour and mutual co-operation".

Dowson seems to have read شاه سیاهگان but the right reading is شاه سیارگان. The phrase occurs again in Shams' account of the Ṭhaṭṭa campaign. القصه چون شب در آمد و شاه سیارگان بر آسمان بر آمد (225, l. 7). Amīr Khusrau uses سیاره for the 'planets' in the *Qirānu-s-S'adain* ('Alīgarh Litho. p. 88, last verse). And Sharafu-d-dīn Yazdi writes: خسرو سیارگان از بحرِ مغرب و خفا عبور نموده بجاي ديگر از افق رايتِ طلوع و ظهور بر افراخت. (See also *Ibid*, 116, l. 7; 122, l. 11). Steingass says سیاره means 'planets' and that شاه سیاره signifies the Sun.

III. 311, *l.* 2. *Malik Kabūl, otherwise called Torābānd.*

This Amīr is mentioned by Barani also in his list of Fīrūz Shāh's principal officials and courtiers. (528, l. 5). The sobriquet is especially mentioned, because there was another Malik Qabūl who was entitled *Qurān-Khwān* and *Amīr-i-Majlis*. (*Ibid*. 527, l. 14; Shams, 454, l. 5 f. f.; T. M. in E. D. IV, 14). Still another Malik Qabūl, who was styled *Sar-pardahdar* (Head Chamberlain), is said by F. (I. 146, l. 5 f. f.) and the T. M. (E. D. IV. 9) to have been sent with an army to repel a Mughal invasion in 759 H. 'Torābānd' *perhaps* means 'Binder on of the Tora.' In Hindustāni, 'Tora' signifies 'a cluster, or bouquet of flowers,' and also 'a jewel, pendant or ornament made of gold and silver ribbons and gems, which is tied to the turban.' This Malik Qabūl was perhaps the Lord-in-Waiting whose duty it was to tie the 'tora' on to the Emperor's turban. But he may have been so called, also because he was personally distinguished for the beauty and stylish manner in which he wore the 'tora' himself.

III. 312, *l.* 8. *Sultan Firoz, then to the joy of his friends, went back to his garden.*

حضرت فیروز شاه از آن مقام بکامِ دوستان بسوی بوستانِ خود باز گشت; 162, l. 3 f. f. As the Sultān was encamped in a hostile country in the midst of swamps and jungles, he could not have had any garden of his own to go to. The fact is that the phrase بسوی بوستان has really no meaning and is inserted merely as a jingle to rhyme with بکامِ دوستان. Shams is very fond of interpolating

stilted phrases and hackneyed rhetorical expressions merely for their cadence or sonorous effect. His style, when he waxes eloquent, is a degenerate imitation of the مسجع or "rhymed prose, which is so common in ornate writing in all Muḥammadan languages." (Browne, L. H. P. II. 21). It will suffice to quote here two other gems of similarly bombastic writing to exemplify the meaningless exuberance of this Persian Euphemism. مشیرانِ مملکت چنین داستان چون قانونِ باستان در آن بوستان مثلِ اهلِ دوستان باز نمودند 206, l. 10. And again, بجایِ صورتگریِ بانواعِ بوستان بروفقِ دوستان نگارند ; 374, l. 7. It is needless to say that a literal rendering of بوستان and دوستان here would be productive only of bathos and absurdity. Other specimens of this florid fustian will be found at Text, 49, 79, 114, 123, 182, 358, 390.

III. 312, *l.* **5 from foot.** *At that time, the Rai of Jājnagar, by name Adāya, had deemed it expedient to quit Banārasi.*

در آن ایام ادیسرنام رای جاجنگر ازسبب مصلحتی سکونتِ بنارسي ترك داده (164, l. 4). The name of the Rājā is given as *Adesar* or *Udesar* in the body of the B. I. Text and the variant ادایه is relegated to a footnote. In the corresponding passage of Dowson's translation of the *Tārīkh-i-Mubārakshahi*, Adāya is said to have been taken captive at a place called 'Sikra' or 'Sankra' or 'Satgahra' along with Shakar Khātūn, the daughter of the Rājā of that place, who is there called Rāi Sadhan. (E. D. IV. 10). At the same time, the name of the Rājā of Banārasi itself is given as 'Pirbahān-dev' or 'Bīrbhān-dev'. (*Ibid.* 11). Now, we know from contemporary inscriptions that Vīrabhānudeva III was ruling in Orissa from Shaka 1274 to 1300=1352-1378 A. C. This engenders the suspicion that the interjection of the name of 'Adāya' here may be founded on some error. Moreover, the T. A., F. and B., who have copied their accounts almost word for word from the T. M., say nothing whatever about 'Adāya' and Ḥājji Dabīr states that Shakar Khātūn was captured *with her nurse*, مرضع, the Arabic equivalent of the Persian دایه. (Z. W. 897, l. 20). An examination of the now published Text of the *Tār. Mub.* (129, l. 5), also shows that he is right. 'Adāya' in Dowson's rendering is due to a mistranslation of با دایه "with a nurse."

As regards the 'Adāya' who is mentioned here, the fact that 'Adesar' or 'Udesar' is the reading in the best Manuscripts may indicate that Shams's statement about 'Adesar' or 'Udesar' having been the name of the Rājā is perhaps due to the designation of the Rājā of Jājnagar having been confounded with that of his kingdom. رایِ ادیسه or رایِ ادیسر. The Rāi, *i. e.* Rājā *of* Udīsa or Uḍesar, would seem to have been misunderstood as "the Rājā *named* Udīsa or Udesar." Udīsa ادیسه can be easily misread as ادیه Adaya or Adāya in Persian writing. See also my note on IV. 10.

III. 316, *l.* **23.** *He caused the following lines . . . . . to be inscribed . . . . . on the walls of the* Kūshk-i-Shikār rav *at Fīrozābād and on the domes of the Kūshk-i-Nuzūl.*

The correct name of the first of these palaces is *Kūshk-i-Shikār*. See

Dowson's own translation on p. 303 *supra*. The B. I. Text has it right: در عمارتِ کوشك شکار و دورِ گنبدهاي کوشكِ نزول وعمارتِ منارهٔ سنگین که در کوشكِ شکار و درونِ فیروزآباد داشته اند; 177, l. 7. The Kūshk-i-Shikār was a hunting-box situated on what is now called the Ridge. 'Rav' (in 'Shikār-rav') is an excrescence or intrusive error due to the scribe having misread or misunderstood the words دور and درون which occur after شکار in the sentence quoted above.

III. 317, *l.* **6.** *After the lapse of two half years every man returned.*

This is a mistake for 'two years and a half.' چون لشکر بعد از دو نیم سال بازگشته; 178, l. 5 f. f. See Dowson's own tranlsation, 315 *ante*, where he tells us that the Sultan "stayed two years and seven months in these territories." (Text, 172, l. 5). See also *Ibid.* 250, l. 1, where the statement is repeated and the phrase used is دو و نیم سال. According to the T.M. also, Firūz marched against Lakhnauti in 760 H. and returned to Dehli in Rajab, 762 H. (Text, 127, 130; E.D. IV. 9-11). See also the Ṭ. A. (115-116) and F. (I. 146-7), where the same statement occurs. Barani uses هفت نیم for 'seven and a half' (305, l. 11) and یك نیم for 'one and a half'. (310, l. 12).

III. 317, *l.* **14.** *One day, the Sultan Firoz went hunting and having separated from his followers, went to a garden where he met a woman etc.*

The whole passage has been misunderstood and the real sense obscured. The king who went out to hunt and met a woman in a garden was not Firūz, but some unnamed ruler of olden times. What Shams says (181, l. 12 f.f.) is that he had read this "anecdote about bygone sovereigns" (حکایتِ سلاطینِ پیشین) in the *Khairu-l-Majālis*, which is a collection of the Discourses or Table-talk of Shaikh Naṣīru-d-dīn Maḥmūd, Chiragh-i-Dehli, made by a disciple named Ḥamīd. (Houtsma, E. I., I. 862).

The story is, in fact, an ancient folk-tale which is fathered in Firdausi's *Shāhnāma* on the Sāsānian Emperor Bahrām Gaur. (Ed. Macan, III. 1514; Rogers' Trans., 410). It is told also in Burton's Translation of the *Alf Laila* (Book of the Thousand Nights and a Night, Vol. V. 87-88, Nights 389-90), where the hero is Naushīrvān-i-'Ādil. Still another variant is the Adventure of an unnamed King with a Gardener's Daughter which is related by Jahāngīr in his *Tūzuk*. (Text, 251, l. 8 f. f.; Tr. II, 50-2=E.D. VI, 364). In the *Shāhnāma* version, the drink offered is the milk of a cow; in the *Alf Laila*, it is the juice of a sugar-cane and in the *Tūzuk* that of a pomegranate. Two different versions of the same saga arrest attention in the *Akhlāq-i-Muḥsini* of Ḥusain Wāiẓ Kāshifi, Chap. XV (Justice). In one of them, the king's name is given as Qubād, the father of Naushīrvān, and the drink is cow's milk; in the other, it is Bahrām Gaur and the liquid pomegranate juice. In the anecdote as it is repeated by Shams, it is the juice of a bunch of grapes.

III. 318, *l.* **1.** *And passing by the valleys of Nākhach nuh garhi, he arrived with his army at Nagarkot.*

از دهلی سمتِ قلعهٔ نگر کوت رخ آورد - بسمتِ حربیان زمیندار ناچخ نه گرهی بر آورد
186, l. 2.

This is a somewhat difficult passage, but whatever the precise meaning of *Nuhgirihi* may be, it is certain that 'Nāchakh-i-nuh-garhi' ('Nākhach of the Nine Forts' in the Footnote) is not a toponym at all, and must exist only in the country of Nowhere. *Nāchakh* means 'spear'. Shams employs the identical phrase in his narrative of Firūz Shāh's Bengal campaign.

ناگاه همدرین میان شاه بنگالیان رسیده ناچخ نه گرهی کشیده بسوی لشکر حضرت فیروز شاه دوید
114, l. 14. "In the meantime, the King of the Bangālis came up all of a sudden and drawing the *Nāchakh-i-Nuhgirihi*, rushed towards the army of H. M. Firūz Shāh".

"Nāchakh", says Richardson, means "axe, halbert, mace"; the *Farhang-i-Jahāngīri* states that it is تبر زین, an axe carried on or tied to the saddle, and the *Ghiyāṣu-l-Lughāt* speaks of it as a 'small lance' نیزهٔ کوچك, *i. e.* a javelin.

ناچخ is used along with شمشیر or تبر by Baihaqi, 141, l. 7; 399, l. 6 f. f., and also by Barani تبر و تیغ و ناچخ و نیزه (253, l. 5 f. f.) and تیغ و نیزه و ناچخ (329, l. 3 f. f.). Shams, in fact, has borrowed the phrase ناچخِ نه گرهی from his favourite poet, Niẓāmi, who says in the *Sikandar-nāma*:

چنان زد بر و ناچخِ نه گره - که کالبد سفنة شد و هم زره

(*Sikandar-Nāma* in *Khamsa-i-Niẓāmi*, Bombay Lith. 1265 A. H. p. 31). Capt. Clarke translates the couplet thus:

"Drove against him the *long spear of nine joints* in such a way,

"That both his [Palangar's] body and his coat of mail were pierced." (Canto XX, couplet 36, p. 213). This word 'Nāchakh' or 'Nājakh' is used on this page in four other couplets also and is rendered either as 'spear' or 'short spear'. (*Ib.* pp. 211-212). It occurs again in Canto XXX, couplet 67 (*Khamsa*, p. 51, last verse), and the English equivalent there is "battle-axe." (Trans. 338). "Girih" means 'joint, knot,' but it is also used for the 1/16th part of a tailor's 'gaz' or yard. (*Āīn*, Tr. I. 88 note). Nine *girihs* may thus mean 9/16th of a *gaz* or yard, approximately, eighteen inches. The sentence must be therefore translated thus: "He hurled the battle-axe [or spear] of nine *girihs* against the warriors (*lit.* fighting-men) [حربیان] of the Zamīndārs [the Hindu Rājās or Chiefs] of the districts he passed through [on his way to Nagarkot]."

"Nine *girihs*" must refer to the handle or shaft of the spear or battle-axe. If the *Nāchakh* was a long spear, it might mean that the shaft was made of a strong cane or bamboo of nine joints. If the *Nāchakh* was a javelin or a battle-axe, it might signify that the handle was about half a tailor's yard in length.

III. 318, *l.* 11 from foot. *Other infidels have said that Sultān Muhammad Shāh bin Tughlik Shāh held an umbrella over this same idol.*

يك چتر بر سر آن بت نهاده بود ; 187, l. 10. *Lit.* "had *placed* [not 'held'] an umbrella on the head of the idol." The real meaning seems to be that he was said to have presented as a gift or offering an umbrella which was to be placed over its head. Neither Barani nor any of the later epitomists speaks of Nagarkot having been conquered by Muḥammad Tughlaq, though the fact is mentioned in the *Qaṣīda* written by the contemporary poet Badr-i-chāch, who says that the event took place in A. H. 738, when the Sun was in Cancer. (570 *post*). This would indicate that the great army which was despatched about this time for the conquest of the Qarāchal [Kurmāchal or Gargāchal], *i. e.* the sub-Himālayan range in the districts now known as Kumāon and Garhwāl, advanced as far as Nagarkot and compelled the Rājā to nominally acknowledge the supremacy of Muḥammad and hold the fortress as his vassal. A. H. 738 began on 30th July, 1337 and ended on 19th July, 1338. The event must have taken place about June 1338, as the Sun was then in Cancer. It was during the return journey that disaster overtook the army of invasion. The monsoon rains are very heavy in those regions.

III. 319, *l.* **13.** *The Sultan [Firūz] with much dignity placed his hand on the back of the Rāi [of Nagarkot].*

It may be worth while to note that in a poetical chronicle of the Katoch Kings, written by or under the patronage of a Rājā of Kāngra named Mānik Chand in V. S. 1619 (1562 A. C.) which is called *Dharma Chand Nāṭaka*, there is a reference to the surrender of Kāngra fort to Sultān Firūz and the writer explicitly states that the Rājā went out to meet the Sultan and *the Sultan placed his hand on the Rājā's back.* The poet says:

'Rupchandar barkar charho Dileswar Surtān
Bahut helkar pag paro pith hāth leī Sān'.

'Rupchandar went forth to meet the Sultan, the Lord of Dehli, and bowed very low down to his feet; the king put his hand on his back.' (J. Hutchison and J. P. Vogel's art. on The History of Kāngra State in the Journal of the Punjab Historical Society, VIII. (1920), p. 35). This Rupachandra's coins also have been found. (Cunningham, C. M. I. p. 105). Jahāngir tells in his *Tūzuk* another anecdote in connection with Firūz's visit to Nagarkot. It was related to him probably by some one who had taken part in the conquest of the stronghold by his own army in 1030 A. H. (Text, 318, l. 2 f. f.; Tr. II. 184).

III. 321, *l.* **1.** *When the muster was called, four, ten and eleven fold of irregulars (Ghair-wajh) appeared.*

چون استعداد موجود گشت حشم غیر وجهی چهارگان دهیازده یافت ; 193, l. 2 f. f.

Dowson observes that he has "translated the passage somewhat doubtfully with the light of the context." The real meaning is that the *ghair-wajhi*—the soldiers who were not on the feudal establishment and were paid, not by regular *jāgīrs* or lands held on condition of military service but by assignments on the land revenue or in cash,—obtained (as an advance) four *dah-yāzdah*, four *one-tenths*, that is, four-tenths or 40 per cent.

of their annual allowance. For the meaning of *dah-yāzdah*, see my note on II. 76, l. 20. Barani also uses *dah-yāzdah* for 'one-tenth'. (429, l. 21). Dowson has rendered it wrongly as "one in ten or one in eleven" at p. 230 *ante*.

III. 321, *l.* **6.** *March of Firūz Shāh to Thatta.*

This invasion is put by the C. H. I. (III. 180) into 1362-3 A. C. (763-764 A. H.). But this is more than doubtful, and there is no authority for it in the Chronicles. All that the T. M. (Text, 130, l. 8; E. D. IV. 11), the Ṭ. A. (116-7) and F. (I. 147-148) state is that Firūz returned from Lakhnauti in Rajab, 762 A. H. (May-June, 1361 A. C.), that he had the Sirhind Canal excavated "*some time afterwards*," that he marched *subsequently* against Nagarkot and "*after conquering it*, he proceeded against Ṭhaṭṭa." (T. M. Text, 131, l. 1; E. D. IV. p. 12). The next event that is recorded is the death of Khān-i-Jahān in 772 A. H. (131, l. 12).

Now, Shams explicitly declares that "*four whole years passed* after the Sultān's return from Lakhnauti, during which he stayed at Dehli and attended to the affairs of his people." (319 *ante*; Text, 191, l. 2). Firūz, then, could not have left Dehli for Nagarkot before Rajab, 766 H. (March-April, 1365). As that stronghold is said to have held out for six months (319 *ante*), he could not have reached Ṭhaṭṭa before the middle of 767 H. (February 1366). The rainy season of that year was passed in Gujarāt. The conquest of the town (after the protracted military operations of the second campaign and the arrival of fresh reinforcements from Dehli) could not possibly have taken place before the middle of 768 H. (March 1367 A. C.). The embassy from Bahrām Khān Māzandarāni which is said to have arrived when the Sultān was in Gujarāt must be therefore put into the latter half of 1366 A. C. We know from the Bahmani chronicles that Bahrām Khān rebelled about 767-8 H. (F. I. 292-4; Briggs' Tr. II. 319-323). He must have solicited the intervention of the Dehli Sultān only when he knew that the unequal contest between himself and his suzerain must terminate most disastrously for himself, if he was not reinforced by some other first class power.

III. 325, *l.* **18.** *If a lethal weed had been wanted, it could not have been found.*

What Shams really means is a tooth-pick. اگر خسی برای خلال طلبند نیابند; 209, l. 4 f. f. "If a thorn (or thistle) was wanted for cleaning the teeth, it would not have been found." خلال is a toothpick.

III. 327, *l.* **6.** *The irregulars having received six, ten and eleven* (tankas?) *from the kindness of the Sultān, in a short time they were all horsed.*

غیر وجهی را ششگان دهیازده دهانبده طائفه غیر وجهی ازمرحمتِ سلطان در زمان سوار شدند (220, l. 8).

'The general sense' is certainly not 'obvious' here and it is very insufficiently and imperfectly indicated by this rendering. What Shams means is that the 'Irregulars' obtained advances of six-tenths or three-fifths of their fixed allowances in cash from the Sultan's treasury and

were thus able to purchase new mounts and equip themselves. Cf. my Note on III. p. 321, l. 1, *ante*.

III. 328, *l.* 4. *The officers of Government should be strictly enjoined to do them no harm, so that something might come to the soldiers.*

تاکید کنند که ایشان را نرنجانند تا آمدن اینجانب شود; 221, l. 11. "They [the officers] should be peremptorily ordered not to worry them [the Wajhdārs, who had received advances in cash from the Treasury] until the people on this side (*i. e.* the Sultān himself and his army) arrived at Dehli." اینجانب is used here again as a periphrastical expression for the person speaking or writing, for the Sultān himself. Shams uses the phrase again at 236, l. 4 f. f.: خانجهان وزیریست که در فرمایش اینجانب یك لحظه اهمال بخود راه ندهد and also on 224, l. 9. See my Note on III. 307, l. 14, *ante*.

III. 330, *l.* 10. *The people of Thaṭṭa made a verse,....saying, 'By the will of God, Sultān Muhammad Tughliq died in pursuit of us and Sultān Firoz Shāh has fled before us.'*

The *ipsissima verba* of the vernacular 'bait' are printed thus in the Bibl. Ind. Text. برکت شیخ تهیا - اِك موا اِك تها; 231, l. 2 f. f. I venture to read this mutilated and corrupt distich thus: برکتِ شیخ پتهاـ یك موا یك بهگا; *Barkat-i-Shaikh Paṭṭhā—Ek muā, ek bhagā.* "By the blessing of Shaikh Paṭṭhā, one [Muḥammad Tughlaq] died; one [Firūz Tughlaq] fled."

Shaikh Paṭṭho or Pīr Paṭṭho is the patron saint of Ṭhaṭṭa. His shrine in the Makli hills near the town has been for centuries a noted place of pilgrimage (*Tārīkh-i-Ṭ'ahīri* in E. D. I. 274), and it is so still. The author of the *Maāṣiru-l-Umarā* writes that "his real name was Ibrāhīm and his 'laqab' Shāh-i-'Ālam. He was the disciple and deputy of Shaikh Bahāu-d-dīn Zakarriya of Multān and his shrine near Ṭhaṭṭa is visited every week by the high as well as the low." (B. I. Text, III, 311). According to the local tradition, he was a contemporary of the poet S'adi. (Wood, Journey to the Source of the Oxus, Ed. Yule, p. 5).

III. 330, *l.* 13 from foot. *When the Sultān arrived, he perceived that the inhabitants had destroyed all their spring crop.*

They had done nothing of the sort. دید که تمام خلائق ایشان غلهٔ ربیع کاشته برای زراعت کوشش بیش کاشته غله زراعتِ ایشان دلل شده; 232, l. 8. "He saw that all their people had sown the spring crop and taken great pains with it; the crop (the grain) was just then only half-ripe." (*Vide* l. 8 f. f. below). برآن سبب که هنوز غلهٔ نو بمراد نرسیده بود, 'because the new grain had not yet arrived at maturity' or "the crop was not yet ripe," as Dowson puts it. دلل, according to Steingass, is 'unripe grain, vetches or pulse in the pod,' and the same explanation is given in the *Ghiyāṣu-l-Lughāt*.

The fact of the matter is that when Firūz first invaded Ṭhaṭṭa from the Dehli side, he arrived late in the season, *after* the crops had matured and been reaped and garnered by the Sindhi cultivators. His supplies were

thus cut off and the army suffered from famine. The tables were just turned in this second campaign. As the Sindhis never imagined that he would return, they had toiled hard in his absence in tilling the soil and raising the *Rabʿi* crop. This time, Firūz took care to arrive early, just when the crop was only half-ripe and had not been reaped. The Sindhis fled, deserted their homes and took refuge in the earthen fortifications on the other side of the river. The invaders then reaped and gathered what the indigenes had sown and profited by the latters' labours. It was now the turn of the inhabitants of Ṭhaṭṭa to feel the pinch of hunger and the garrison had to surrender for want of provisions. See 333-4 *infra*. The people of Ṭhaṭṭa did not "destroy their crops on the bank of the Sindh", when they heard of the return of the Sultān, as Dowson states, on l. 18. They only deserted their homes, leaving the villages on the bank depopulated, آبادانی که بر لبِ آبِ سنده بود خراب کرده (232, l. 6) and fled to the other side of the river. If they had 'destroyed,' all their spring crop, Firūz and his army would not have lived in clover as they did and he would have had to retire discomfited, just as before, for lack of food and forage.

III. 338, *l.* **7.** *The Jām and Bābīnia had a residence appointed for them near the royal palace.*

But the words in the text are متصلِ سرای ملکه; 253, l. 12. "Adjoining the Caravanserai of the Queen." The *Sarāi* was, like the *Hauẓ-i-Rāni*, (The Rāṇi's Tank), a work of public utility erected by the Hindu consort of some former Sultan. 'The land of the Sarāi of Malika' is said by Shams (303 *ante*) to have been one of the eighteen villages and *Qaṣbas* which 'were acquired' for the town-planning scheme connected with the foundation of Firūzābād. (Text, 134, l. 1 f. f.). But سرای also means "palace" and it may have been the private residence of the lady.

III. 338, *l.* **8.** *Invention of the Tās-i-Ghariyāl (a clock or bell to tell the time).*

Almost every word here is wrong. The Sultan did not 'invent' the *Ṭās*, and the *Ṭās-i-Ghariyāl* was neither 'a clock' in the modern sense of that word, nor a 'bell.' Bells are taboo in Islam. All that Firūz did was to order that the hour of the day should be publicly announced. The *Ṭās-i-Ghariyāl* was not a 'chiming clock', as Fanshawe states, (D. P. P. 58), but a 'gong', and it is thus described by the Emperor Bābur. "A body of Ghariyālis is appointed in all the considerable towns of Hindustān. They cast a broad brass (plate) thing, perhaps as large as a tray .. ..This they call a *Ghariyāl*, and hang up in a high place ..... Also they have a vessel perforated at the bottom like an hour-cup, and filling in one *ghari* (*i.e.* 24 minutes). The *ghariyālis* put this into water and wait till it fills. When it fills the first time, they strike the gong once with their mallets, when a second time, twice and so on till the end of the watch." (B. N. Tr. 516-7; Persian Trans. 203). Abul Faẓl also informs us (*Āīn*, Tr. Jarrett, III. 15), that the 'Ghariyāl' "is a round gong of mixed metal, shaped like a griddle, but thicker.....and suspended by a cord." He then

gives an elaborate account of the Hindu method of measuring time and of the metallic vessel or 'water-instrument' employed by them for that purpose. There are similar descriptions of the 'Ghariyāl' in the Voyage to East India of Sir Thomas Roe's chaplain, Edward Terry (E. T. I., 317), Fryer, (New Account of East India and Persia, Ed. 1698, p. 138) and other European travellers of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries.

It will be observed that the word 'Ghariyāl' alone is used by Bābur and Abul Faẓl for the Gong or brass plate and not for the vessel of water. Shams speaks of the *Gong* as the *Ṭ'ās-i-Ghariyāl.* The real meaning of this phrase seems to be not the brass plate *of* the 'Vessel of water' or 'clepsydra', but 'the brass plate (*Ṭ'as*) *which was* (*i.e.* used as) the *Gong* (*Ghariyāl*)'. It may also be noted that according to the Hindustānī dictionaries, the word for the '*instrument*' which measures time is *Ghari*, *e.g. Ret-ghari*, Sand-glass, *Dhūp-ghari*, Sun-dial, *Pan-ghari* or *Pāni-ghari*, water-glass or clepsydra. According to them, it is the Gong which is called '*Ghariyāl.*' The use of this word for a clock or watch is obviously recent.

Shams himself does not say anywhere that Firūz 'invented' the *Ṭ'ās.* All that he speaks of is the وضعِ طاسِ غریال "The placing (fixing, establishment) of the *Ṭ'ās-i-ghariyāl*". It is clear from the prosy disquisition in which he sets out the seven merits of the innovation, that the fundamental aim and object was the announcement of the hours of the day and night for the benefit of the prayerful and religious-minded Muslim. Its principal advantage, he states, was the resolution of the doubts of devout Musalmans in regard to the exact time of reciting the five obligatory prayers and other optional or supererogatory devotions and the commencement and termination of the daily fast during Ramaẓān. According to the local tradition, Firūz Shāh's *Ghariyāl* was placed in "the Observatory which stands on the highest point of the Ridge", in the building now known as the *Pīr-i-Ghaib.* (Fanshawe, D. P. P. 58).

III. 338, *l.* **16.** *On court days,.....they* [*the Jām and Bābiniya*]..... *sat on his* [*the Sultan's*] *right hand, in the second room of mirrors, below the Chief Judge.*

در جاخانهٔ دوم فرودِ صدر جهان....می نشستند; 254, l. 2. "On the *second carpet*, below the Chief Justice (or Lord Almoner)". This word جاخانه is again used by the author in the chapter in which he relates how Sultan Firūz "sat in State". After describing how and at what distances on the right of the Imperial throne, the three highest dignitaries, *viz.*, the Prime Minister Khān-i-Jahān, the Amīr Mu'aẓẓam Aḥmad Iqbāl and Niẓāmu-d-Mulk, the Deputy Vazīr sat, he informs us that on the right side, but behind Khān-i-Jahān, *a carpet* (جامه خانه) was *folded and spread*, at the head of which the Qāẓi Ṣadr-i-Jahān took his seat and Bābiniya [*Recte*, Bāmaniyo] sat next to him..... On the left side also, a similar carpet was folded (دوتو) and spread, at the head of which Ẓafar Khān,

the son of Ẓafar Khān sat. (Text, 280, last line). See also 469, ll. 8-9; 475, ll. 4-5, and 514, last line, where theword cannot bear any other meaning. The name Bābīniya is written in a bewilderingly large number of ways and he is called Māli in the C. H. I. (III. 180). For the correct form, (Bāmaniyo), see my note on Vol. I. 226, l. 9 from foot.

III. 339, *l.* **7.** *Kurbat Hasan Kāngū was king in M'abar.*

Variant قریب. *Qurba* and *Qarīb* mean "relation", "kinsman" and also "son-in-law", like its Persian synonym خویش. Thus علی قریب is also called علی خویشاوند and is said to have been the son of Ayal (or Īl) Arslān, the خویش of Sultān Maḥmūd Ghaznavi. (Gardezi, 78, 92; Ṭ. A. 10, l. 6 f. f.; F. I. 40, l. 2). Ranking takes خویش here to mean "father-in-law" (B. Tr. I. 33 note), but it is loosely used for any relation, especially by marriage. (E. D. IV. 193 Note). Raverty speaks of this 'Ali' as 'Ali Qurbat'. (Ṭ. N. Tr. 89). Barani uses خویش و قرابت for "relations and kindred" (402, l. 5) and قرابت نزدیك for 'near relation'. (184, l. 8 and 186, l. 8). Shams says that this *relative* of Ḥasan Kāngū was not only taken prisoner, but put to death by Bakan. This 'Bakan' may be Bukka Rāi of Vijayanagar. Bukka I was the son of Singhana I, the earliest ruler of the dynasty and was associated with his brother Harīhar I (1339-1354 A. C.) in the establishment of the power of the family. Bukka Rāi himself reigned from 1354 to 1379 A. C. (Duff, C. I., 219, 309). But بکن may be a miswriting, by transposition of the consonants, of گپن Gopanna, the general of Bukka, who is known to have defeated the Sultan of M'abar in 1371 A. C.

It will be observed that this relative of Ḥasan Kāngū is explicitly said by Shams to have been King of M'abar and the ambassadors are also stated to have come from and returned to M'abar (the Coromandel Coast and Madura). In the C. H. I. (III. 181-2), this embassy is stated to have been the *second* sent by Bahrām Khān Māzandarāni, the first having arrived when the Sultān was recruiting his forces in Gujarāt after the retreat from Ṭhaṭṭa. But this must be due to some inadvertence or confusion. Shams clearly states that the first embassy was despatched by Bahrām Khān, but the second by Qurbat-i-Ḥasan Kāngū. Bahrām Khān was never ruler of Madura and had nothing whatever to do with it. The Sultans of M'abar belonged to an entirely different dynasty. Moreover, Bahrām Khān is said by the Ṭ. A (409, l. 13), F. (I. 293-4) and the author of the *Burhān-i-Maāṣir* (Tr. King, 27) to have been pardoned, after the failure of his rebellion, by Muḥammad Shāh Bahmani. His life was spared by that Sultan at the intercession of Shaikh Zainu-d-dīn, but he was banished from the kingdom and died in exile in Gujarāt. The fate of Qurbat-i-Ḥasan Kāngū—his capture and execution after the conquest of M'abar by the Hindus under Bakan (Bukka I or Gopanna)—as related by Shams, was so very different that the two individuals could not possibly have been one and the same. Briefly, the identification of Bahrām Khān, who is variously described as the adopted son (F. I. 293, l. 2), or brother's son and son-in-law of Ḥasan Kāngū, with Qurbat-i-

Ḥasan Kāngū is founded on error.

Who then was this mysterious Qurbat-i-Ḥasan Kāngū? I suggest that he *may* be Sultān Fakhru-d-dīn Mubārakshāh of M'abar. We possess a large number of the coins of the Sultans of M'abar, dating from 734 or 735 to 779 H. These numismatic records have enabled us to compile a fairly satisfactory dynastic list of these rulers. We know that Fakhru-d-dīn succeeded in or about 760 H. His earliest coin is dated in that year (Num. Supp. No. XLV to J. A. S. B. 1934, p. 68), his latest in 770 H. and these dates are found successively during these eleven years with the exception of the years 762 and 766 H. (Rodgers in J. A. S. B. LXIV, 1895, 49-50; Hultzsch in J. R. A. S. 1909, p. 681). We also possess an inscription dated 1371 A. C. (773-4 H.) in which it is recorded that Gopanna, the general of Bukka I, inflicted a crushing defeat upon the 'Turushkas' of Madura. (Epig. Ind. VI. 331). We may then fairly conclude that the reference is to some battle in which Fakhru-d-dīn was routed and perhaps captured and put to death by the Hindu general in 1371 A.C.=774 A.H. This disaster, however, does not appear to have extinguished the dynasty's power. Fakhru-d-dīn was succeeded by 'Alāu-d-dīn Sikandar Shāh, whose earliest known coin was struck in 774 and latest in 779 H. (1377-8 A.C.). That year probably marks the year of the complete eradication of the sway of the Sultans of M'abar.

III. 339, *l.* **12.** *And made himself notorious for his puerile actions.*

Dowson has bowdlerised the passage. و اورا با اماردان افعال قبیح بصریح شدی الله جمیع مسلمانان را از اقامتِ این فعل نگاه دارد; 261, last line. What Shams really charges him with is something much more culpable and flagitious than puerility. It is pederasty, or homo-sexual vice.

III. 339, *l.* **10 from foot.** *The ambassadors were sent back with assurances of his forgiveness.*

گلدسته معذرت بدست شان داد; 263, l. 6 f. f. 'He gave into their hands the bouquet of an excuse.' He did not "assure them of his forgiveness". He put them off with an excuse, alleging the hardships which his army had recently undergone, as a reason for not complying with their request. He did not reject their appeal rudely but he did not also fail to remind them of their former rebellion and contumacy and declined firmly, but in courtly terms, to come to their assistance.

III. 341, last line. *There was .... a separate jāo-shughūri and deputy jāo-shūghuri and a distinct dīwān .... for administering the affairs of the slaves.*

چاوش غوري و نائب چاوش غوري; 271, l. 4. "Jāo-shughūri" is unintelligible. There can be no doubt that this officer's designation was *Jāwūsh* or *Chāwūsh-i-Ghūri*. چاوش means, according to Steingass, 'a sergeant, a beadle, a herald, a leader of an army or caravan.' Richardson says that it is also used for 'a lector, any officer who precedes a magistrate or other great man, a pursuivant.' Barani mentions a Shihābu-d-dīn *Chāwūsh-i-Ghūri* in his list of the grandees and high officials of Sultān Ghiyāṣu-d-dīn Tughlaq. (Text, 424, l. 2). Malik Ḥisāmu-d-dīn Ghūri is also registered as

an Amīr of Quṭbu-d-dīn Mubārak (*Ibid*, 379, l. 12) and Malik 'Izzu-d-dīn Ghūri was in the service of Sultān Mu'izzu-d-dīn Kaiqubād. (126, l. 11). Minhāj also includes a Malik Nāṣiru-d-dīn Mīrān Shāh, son of Muḥammad *Chāwūsh-i-Khalji* in his list of the grandees of Īltutmish. (*T. N.* Text, 177, l. 13). The meaning may be that the *Chāwūsh* or officer in charge of the slaves belonged to the Ghūri tribe.

III. 342, *l.* **7**. *Bandagān-i-Māhīli riding on male buffaloes.*

Cf. Text, 327, l. 6, where the word is spelt باهلی Bāheli. Shams explains that they accompanied the Sultān in the chase. Some of them spread the nets for trapping deer, while others rode buffaloes with spears and lances in their hands. When a tiger was roused by the beaters from his lair, the buffaloes were made to interlace their horns so as to form a ring or cordon and the beast was speared and killed by the buffalo-riders.

The correct reading appears to be *Bāhili*. Mr. W. Crooke assures us that 'Bāheliya' (Sanskrit, *Vyādhi*) is "one who pierces, or wounds, a hunter. The Bāheliyās are a class of hunters and fowlers and are probably relics of some Non-Aryan tribe, which still adheres to the primitive occupation of hunting, bird-trapping and collecting jungle produce". (Tribes and Castes, I. 104). The Emperor Jehāngīr also speaks of the employment of buffalo-riders in the accounts of his tiger hunts. He tells us that when the beaters brought news of a tiger in the vicinity of Raḥimābād, he gave orders to Irādat Khān and Fidāi Khān to take the buffalo-riders [اهل میش] and make a cordon round the forest. He himself proceeded at once to the spot, and despatched with a single shot the biggest tiger he had ever killed. (375, l. 11. Tr. II. 284). Mr. Beveridge reads اهل یاتش but it must be wrong. Manucci writes thus of Shāh Jahān: "The order in which the King moves (while out hunting tigers) is as follows. In front go the buffaloes, sometimes more than one hundred in number, all in a row. On each one is mounted a man with his legs guarded by leather and having a broad sword in one hand and holding with the other the reins.....Behind them comes the King on an elephant". (Storia. Tr. Irvine, l. 191). Abul Faẓl also mentions this mode of hunting tigers: "An intrepid experienced hunter gets on the back of a male buffalo and makes it attack the tiger. The buffalo will quickly get hold of the tiger with its horns and fling him violently upwards so that he dies." (*Āīn*, Tr. I. 283). In the Hindustani Dictionary of Duncan Forbes, and the *Hindi Shabda Sāgar* also, '*Bāheliya*' is said to mean 'hunter' or 'fowler'.

III. 343, *l.* **8**. *It was also called the Mahal-i-dikh or the Mahal-i-angūr or Palace of Grapes.*

محل دکه or محل داکه; 277, l. 14. This *dikh* or *dākh* is the vernacular word for the vine or grape, from the Sanskrit *drāksha*. داکه occurs in the *Padmāvati* of the old Hindi poet Muḥammad Jaisi. (J. A. S. B. LXII. 1893, p. 208). The palace was called *Mahl-i-Dākh*, probably because the ceiling or walls were decorated with floral designs of vine leaves, creepers, blossoms and grapes. The 'Angūri Bāgh' or Vine-Court in the

Mughal Emperor's palace in Āgra was so called for a similar reason. (Fanshawe, D.P.P. 35; Keene, Guide to Agra, 12). The alternative name is read by Dowson as *Maḥal-i-Ṣaḥn-gilīn* and he renders it conjecturally as "the palace of the clayey quadrangle", but it is scarcely likely that the Imperial residence where the Sultan used "to sit in state" was marked by any such homely feature and the true reading is, probably, *Maḥl-i-Ṣaḥn-i-gulin*, *i. e.* the "palace with the quadrangle or courtyard of flowers," *i. e.* floral designs, or flower-pattern decorations.

III. 343, *l.* **7 from foot.** *Malik Nizāmu-l-Mulk, Amīr Husain, Amīr Mīrān, who were deputies of the Wazīr sat near the throne.*

The verb should be in the singular. Niẓāmu-l-Mulk was the title of Amīr Ḥusain-i-Amīr-i-Mīrān. He was also styled Maliku-sh-sharq. (326 *ante*). He was at one time governor or fief-holder of Gujarāt, but was transferred and appointed Nāib-i-Vazīr after the campaign against Ṭhaṭṭa. He was married to a sister of Sultān Fīrūz and is frequently mentioned by Shams. (Text, 280, 282, 419). Ḥājji Dabīr speaks of him as نظام الملك نيكنام حسين بن الامير ميران المستوفى (898, l. 5). His father Sayyad Amīr-i-Mīrān is said by Shams to have been one of the great officers of the Khairāt-Khāna or Charity Department. (350, l. 8). Dowson himself explicitly states at p. 326 *ante*, that Amīr Ḥusain *was the son of* Amīr-i-Mīrān the Mustaufi. (Shams, Text, 219, last line). See also the Ṭ. A. (114, l. 1) and F. (146, l. 1) where the same statement occurs. The title Amīr-i-Mīrān indicates that he was a Sayyad of the Sayyads, a man whose noble descent was undisputed. Jehāngīr also had a courtier so called who was the great grandson of Shāh Ni'amatulla Wali, a renowned Sayyad and spiritual teacher, to whom Shāh Ṭahmāsp Ṣafavi had given his favourite sister Jānish Khānum in marriage. This Mīr-i-Mīrān's mother also was a daughter of Shāh Ism'aīl Khūni. (T. J. 150, l. 3, Tr. I. 305). Sayyads are often called *Mīrs*.

III. 350, *l.* **3.** *Transport of stone obelisks.*

This description of the devices employed to transport the monoliths is not without interest. An old European traveller has given another account which is helpful in understanding what Shams says. He states that "after the first course was laid, a slope of earth was placed against it, up which the stones for the second course were rolled; when they were laid, more earth was added to raise the slope again, in order to roll up the stones for the third course and so on. When completed, the building was surrounded by a mountain of clay which had then to be removed." (Grandpré, Voyage in the Indian Ocean and to Bengal, 1803, I. 169). There are more recent and highly technical Monographs on these old mechanical devices in the Rurki Professional Papers on Indian Engineering, 2nd series, 1878, Vol. III; Selections from the Records of the N. W. P. Government. New Series V .316. (See Ball's Note to Tavernier, I, 153-4). Sir John Marshall remarks that it was "a remarkable feat of engineering, considering the indifferent mechanical appliances then

available," but he also observes that this pillar could not have weighed more than 40 tons, a "very insignificant bulk compared with the 700 or 800 ton blocks handled by the Romans at Baalbek or the still heavier ones of the ancient Egyptians". (C. H. I. III. 590).

III. 350, *l.* 6. *One [of the two obelisks] was in the village of Tobra in the district of Salaura and Khizrābād.*

The real name of the village is *Topra*. It lies seven miles south-west of Jagādhri in Ambālā district (Arch. Survey of India Reports, XIV. 78; V. Smith, E. H. I. 157 note; Fanshawe, D. P. P. 222; Fleet, J. R. A. S. 1906, p. 407 *note*). Khiẓrābād and Sadhaura were both Maḥāls in Sarkār Sirhind, Ṣūba Dehli in Akbar's reign. (*Āin*, Tr. II. 296). Khiẓrābād is now in Jagādhri taḥṣil, Ambālā district, and lies near the débouchement of the Jumna from the hills and the present head of the Dehli Canal, about 15 miles north of Jagādhri town and 20 miles east of Sadhaura. Sadhaura is now in the Nārāyangarh taḥṣil of Ambālā district. It lies on the route from Būriya to Nāhan in Sirmūr. It is situated near the base of the Sub-Himalaya, close to the left bank of the Mārkanda, twenty-six miles east of Ambālā town. (J. A. S. B. 1844, p. 214 note). Constable 25 B b. It may be as well to state that there are two places called Khiẓrābād in Ambālā district. That in Jagādhri taḥṣīl is known as *Mashriqi* (Eastern). The other is in Kharār taḥṣīl and distinguished as *Maghribi* (Western). The latter is about 7 miles north of Kauriāli Railway Station and 7 miles south of Rūpar.

III. 351, *l.* 3 from foot. *At this time, the author of this book was twelve years of age and a pupil of the respected Mūr Khān.*

This 'respected Mūr Khān' never existed in the flesh and is only a figment of the brain. در آن ایام این مورّخ خوشه چین خوان مورّخان نیك نام بعمر دوازده سالگی رسیده بود; 310, l. 5 f. f. "In those days, this writer, who is a picker-up of crumbs [or gleaner] from the tables of renowned historians (*muwarrikhān*) had reached the age of twelve years."

This personal reference is not without interest. It shows that Shams was born about 756 H. as Sultān Firūz returned from Ṭhaṭṭa about 768 H. We do not know when he died, but it appears from other references to the ruin and desolation of Dehli consequent upon the invasion of Tīmūr that he lived upto at least 801 A. H.

III. 352, *l.* 9 from foot. *The height of the obelisk was thirty-two gaz, eight gaz was sunk in the pedestal and twenty four gaz was visible.*

"The Golden Pillar is a single shaft of pale pinkish limestone, 42 feet 7 inches in length, of which the upper portion, 35 feet in length, has received a very high polish, while the remainder is left quite rough. Its upper diameter is 25.3 inches and its lower diameter 38.8 inches". (Cunningham, Arch. Surv. Rep. 1862, p. 17). Fanshawe says that the height of the Firūzābād Lāṭ above the platform is 37 feet, the circumference at

the base $9\frac{1}{2}$ feet and at the top $6\frac{1}{2}$ feet. (D. P. P. 224). These modern measurements indicate that the 'gaz' of Shams is the *dar'a* or *cubit* of about eighteen inches and a half. (Barthold, Turkestan, 84 note). If 24 *gaz*=37 feet, the *gaz* must have measured $\frac{444}{24}$=18.5 inches.

III. 352, *l.* **5 from foot.** *Many Brahmans and Hindu devotees were invited to read them but no one was able.*

The word which is translated as 'Hindu devotees' is سیورے 'Sewrās'. This is the Sanskrit 'Shrīvara' and the general designation of the ascetic order among the different *gachchhas* or sects of the Jainas. Abul Faẓl says that "two *Seorās* or Jaina ascetics had made, from astrological knowledge, a correct prediction" regarding the result of Akbar's invasion of Gujārāt. (*Akb. Nām.* Text, III. 68; Tr. III, 94). Elsewhere, he observes that "the Seorās are preeminent in all the countries of India for austerities, asceticism and science". (*Ibid.* I. 53=Tr. I. 147). See also the *Dabistān.* (Tr. Shea and Troyer, II. 210-216).

III. 353, *l.* **3.** *The other obelisk was somewhat smaller than the Mināra-i-Zarrīn.*

Cunningham wrote in 1862 that "the second of Asoka's pillars was lying in five pieces near Hindu Rāo's house on the top of the hill to the north-west of Shāhjahānābād. The whole length of this piece was $32\frac{3}{4}$ feet; upper diameter $29\frac{1}{2}$ inches, lower diameter 33.44 inches". (Arch. Surv. Rep. 1862, p. 19). Fanshawe states that it was broken by an explosion in the eighteenth century. (D. P. P. 57). The broken pieces have since been joined together and the completed pillar stands again on the Ridge, where it had been placed by Firūz. Both monoliths contain the Pillar Edicts of Asoka and there is also an inscription of the Chauhān Visaldeva dated 1164 A. C. on the Khiẓrābād *Lāṭ.* (*Ibid.* 224; E.H. I. 157 *note*).

III. 354, *l.* **15.** Bands: *Fath Khān, Mālja, into which he threw a body of fresh water, Mahpālpur, Shukr Khān etc.*

Mālja or Mulcha was near the grove or Gardens of Tāl Katora, 8 miles from Shāhjahānābād. It seems to have been in the vicinity also of the Kālkā Mandir, an ancient place of worship, which is about 7 miles south of the city near the Khiẓrābād grove and between the shrines of Niẓāmu-d-dīn Awliā and Naṣīru-d-dīn Chirāgh-i-Dihli. (Cooper, Guide to Dehli, 1863, p. 92). Shaikh Rizqallah Mushtāqi, who lived in the 16th century, speaks of Mūlcha as a village near Dehli, where parties of pleasure were held and nobles used to go for *Shikār.* (E. D. IV. 544).

The village of Mahpālpur still survives. "Some three miles to the west of Old Dehli", writes Hearn, "in Malikpur, now within the limits of *Mahipālpur*, is the tomb of the son of Altamsh who died in Bengal in A.D. 1229. The term Sultān-i-Ghāri given to the tomb by the common people means 'the Cave King'.....Close by are the tombs of Ruknu-d-dīn Firūz and of Mu'izzu-d-dīn Bahrām Shāh, sons and successors of Altamsh. Firūz Shāh records the repairing of these tombs, the domes of the two

latter having fallen". (Seven Cities of Dehli, 101-2). Mahipālpur and Malikpur are both shown in the map prefixed to Thomas's Chronicles. Fatḥ Khān and Shukr Khān were two sons of Fīrūz Shāh and these Bands must have been named after them.

III. 354, *l.* 11 from foot. *These one hundred and twenty buildings were full of guests on all the three hundred and sixty days of the year.*

The real point seems to have been missed in the translation. بدین نیت که . . . مسافران چون بدین مکان بیایند د ر هر خانکاه کسان سه روز مهمان شوند در صد و بیست خانقاه سه صد و شصت روز سال تمام مهمان باشند ; 331, l. 2. "With this view [or object] that when a traveller came to one of these houses, he could stay as a guest for three days, so that they [the homeless poor from foreign parts] could remain as free lodgers (*lit.* guests) in the 120 *Serais* for all the three hundred and sixty days of the year."

As every traveller was allowed to stay free of charge in any one of these Serāis for three days at a time in one year, the good Sultan erected exactly 120 Serāis with the *deliberate* object of providing free accommodation for a poor stranger *all the year round* during each period of twelve months or 360 days.

III. 354, *l.* 5 from foot. *Abdul Hakk, otherwise Jāhir Sundhār, was the deputy [of the chief architect] and held the golden axe.*

The words in the text also are گرز زد ; 331, l. 9. گرز is a "spear or mace" but it is not easy to see why an architect should have it. *Perhaps*, the right reading is گز yard. His badge of office was, as he was a carpenter, (Sundhār, Sanskrit *Sūtradhāra*, Gujarāti, *Sutār*), the yard measure. *Gazdar* or *Gajjar* means, carpenter, house-builder, and is a surname among Hindus as well as Parsis and Musalmans. As his superior, the chief architect, had only a club, stick or baton, it is not likely that he was given a spear or mace. Similarly, an inkstand was the badge of a Secretary of State, and he was even called *Sar-i-dawātdār*, 'Chief Ink-stand-bearer.' A pen-case (*Kalamdān*) was often presented to the man who was appointed Vazīr, as a symbol of his office. Khwāfi Khān tells us that the great Niẓāmu-l-Mulk Āṣaf Jāh was presented with an ornamental pen-case when appointed Vazīr of the Empire in 1134 H. (Text, II. 940, l. 1= E. D. VII. 534).

III. 356, *l.* 6. *Some of them were in receipt of a regular payment (rāyati); others had no fixed income.*

The text has راتبی (337, l. 10), which is decidedly preferable. راتبه, says Richardson, means "salary, stipend, pay" and راتب "any one's lot or provision of the necessaries of life". The meaning seems to be that fixed or definite amounts were allotted in the annual budget for those *Kārkhānas*, the requirements of which were not liable to variation from year to year.

III. 356, *l.* **13.** [*Besides*] *the monthly salaries of the accountants and other officers which amounted to 1,60,000 tankas.*

خارج مشاهره حاشیه و اصحاب دیگر; 357, l. 1 f. f. Dowson says in a note that all the copyists write حاشیه which makes no sense and that حاسبه, an accountant, is the correct reading. But حشم و حاشیه "army and followers" occurs frequently in Gardezi's *Zainu-l-Akhbār*, (20, l. 4 f.f.; 79, l. 4 f. f.; 104, l. 7 f. f.) and also in Baihaqi (30, 55, 70, 140, 489) and Barani (55, l. 11). Richardson and Steingass say that حاشیه means "men of inferior rank, followers, attendants", and the term is used and explained lucidly by Ibn Baṭūṭa. He informs us that when he was appointed Guardian of the Tomb of Sultan Quṭbu-d-dīn Mubārak by Muḥammad Tughlaq, he appointed Muezzins, Imāms, Readers of the Qurān and other superior officials who were called *Al-Arbāb*, or 'Gentlemen' in India. He also made arrangements for the subordinate class of attendants, *e. g.* footmen, cooks, runners, etc., who were called *Al-Hāshīya, i.e.* menials [*domestiques*]. (Defrémery, III. 433, l. 2). The phrase حاشیه و حشم و کاردارن occurs in the Ṭ. N. also (114, l. 2) and حاشیه و لشکرش in the *Siyāsatnāma*, Bombay Lith. Pt. I, 49, l. 9.

III. 357, *l.* **12.** *The camel establishment was.....in the district of Dublāhan.*

Dublāhan is Dūbaldhan. Beri-Dūbaldhan was a *Maḥāl* in *Sarkār* Dehli, *Ṣūba* Dehli. (*Āīn*, Tr. II, 286). Beri is now in Rohtak district. Constable, Pl. 27 C a. Rohtak town lies about 42 miles north-west of Dehli on the road from Dehli to Hānsi (Th.). Beri is 15 miles south of Rohtak on the direct road from Dehli to Bhiwāni (I. G. VIII. 4), and Dūbaldhan or Dobaldhan is five miles south-west of Beri. The camels were sent out to graze there, so as to be within easy call in an emergency.

III. 358, *l.* **10.** *And a quarter jītal called* bīkh *was* [*ordered to be issued*].

وهم دانگ جیتل که آنرا بیکه خوانند (344, l. 5 f.f.). This word 'Bīkh' or 'Bīka' has puzzled the Numismatists. *Ādhā* is plain sailing, but it is more difficult to say what 'Bikh' stands for. Thomas's solution or surmise seems to be badly off the mark. He thought it was '*Bhīkh*' بهیکه 'alms, obolos'. (Chronicles, 281). But this is evidently strained and far-fetched and has convinced nobody. I venture to suggest that the right reading is not *Bīkh* or *Bhīkh* but پیکه *Paika*, from *Pā*, *Pāi*, Sans. *Pāda*, *Pāduka*, a fourth, a quarter. This *Paika* was the quarter-jital, as the '*Ādha*' was its moiety or half.

III. 358, *l.* **12.** *When the Sultān ordered the coinage of the Shashgāni, or six jītal-piece, Kajar Shāh was Director of the Mint.*

Dowson's version of the passage is liable to convey an erroneous impression to the unwary reader. It implies and may be not unreasonably understood to mean that these *Shashgānis* were ordered to be struck

only or for the first time by Firūz Shāh. A glance at the original is sufficient to show that there is no warrant for any such inference or implication. All that Shams says is در جلوسِ سلطان فیروز شاه دارالضربِ مهر ششگانی در عهده کجر شاه بود (344, last line). "At the time of the accession of Firūz Shāh, Kajar Shāh was the Superintendent of the Department in which *Shashgānis* were stamped", [*lit. of the Shashgāni Mint*]. It will be seen that the author does not say anything about Firūz having 'ordered' the coinage of Shashgānis. As a matter of fact, these fractional pieces must have been struck by Muḥammad Tughlaq, as their relative value is explicitly stated by Shihābu-d-dīn Dimishqi in his account of the Coinage of that Sultān. (582 *infra*). "*Shashgānis*" and "*Dūgānis*" are also mentioned by Barani in his account of the "Forced Currency" of that tyrant. (476, l. 7=240 *ante*). In the next line also, Dowson speaks of the *Shashgāni* as the "*new* coin," but there is nothing corresponding to "new" in the text. Mr. Nelson Wright seems to have been misled by Dowson's translation. (C. M. S. D. 220). It was not "introduced as a novelty" by Firūz.

III. 359, *l.* 5 from foot. *He* [*Kajar Shāh*] *accordingly made a full and true report to the Sultān.*

"The full and true report" of the Superintendent was not made to the Sultan, but to the all-powerful Prime Minister, or دستورِ شهنشاه. The real state of affairs was revealed, not to the Emperor, but to his astute and wily Vazīr. The context shows that the well-meaning but weak-witted Firūz was hoodwinked and deceived, just as much as the public, by a collusive and prearranged plot between the Minister and the mint-master. کجر شاه پیشِ دستورِ شهنشاه راستی حال و صدقِ مقال میگفت, 347, l. 9. When Kajar [Gujar Sāh?] found on inquiry that the allegation was correct, he made a clean breast of the matter to the Vazīr. The two men put their heads together and cunningly devised a fraudulent scheme to withhold the real facts from the Sultan. As a public exposure would have discredited Khān-i-Jahān and his administration, the Minister countenanced and abetted a fraud to save the reputation of the *Dārogha* and uphold the prestige of his own government.

The name of the *Dārogha* is written Kajar Shāh in the C.H.I. also (III. 185-6), but the correct form is, probably, *Gujar Sāh*. This *Sāh* is not the Persian 'Shāh', but the vernacular 'Sāh', a respectable merchant of great integrity. Barani speaks of ملتبانیان و ساهان (120, ll. 8, 11). See my note on II. 308, l. 6 f. f. 'Shā' is still used in this sense in Gujarāt.

III. 362, *l.* 12. *The Sultān showed great respect to Shaikhu-l-Islām 'Alāu-d-dīn and Shaikhu-l-Islām Farīdu-d-dīn Ajodhani.*

Neither of these two saintly personages was really alive at this time, *i.e.* during the reign or after the accession of Firūz. They had both been by that time gathered to their fathers. Shaikh Farīdu-d-dīn-i-Shakarganj of Ajodhan was born in or about 584 H. and died on the 5th of Muharram 664 or 665 H. (Beale, *Miftāḥ*, p. 63; *Āīn*, Tr. III. 364 and *note*). Shaikh

'Alāu-d-dīn was his grandson and lived in the reign of 'Alāu-d-dīn Khalji. He is the subject of a panegyrical *Qaṣīda* in the *Bāqiya Naqiya* of Amīr Khusrau, which was composed between 701 and 715 A. H. (535 *infra*), and he is also mentioned in Barani's catalogue of the great men of that age. (Text, 347, l. 4). His son, Shaikh Mu'izzu-d-dīn was appointed Nāib-i-Wazīr of Gujarāt by Muḥammad Tughlaq (*Ibid.* 508, l. 4 f.f.) and was put to death by the rebel Ṭaghi. (*Ibid.* 588, l. 7). Shaikh 'Alāu-d-dīn himself had died before and Muḥammad Tughlaq erected a tomb over his remains. (*Āīn*, Tr. III. 372). The Mausoleums of Shaikhs Farīd and 'Alāu-d-dīn at Ajodhan are described in the J. A. S. B. 1836, pp. 637, 638. The real meaning is that Fīrūz had become the *Murīd*, *i. e.* spiritual disciple of Shaikh 'Alāu-d-dīn Ajodhani at some time in his youth.

سلطان فیروز شاه ارادت بر شیخ علا الدین نبیسه شیخ فرید الدین داشت; 371, l. 7. The word ارادت is used in this sense elsewhere also. Shams says of Aḥmad Ayāz, Khwāja-i-Jahān, the minister of Muḥammad Tughlaq, that he was the *murīd* [*lit.* had the *irādat*] of Shaikh Niẓāmu-d-dīn Awliyā. خواجه جهان ارادتِ بندگی شیخ الاسلام شیخ نظام الدین داشت; 69, l. 5. Barani says that when Sultān Firūz visited Ajodhan soon after his accession, he bestowed Khil'ats and In'ām lands on the *grandsons* of Shaikh 'Alāu-d-dīn of Ajodhan, as that noble family was then in an extremely impoverished condition at the time. (543, l. 13).

III. 363, *l.* 4 from foot. *The* Rozi *was an impost upon traders.*

The Editors of the Bibl. Ind. Text give preference to the reading دوری and relegate روزی which occurs in only one manuscript to the footnote as a variant. (375, last line). Dowson has rejected دوری because he did not understand it and adopted روزی because he fancied it was connected with ورز and he has given it the meaning of "one day's labour". But the derivation and the meaning are both untenable conjectures and he has overlooked or misunderstood the very different explanation which is given by Shams himself. Shams says that the old bricks of the seven fortifications of Dehli had become *dūri* [د وری گشته] and that the officials used to insist upon every beast of burden taking one load of the broken bricks (or *dūri*) from Old Dehli to Firūzābād for making mortar [کهور] out of them یك دفعهٔ خشتِ دوری در ستوران بار کرده در شهر فیروز آباد برای کهور میرسانیدند (376, l. 8). I cannot find that the word روز (roz) occurs anywhere in this passage, as it is printed in the B. I. edition. The phrase used there is یك دفعه not یك روز (376, ll. 8 and 11), and it reads بزور میگرفتند 'took by force' and not بروز گرفتند 'took for a day' (l. 3). But دوری has no meaning, either in Persian or Hindi, and I venture to suggest that the right reading is neither روزي nor دوری but Rūṛi روڑي. *Roṛa* in Hindi and Gujarāti means broken bricks or stones, rubble or 'Kunkur', from the Sanskrit *rudh*, hard, rough. Raverty connects the name of the town of Rohri (near Bhakkar) with the Hindi Ruṛh or Roṛa, "rough, stiff, rugged, hard and also stone, rock or fragment of either". (Mihrān, 210 *note*). Rohri does "stand on a rocky

eminence of limestone interspersed with flints " (I. G. XXI. 309), and if the derivation is not right, it is *ben trovato.*

III. 364, *l.* **8 from foot.** *This author who was then under Mūr Khān.* این مورّخ متابعِ مورخانِ اهل صفا ; 378, l. 2 f. f. "This author who is a follower (imitator or admirer) of the historians who were persons of pure lives". Elsewhere, Shams says that he has given accounts of the lives of some great Khāns and Maliks of the reign of Firūz Shāh " in accordance. with the example set by the authors who have written the histories of other rulers ". بمتابعتِ مورّخانِ تواریخ هر یك بادشاه (388, l. 6 f. f.). In another place, he speaks of himself as این مورخِ ریزه چینِ مورخانِ خوشخرام (285, l. 12). Elsewhere, he styles himself خوشه چینِ مورّخانِ باریك بین (461, l. 3 f. f.), " a gleaner from the writings of critical historians " (*muwarrikhān-i-bārīk-bīn*). See also my Note on III. 351, l. 3 f. f.

III. 366, *l.* **20.** *The Brahmans remained fasting for several days until they were on the point of death.*

This is an example of 'Sitting Dhurna'. It has been described as " a mode of extorting payment or compliance with a demand, effected by the complainant or creditor sitting at the debtor's door and there remaining without food, fasting till his demand shall be complied with, or sometimes by threatening to do himself some mortal violence, if it be not complied with." (Yule, H. J., *s. v.* Dhurna). There is a very early reference and graphic pen-picture of it in Idrīsi, *q. v.* E. D. I, 88. Marco Polo (Travels, Tr. Yule, Ed. Cordier, II. 327, 335) also alludes to it and traces of the custom in some form are found in many other parts of the world. Sir Henry Maine has quoted an example from the old Irish Brehon laws. (History of Early Institutions, p. 40, and also pp. 297-304). The practice of intimidating a person by 'fasting upon him' must be of very great antiquity in this country, as it is mentioned in the Rāmāyaṇa. Bharata threatens to go on hunger-strike, if Rāma does not promise to return to Ayodhyā from his self-imposed exile. Rāma protests that such a vow can be lawfully taken only by Brahmans and is forbidden to the Kshatriyas and persuades his brother to abandon the intention. (*Ayodhyākāṇḍa*, Canto 111, Griffith's Trans. p. 264).

III. 366, last line. *And he [the Sultan] accordingly assessed it at ten tankas and fifty jītals for each individual.*

This is a difficult passage and has been interpreted in different ways by Dowson and Edward Thomas. Dowson thinks that each Brāhman had to pay ten *Tangas* (each of sixty-four *Jītals*) and one *tanga* of fifty *Jītals*. Thomas opines that the rate at which each Brāhman was assessed was "one fifty-jital piece or 'Adali *for* every ten tangas". (C. P. K. D. 272 and *Note*). I venture to say that neither of these interpretations is correct. Shams himself puts it thus: فرمود که در نفری ده گان تنکهٔ پنجاه گانی بستانند (384, l. 3). "He ordered them to take from every individual ten *tangas* each of fifty *gānis, i. e.* ten of that silver coin which was called a 'Tanga', but which was valued at fifty *Jītals*

only." (تنکهٔ پنجاه گانی). The standard silver *tanga* of the Dehli Sultans weighed about 175 grs. and appears to have been reckoned as equal in value to sixty-four *jītals*. But Muḥammad Tughlaq is known to have struck a silver *tanga* weighing only about 140 grs., which was known as the تنکهٔ پنجاه گانی, 'the (silver) *tanga of fifty jītals*'. Shams informs us that the assessment of the lowest grade was ten *tangas*, *i. e.* ten standard *tangas* of sixty-four *jītals* each. But as the Brahmans pleaded poverty and inability to bear the burden, the Sultan compassionately allowed them all to be placed in the third or lowest grade and, *as a further concession*, he did not demand from them ten *tangas* of the higher value or denomination, each of which had an exchange value of 64 *jītals*, but ten lighter pieces of the lower denomination, valued at only 50 *jītals* each. In other words, each Brahman would have had to pay only 500 *jītals* or only 1400 grains' weight of silver, whereas a layman or Non-Brahman of the lowest grade could not get off for less than 640 *jītals* or 1750 grains' weight of silver. Mr. Vincent Smith states that they were "assessed at a reduced all-round rate," which is right, but when he asserts that the rate was "ten tangas *and* fifty *jaitals*" (O. H. I. 251), he is merely copying Dowson and reiterating his error, which seems to be due to the interpolation of a *wāv* between تنکه ده and پنجاه گانی by the copyist.

III. 367, *l.* 5 from foot. *When Sultān Muhammad sent the Rāi of Telingāna to Dehli, the Rāi died upon the road.*

As the fate of Rudra Pratāpa, the last independent Rājā of Warangal, is not mentioned by Barani or any of the epitomists, this incidental reference to it in a contemporaneous author is both valuable and interesting. It is confirmed, besides, by a Telugu historical writing entitled "Pratāpa Rudra Charitam," in which it is recorded that this king's death took place at Mantenna on the Godāvary. But Dr. K. S. Ayyangar who has unearthed this fact puts the event into 1328 A. C. (S. I. M. I. 180, 202), which seems to be chronologically open to exception. Pratāpa Rudra was taken prisoner and sent to Dehli with his relations and dependents after the second invasion of Warangal by the Prince Ulugh Khān in the reign of Sultan Ghiyāṣu-d-dīn Tughlaq. Barani explicitly says so and adds that Malik Bidār and Khwāja Ḥājji led the escort and were the custodians of the prisoners. (Text, 450, l. 2 and 233 *ante*). Warangal was thus annexed to and incorporated in the Sultanate of Dehli, some time before the accession of Muḥammad Tughlaq and there is no reference to Pratāpa Rudra in the annals of Muḥammad's reign, because the Rājā had died, as Shams states, *on his way to Dehli* in or about 1323 A. C. It is true that Shams speaks of "*Sultan* Muḥammad having sent the Rāi to Dehli", but it is customary with him to style the heir-apparent *Sultan* by anticipation and he has followed the same course in regard also to his successor, whom he calls *Sultan* Firūz repeatedly, even when recording the events of his childhood and youth. Mantenna is Manthani, now in

Karīmnagar district, Ḥaidarābād State. Lat. 18°-39′ N., Long. 79°-40′ E. (I.G. XVII. 203). I. G. Atlas, 49 C 2; Constable, 32 A b.

III. 369, *l.* **3.** *The Sultān was often heard to say that Khān Jahān was the grand and magnificent King of Dehli.*

بادشاه دهلی اعظم همایون خان جهان است ; 400, l. 13. "'Aẓam Humāyūn Khān-i-Jahān is the (real) King of Dehli." "'Aẓam Humāyūn" here does not mean 'grand and magnificent.' He is styled 'Aẓam Humāyūn at Text, 291, l. 14; 292, l. 1. "'Aẓam Humāyūn" was one of the titles, القاب, of Khān-i-Jahān. Ḥājji Dabīr and Barani both say so. (Ẓ. W. 896, l. 22; T. F. Text, 578, l. 18; 596, ll. 4 and 8). It appears from other passages in Shams's chronicle that Khwāja-i-Jahān and Malik Kabīr, the ministers of Muḥammad Tughlaq, had both borne this title. (63, l. 18; 454, l. 3). Buhlūl Lody bestowed it upon his grandson, and during the reigns of Sikandar and Ibrāhīm it was conferred upon the most powerful nobles. "In Hindustān," Bābur writes, "they give permanent titles to highly favoured Amīrs, one such being 'Aẓam Humāyūn, one Khān-i-Jahān, another Khān-i-Khānān. Fatḥ Khān's father's title was 'Aẓam Humāyūn, but I set this aside, because, on account of Humāyūn, it was not seemly for any person to bear it and I gave Fatḥ Khān Sarwāni the title of Khān-i-Jahān." (B. N. Tr. 537). The title was revived by the Sūri Sultans but again discontinued by Akbar.

III. 369, *l.* **17.** *One of them is the 'Ainu-l-Mulki, a popular and approved work.*

یکی از آن ترسل عین الملکی ست که در جهان بهر یک زبان معروف و مشهورست 408, l. 10. "One of them is the *Tarassul-i-'Ainu-l-Mulki*, which is well-known and famous throughout the world". A copy of this treatise, which is also called *Inshā-i-Māhrū*, was in the library of Tīpū Sultān and it is now in the collection of the Asiatic Society of Bengal. Dr. W. Ivanow was the first to draw public attention to it and his Note on the subject in the J. R. A. S. 1922, pp. 579-580, was followed up by a much fuller description and *resumé* of its contents by Maulavi 'Abdul Wali, in an article in the J. A. S. B. 1923, pp. 253-290. It is really an *olio* of Epistles written by Māhrū to several eminent persons and private individuals, *'Arẓdāshts, i.e.* Petitions or Memorials addressed by himself or others to the Court and *Manshūrs*, *Miṣāls* and *Nishāns*, *i. e.* various kinds of Orders, Letters Patent and official documents drafted by 'Ainu-l-Mulk in the name of the Sultan or the Government. It appears to have been extensively read at one time and to have been looked upon as providing models or masterpieces of epistolary diction. (*loc. cit.* 271, 253). One of the most interesting documents incorporated *verbatim* in the collection is the Proclamation issued by Sultan Firūz in 1353 A. C., justifying the first invasion of Bengal on the ground of the tyranny and injustice of Ḥājji Ilyās. All classes of men are then invited to desert the usurper and promised rich rewards if they join and co-operate loyally with Sultan Firūz.

III. 370, *l.* **7.** *The Sultān . . . told 'Ainu-l-mulk that he would himself*

receive his reports and that his books would be sufficient.

هرچه شمارا در اقطاع ملتان عمل افتد مسموع باشد ـ کتبهٔ شما کافیست ; 415, l. 5. کتبه does not mean 'books' but 'signature, endorsement, initials, or other token or mark of assent or sanction in writing'. According to the *Ghiyāṣu-l-Lughāt*, it means 'written' and also 'writes'. When a person signs a document, he writes this word کتبه first and then puts down his name.

III. 371, *l.* **5.** *'Ainu-l-Mulk replied, that he hoped that all misgiving would be removed from the mind of the minister; he had spoken warmly for him notwithstanding their old feud.*

The real import of the reply is turned upside down in the translation. What 'Ainu-l-Mulk really said was: "Thou shouldst dispel from thy mind the notion that I have given this favourable opinion for *thy* sake [*i. e.* out of any regard for thee]. The strife and enmity between me and thee remains just as it was. I have said this only for the good of the Sultan's kingdom." این گمان از خاطر خود دور میباید کرد که من این رای احسن ارسببِ تو گفته ام میانِ من و تو عداوت و مناقشه همان که بود که هست (418, l. 11). That such is the real meaning is shown by his rejection of Khān-i-Jahān's friendly overtures and refusal to go to his house.

III. 371, *l.* **13.** *He died in the year 770 H. 1368 A. D. in the eighteenth year of the reign of Firoz Shāh.*

Here the date of Khān-i-Jahān's death is given as 770 H., but at page 358 *ante*, he is said to have been alive in 772 H. by Shams himself. The T. M. (Text, 131, l. 12; E.D. IV. 12) and the Ṭ. A. (117, l. 17) also put his demise into 772 H. F. makes it two years later still, or 774 H. (I. 148, l. 8) and he has been followed by Sir W. Haig, who gives the Christian year as 1372-3 A. C. (C. H. I. 182). If Shams is right in stating that the event took place in the *18th year of the Sultan's reign*, both 772 and 774 H. must be wrong and 770 only correct, as Firūz ascended the throne in Muḥarram 752 H. Elsewhere also, Shams states that Khān-i-Jahān the Second, the son of this Khān-i-Jahān, was the Prime Minister of Firūz for twenty years after the death of his father, (426, l. 9). As Khān-i-Jahān II was Vazīr upto Rajab 790 H. (E. D. IV. 15), this also would indicate that his father must have died in 770 H. Similar discrepancies arrest attention in connection with the dates of the death of Ẓafar Khān and the rebellion of Dāmghāni. See my note on Vol. IV. 12, l. 10 f. f.

III. 374, *l.* **2.** *Futūḥāt-i-Firozshāhi.*

This autobiographical record is also mentioned in the lists of authorities prefixed to the Ṭ. A. and F. and the document is said by Niẓāmu-d-dīn Aḥmad to have been inscribed on an octagonal tower in the Jām'i Mosque at Firūzābād. It contained, he says, eight chapters, each of which was engraved upon one side of the octagon. (120, l. 8; F. I. 150, l. 6 f. f.). Shams tells us that the Sultan ordered a complete account of his acts and proceedings to be engraved on the *Kushk-i-Nuzūl* which was in front of the Audience-hall at Firūzābād. He cites also the purport of the section

which stands first in Dowson's version and quotes a couplet which corresponds to the ninth and tenth lines of Dowson's metrical translation of the poetical quotation. (p. 376 *infra*=T. F. Text, 20-21).

III. 377, *l.* 5. *In former reigns, they used to collect frivolous, unlawful and unjust cesses at the public treasury.....I had all these abolished.*

The good Sultan gives a list of 23 imposts which is most interesting, but of which neither translation nor explanation is provided here, probably because many of the names are corrupt.

The *Mandavi-i-Bark* (*Recte* '*Barg*', *lit.* leaf) was the toll levied in the vegetable market. The vernacular word *Mandavi*, means 'market,' 'market dues or tolls' and also 'toll-house.' The vegetable market in old Dehli is still known as the '*Sabzi Mandi*', 'market for greens' or 'the produce of the kitchen garden'. *Dalālat-i-bāzārhā* was the brokerage on the transactions in the market. *Jarāri* (*Recte*, *Jazzāri*) was the tax on butchers which is mentioned by Shams on 363 *ante*. It was twelve *Jītals* for every cow or bullock killed. It is the *Qaṣṣābi* of the *Āīn*. (Tr. II. 67). *Amīri-i-Ṭarab* seems to have been a cess which had to be paid to an officer who was appointed by the State to regulate festive gatherings in connection with marriages, dances, musical soirees, and entertainments. There was a similar tax in Akbar's reign. The officer was called *Ṭūi Begi* and he was to get 5 per cent on the amount paid as tax by both parties to a marriage. (*Akbar Nāma*, Text III. 396=Tr. 585). *Gul faroshi* was a tax levied in the Flower-market. There is a '*Ful-ki-Mandi*' even now in Dehli. *Jarība* [*Recte*, *Zarība* or *Darība* ضریبہ]*-i-tambol* was the tax from *Pān* shops, *i. e.* the betel-leaf market. *Chungi-i-ghalla* was the octroi or town duty on grains and cereals of all sorts. 'Chungi' literally means 'a handful'. *Kitābī* was perhaps a tax on book-sellers or scribes, *Bilgari* (*Recte*, *Nīlkāri*) a cess on indigo-making, *Māhi-faroshi* on selling fish or fishing rights, *Ṣabūn-kāri* on soap-making, *Rīsmān-faroshi* on selling yarn, or perhaps rope-making, *Raughan-kāri* on oil or ghee making, and *Nukhūd-biryān* on roasted grain or chickpeas. The last six items were all taxes on handicrafts and bore some resemblance to our license taxes. *Tah Bāzārī* cannot be explained. *Qimār-khāna* was a cess exacted from gambling-houses. *Dād-banki* (*Recte*, *Dādbegi*) was a tax on the value of the property involved in a civil suit, which was levied by the *Dād-bak* or judge. Minhāj says it was legally ten per cent *ad valorem*, (T. N. 275, l. 18), but unscrupulous judges frequently exacted more. '*Jhaba*' might be meant for چھاپہ *Chhāpa*, a duty on stamping. *Kotwāli* was the fee paid to the police magistrate, and *Iḥtisābi* the perquisite of the *Muḥtasib* who was the superintendent of weights and measures and was also a censor who regulated markets and public places in accordance with the Religious Law. *Karhi* (*Recte*, Garhi or Ghari) means house-tax, *Charāi*, grazing tax and *Muṣādarāt*, fines and pecuniary penalties of sorts.

There is a similar and even longer list of thirty-eight taxes, called

Abwāb, or *Sāir Jihāt*, which are said to have been remitted by Akbar in the *Āīn*, (Text, 301 ; Tr. II. 66-67). *Charāi* is there called *Gāu Shumāri*. *Jazzāri* is *Qaṣṣābi*, *Rismāni* is *Saṇ* [*lit.* Hemp], *Qimār-khāna* is *Qimārbāzi*, *Raughan-kāri* is *Raughan*, but *Kitābi* كتابي seems to be written as كيالى (*Kayāli*) and the latter is explained by Thomas as the duty on rough or approximate estimates, as opposed to *Wazani* which is also mentioned and was the duty or charge for actual weighment. (Revenue Resources of the Mughal Empire, 17-18). In another passage of the *Āīn*, the Collector of the Revenue is forbidden to take any perquisites like *Chaukidāri*, *Rāhdāri*, *Manḍavi*, *Māhīgīri*, *Dastūr-i-Raughan-i-zard* and nine other cesses. (Text, 287, l. 4 f. f.; Tr. II. 47).

III. 377, *l.* **2 from foot.** *The Sect of Shī'as.....had endeavoured to make proselytes.*

The Khudābakhsh Khān Library at Bānkīpur, Paṭna, contains a manuscript History of Firūz Shāh written about 772 A. H., entitled *Sīrat-i-Firūzshāhi*. The name of the author is not known, but it appears to be a contemporary record. In this also, it is said that Sultān Firūz suppressed the Shī'a heretics, punished them severely and burnt their books. (Folio 63 a. Abdul Muqtadir, Catalogue, VII. 30).

III. 378, *l.* 4. *On the most zealous* [*Shī'as*], *I inflicted punishment* (Siyāsat) *and the rest I visited with censure* (t'azīr) *and threats* (tahdīd) *of public punishment* (tashhīr-i-zijr).

'*Siyāsat*' has a technical meaning in Islamic Jurisprudence, which is very inadequately represented by the English 'punishment'. It is used here as the Persian synonym of the Arabic 'Ḥadd', which in Law, is restricted to the punishments of which the limits (حدّ) have been defined by Muḥammād, either in the Qurān or the Ḥadīṣ. These punishments vary according to the nature of the crime, *e. g.* for adultery, stoning to death; for fornication, a hundred stripes; for drinking wine, eighty stripes; for theft, the cutting off of the right hand; for highway robbery, the loss of hands or feet; for apostasy or blasphemy, death. So the Sultan says again at p. 380 *infra* that the blaspheming Mullāzāda [or Maulāzāda] of 'Ain-i-Māhrū who used to say '*Ana-l Ḥaqq*' 'I am God', was condemned by him to سياست, which can only mean that he was put to death as Manṣūr-i-Ḥallāj had been by the Khalīf Muqtadir. "*T'azīr* تعزير is the chastisement which may be lawfully inflicted for any offence for which 'Ḥadd' or 'Siyāsat' has not been appointed, whether the offence consist in word or deed. In 't'azīr', nothing is fixed or determined and the degree of the chastisement is left to the discretion of the Qāẓi, because the design of it is correction. It must vary according to the dispositions of men. Some men require confinement or even blows, while in other cases, admonition or reprimand or threats only (*tahdīd*) may be sufficient." (Hughes, Dictionary of Islam, s. v. *Ḥadd* and *T'azīr*). *Tashhīr* is public exposure. The offender is made to ride on a cow or donkey with his face to the tail. It may be compared to the old English punish-

ments of the stocks, the pillory and the cucking-stool. Barani speaks of Balban inflicting the punishment of *T'azīr* on certain political offenders by ordering them to be mounted on buffaloes and paraded through the streets of Dehli. (108, l. 15). But this is also called *Tashhīr*.

III. 378, *l.* 9. *There was a sect of heretics (Mulhid) and sectarians (abāhatiyan).....They met by night etc.*

See my note on III. 206, l. 12. Both these words 'Mulḥid' and 'Ibāḥatiān' are often loosely used, but the description which follows indicates that these persons belonged to the *Vāma-Mārgi* or *Vāma-chāri* (*lit.* of the Left-hand Path) section of the *Shāktas*. The Tantras constitute the scriptures of this sect and the essential requisites of Tantric worship are the five *Makāras*, wine, flesh, fish, mystical gesticulations and sexual intercourse. These *Vāma Mārgis* or *Vāma-chāris* worship the female principle in creation, not only symbolically, but in the actual woman and promiscuous intercourse is said to constitute a necessary part of the orgies. The 'garment' mentioned by the Sultan is the female devotee's *Choli* or *Kanchuli*, *i.e.* bodice. (H. H. Wilson, Religious Sects of the Hindus. Works. Ed. Rost, I. 254-263). Mr. Crooke says that one division of the *Vāma Mārgis* is known as the '*Choli Mārgis*', because they make the women place in a jar their bodices, the owners of which are then allotted by chance to the male worshippers. The ceremony is known as the *Bhairavi-chakra*. (Tribes and Castes, I. 136-137). These 'Choli Mārgis' are said to exist even to-day in Gujarāt and Sindh and are known as the 'Kānchaliya-panth'. Manucci speaks of similar lascivious cults in the southern part of the peninsula. He calls them 'Multipliers' and their Scripture 'Emperumālavedam', which may mean "Veda of our great Lord Vishnu." Dr. L. D. Barnett, whom Mr. Irvine consulted on the point, thought that the reference must be to some degraded form of Rāmanujan Vaishnāvism. (Storia, III. 145; IV. 444 Note). See also Monier Williams, Brahmanism and Hinduism, 182 and E. Sellon's paper on "Indian Gnosticism or Sacti Puja, the Worship of the Female Power" in the Memoirs of the Anthropological Society of London, II. 264-272). Mr. Crooke observes that "this brutal form of so-called worship is spreading in Upper India and that at the last Census (1891), 1576 persons avowed themselves worshippers of the left-hand path". (*loc. cit.* 137; see also I. G. I. 427). A similar sect called 'Sahaj Bhajan' is said to exist still in Āssām. (I. G. VI. 47).

III. 379, *l.* 2 from foot. *One of the pupils of 'Ain Māhrū.*

The words in the original are یکی از ملازادگان عین ماهرو but the right reading probably is یکی ازمولا زادگان 'one of the sons of the freed slaves' (مولا) of 'Ain-i-Mahrū. See 128, 137 *ante* for the meaning of مولا and مولازاده which occur frequently in Barani. (Text, 37, l. 3; 134, l. 2; 181, l. 6; 210, l. 8). 'Mullāzāda' would mean 'son of his *Mullā*, *i. e.* of his teacher,' not 'one of his pupils.' *Māhrū* does not appear to be a sobriquet signifying 'moonfaced' but stands, probably, for the name of

'Ainu-l-Mulk's father which is written by Ibn Baṭūṭa as ماهر Māhar. (Defrémery, III. 342, l. 4). This 'Ain-i-Mahrū is the great scholar and statesman, 'Ainu-l-Mulk Multāni of Barani and Shams. See also 369 *ante*.

III. 380, *l.* 6 from foot. *In the village of Malūh, there is a tank which they call Kund [where they held fairs].*

This Malūh (or Malūch) is probably identical with Mālja or Mālcha which is mentioned by Shams as one of the spots where Sultan Fīrūz constructed a *Bund* and enclosed a large quantity of water. (354 *ante*). The 'Kunḍ' of which Fīrūz speaks here still exists. Hindus and 'graceless Musalmāns' still assemble there just as they did in the times of the Tughlaq and the Lodi Sultāns. It is situated near the temple of Kālikā which is of very great antiquity and is situated about six *kos* south-east of Shāhjahānābād, near Okhla. (*Āṣār*, Part i. 15). It is worth noting that three hundred years after Fīrūz Shāh, Aurangzeb issued similar orders for putting down Hindu fairs in a village called Malwah near Delhi. (Sarkār, Aurangzeb, III. 279).

III. 381, *l.* 12 from foot. *Some Hindus had erected a new idol temple in the village of Kohāna.*

There are two places known as Kohāna or Gohāna. Abul Faẓl mentions a Kohāna or Gohāna in Sarkār Rewāri, Ṣūba Dehli, (*Āīn*, Tr. II. 293) and also a Gohāna in Sarkār Ḥiṣār Firūza of the same Ṣūba. (*Ibid*, II. 295). This latter is probably the place referred to by the Sultan. It lies about fifty miles north-west of Dehli. Lat. 29°-8′ N., Long. 79°-42′ E. Constable, Pl. 25 B c. It is now in the Rohtak taḥṣīl, 20 miles north of Rohtak town and contains "two temples in honour of the Jain Tirthankar Pārasnāth at which an annual festival is held." (I. G. XII. 340).

III. 382, *l.* 1 from foot. *The details of this are fully set forth in the Wakfnāma.*

This 'Waqfnāma' or Trust-deed of Endowments is mentioned in Niẓāmu-d-dīn's summary of the 'Futūḥāt' and seems to have formed part of the Introduction or First Chapter of that Record. (Ṭ. A. 120, l. 12). But there is no trace of it in Dowson's version, although he says that he has "*translated the whole of it* with the exception of a few lines laudatory of the Prophet." (374 *supra*). It would seem as if there was more than one recension of the 'Futūḥāt,' or that this 'Waqfnāma' had been left out in Dowson's copy.

III. 383, *l.* 13. *The Mināra of Sultān Mu'izzu-d-dīn Sām had been struck by lightning. I repaired it.*

This fact and the repairs executed by the orders of Fīrūz are mentioned in a contemporary inscription on the fifth storey of the Quṭb Minār. (Asiatic Researches, XIV, 488; *Āṣār*, Pt. I. 55, Thomas, C. P. K. D. 283 Note).

It may be noted that the Sultan ascribes the foundation of the Quṭb to Mu'izzu-d-dīn Sām, while Amīr Khusrau and Shams put forward the

rival theory which attributes it to Īltutmish. This shows that opinion on this vexed question was just as divided five centuries ago as it is now.

III. 383, *l.* 10 from foot. *The columns of the tomb [of Shamsu-d-dīn Īltutmish] which had fallen down, I restored better than they had been before.*

Modern archaeologists think that there is some mistake here, as the description does not apply to what is now known as the Mausoleum of Īltutmish. They declare that the monument referred to by Firūz was not the tomb of Shamsu-d-dīn himself but that of his son Nāṣiru-d-dīn, who died in Bengal in 626 A. H. and whose mortal remains lie buried in what is known as the 'Sultān Ghāri'—about two miles distant from the Quṭb. "That Mausoleum has," Fanshawe observes, "columns in the grave-chamber, corners to the enclosure and steps upto the domed gate leading to this, and the Sultān Ghāri has all the appearance of having been restored in the middle Pathān style of the severer type." (D. P. P. 274 note). Sir John Marshall entertains the same opinion. (C. H. I. III. 580).

III. 387, *l.* 2 from foot. *He [the Khalīf of Egypt] also bestowed upon me a robe, a banner.....and a footprint as badges of honour and distinction.*

The footprint is the *Qadam-i-Sharīf* or *Qadam-i-Rasūl*, the Footprint of the Arabian Prophet. It lies opposite the 'Purāna Qilla' and to the south-west of the Lāhore Gate. After the death of his eldest son, Fatḥ Khān, the Sultān built a fine mausoleum and the footprint was placed over the grave of the Prince in a trough of water. (Fanshawe, 57, 63, 325; Carr Stephens, Archaeology of Dehli, 147; *Āṣār*, 92). Abul Faẓl says that the footprint was brought by the renowned Sayyad Jalālu-d-dīn Bukhāri, called Makhdūm-i-Jihāniān-i-Jihāngasht (died 785 H.), but the statement is not supported by other authors.

In the abstract or summary of the *Futūḥāt* which is found in the Ṭ. A. (121, l. 11), the Sultān is made to say that poison had been administered to him twice by his enemies, but that it had done him no harm. It may be observed that there is nothing corresponding to this statement in Dowson's version of the document. This also points to the existence of more than one recension. The statement itself is well-founded, as Barani, in his fragmentary account of the reign of Firūz, does mention a plot of the مطبخیان or cooks of the palace to poison the Sultan and the execution of some of the culprits. (Text, 552, l. 9).

Niẓāmu-d-dīn has also appended to his summary, a catalogue or inventory in which the number of the public works and benefactions of Firūz—the bunds, mosques, colleges, monasteries, palaces, inns, tanks, hospitals, mausoleums, baths, pillars, wells, bridges, and gardens, constructed by his orders, is meticulously recorded. (Ṭ. A. 121, l. 7). If these details also were borrowed from and constituted part of his copy of the *Futūḥāt*, it must follow that Dowson's manuscript was more or less mutilated or incomplete. F.'s list of the Sultan's public works which is men-

tioned by Dowson (E. D. IV. 18 note) and is copied in Elphinstone's History (p. 412), and other manuals is really a dropsical and not quite accurate version of that of the Ṭ. A. Thomas, however, looks upon the latter also with suspicion and he is apparently justified in remarking that "Niẓāmu-d-dīn's totals, though not so obviously exaggerated as Ferishta's, are clearly fanciful, especially in the number of even hundreds they display". (C. P. K. D. 291). Here, as elsewhere, F. is merely "the ape of Niẓāmu-d-dīn" as Raverty calls him.

III. 390, *l.* **6.** *The fact of its being a genuine work..... ...can, however, be proved upon more certain evidence.*

Dowson's attempt to bolster up the *Malfūẓāt* is not a success. It has failed to convince either Rieu or Ethé or Beveridge or Browne. The first declares that its "authenticity is open to serious objections." (B.M. Catalogue, 1. 178). The second speaks of it as "the alleged autobiographical Memoirs of Tīmūr", (I. O. Cat. Col. 84), the third stigmatises it as 'apocryphal' and 'forged' (J. A. S. B. 1921, pp. 201, 203), while the fourth categorically states that these "so-called Memoirs are generally, and I think properly, regarded by the best judges, as apocryphal." (L. H. P. III. 183). More recently, M. Bouyat has declared, in his article on Tīmūr in Houtsma's Encyclopaedia of Islam, that "the authenticity of the Memoirs and the Institutes is very doubtful." (IV. 779).

The British Museum possesses a *Ẓafarnāma* in prose (Add. 23980) which was composed in 806 H. It is the only History of 'the great Tartarian' that was written during his life time. It is, as Prof. Browne says, "much more concise and less florid than the work of Sharafu-d-dīn and seems to have formed the basis of the later work." (L. H. P. III. 183). The author Niẓām-i-Shāmi, tells us that Tīmūr sent for him and directed him to revise and put into proper shape and order the records hitherto kept by the official writers attached to his person. The Manuscript is said to be unique and was transcribed in 838 H. (Rieu, Pers. Cat. 169-71). I have been able, thanks to the courtesy of the distinguished numismatologist, Mr. John Allan of the British Museum, to obtain a photographic facsimile of the section relating to India and have made frequent use of it in these Notes.

III. 397, *l.* **7.** *My wazīrs informed me that the whole amount of the revenue of India is six 'Arbs.....of miskāls of silver.*

His Wazīrs or the compiler must have been stretching the truth very greatly and drawing a very long bow. Sultan Firūz Tughlaq's revenue is stated by Shams to have been only six *Krors and eighty-five lacs of Tangas.* That of Akbar and Jahāngīr was about six *'Arbs* of *dāms* and that of Shāh Jahān eight *'Arbs* and eighty *Krors* of *dāms* in 1648 A. C., but the *dām* was a copper coin worth only 1/40th of a rupee or the silver *tanga* of Firūz. The silver contents of six *'Arbs* of *miṣqāls* would be equal to those of 240 *Krors* of British India rupees. Akbar's revenues would, if estimated in the same way, be equal to only 15 and Shāh Jahān's to 22

Krors of rupees. In this connection, it may be worth noticing that according to the *Majālisu-s-Salāṭīn* (E. D. VII. 138), the revenues of the Mughal Empire at the end of the reign of Jahāngīr and the first decade of that of Shāh Jahān were about six *'Arbs* and thirty *Krors* of *dāms*. The *Malfūẓāt* is said to have been 'discovered' just about the time when the *Majālis* was written (1038 A. H.) and this coincidence in the numerical figures engenders the suspicion that the 'discoverer' may have substituted 'misqāls' for 'dāms', as he must have known that "dāms" were unknown in the days of Tīmūr.

III. 398, *l.* 13. *The government of....Kunduz and Bakalān and Kābul and Ghazni and Kandahār was vested in him.*

Baqlān or Baghlān lies in the valley of the Surkhāb or Qunduz river, about thirty-five miles south of Qunduz itself. Constable, 22 C b. It is directly on the route between Balkh and Indarāb. (Holdich, G. I. 90). Qunduz is also known as Kataghān. Constable, 22 C b. Iṣṭakhri says that Baghlān was six stages distant from Balkh. (Ed. Goeje, 286). Ibn Baṭūṭa journeyed along the same route as Tīmūr and gives his own itinerary thus: Qunduz to Baghlān, then to Andarāb, Parwān, Panjhir, Chārikār and the Indus. (Gibb. *loc. cit.* 178-181; Lee's Translation, 97-99).

III. 398, *l.* 10 from foot. *Mallū, the elder brother* [*of Sārang*] *lives at Delhi.*

Here Mallū Iqbāl Khān is called the elder brother of Sārang Khān. But in the *Ẓafarnāma* (II. 14, l. 2 f. f.; 480 *infra*), Sārang is said to have been the senior. It is not easy to say which statement is correct, but it would appear from the T. M. that Sārang was ennobled and made governor of Dīpālpur by Maḥmūd Shāh Tughlaq very soon after his accession in 796 H. (E. D. IV. 28). Mallū's name occurs for the first time in that chronicle somewhat later in the order of time and he appears to have been indebted for his title and the not very important appointment of castellan of Loni to the fact of his having been the brother of Sārang. (*Ib.* 31). Indeed, another brother of Sārang's named Kandhu is stated to have received the title of 'Ādil Khān, some time before the promotion of Mallū. (*Ib.* 30). It would seem as if Yazdi was right and Mallū was the youngest of the three.

III. 399, *l.* 3 from foot. *Tīmūr Khwājah, the son of Amīr Ākūghā.*

The correct form is Āq Būghā, (*Ẓafarnāma*, Text II. 14, l. 13 and 15, l. 4). '*Āq*' signifies 'white' and *Būghā* 'champion' in Turki. In speaking of Khudāi Birdi Tīmūrtāsh, who was one of his father 'Umar Shaikh Mīrzā's Begs, Bābur notes that he was the descendant of a brother of Āq Būghā Beg who was governor of Herāt under Tīmūr. (B. N. Tr. 24 note). *Āq* occurs frequently in Turki names, *e. g.* "Āq Sultān". A Ḥamza-i-Taghi Būghā is mentioned below at p. 410 and Rustam-i-Taghi Būghā at 450, 506. The name of this man, Tīmūr Khwāja-i-Āq Būghā again occurs. (Ẓ. N. II. 83, l. 7 f. f.; 98, l. 22). The name, 'Akbugha' is found in Ibn 'Arabshāh also. (Tr. Sanders, p. 63). For Sār Būghā, see Ẓ. N. 34, l. 14.

III. 400, *l.* 6. *I.....appointed the Prince 'Umar, the son of Prince*

Mirzā Shāh, my viceroy in Samarkand.

Mirzā Shāh is an error. Prince 'Umar was the son of *Mīrān* Shāh, the third son of Tīmūr. (Ẓ. N. II. 18, l. 6). The Emperor Bābur was descended from Mirān Shāh. Tīmūr had no son named Mirzā Shāh. His four sons were Jahāngīr, 'Umar Shaikh, Mīrān and Shāhrukh. (Beale, *Miftāḥ*, 108).

III. 400, *l.* 11. *I crossed [the Jihūn] and encamped at Khulm.*

Old Khulm lay about 50 miles east of Balkh, and about five miles north of modern Tāshkurgān. Constable, 22 B b. (Holdich, G. I. 270). Ghaztīk is, correctly, 'Ghazniyak', (Ẓ. N. II, 19, l. 4) and is shown as 'Ghaznījak' in the Indian Survey Map of Afghānistan. It lies about 20 miles south of Tāshqurgān and forty north of Samangān. Samangān (l. 14) is not in modern maps. It is the old name of Haibak and lies 40 miles south-west of Baghlān and about a hundred and ten miles N.W. of Andarāb. (Moorcroft, Travels, II. 402; Burnes, Travels, 1st Ed. I. 201-5; Holdich, G. I. 272). Haibak is shown in Constable, 22 C b.

Undarāb, Indarāb or Andarāb, Lat. 35°-40′ N., Long. 69°-27′ E., is shown in Constable, Pl. 22, C c. Iṣṭakhri gives the following itinerary: Balkh to Khulm, two days; Khulm to Samanjān, two; Samanjān to Andarāba, five; Andarāba to Panjhīr, four; Panjhīr to Parwān, two. (Ed. Goeje, 286).

III. 401, *l.* 7. *I left him [Prince Shāhrukh] in charge of the remaining forces and baggage in Tīlāk Ghunān and Dīktūr, while I myself set my foot in the stirrup to chastise the infidel Kators.*

يلاق غونان و يكتور in Z. N. II. 20, l. 1. These place-names have hitherto defied elucidation. 'Tīlak' is almost certainly an error for Turki يايلاق (*Yaīlāq*), 'Summer pastures, summer quarters' or بيلاق (*Baīlāg*) 'Spring, fountain or camping ground.' (Beveridge, Tr. A.N. I. note). In his account of the return journey, Yazdi says that Tīmūr marched from Surkhāb to Kābul, then to the Māhīgīr Canal, *Ghurbān* غربان and Shibartu. (Ẓ. N. Text, II. 186-7). This *Ghurbān* (*q. v.* 32, l. 12 also) must be Ghorband, but *Ghūnān* or *Ghūbān* is, probably, *Hūpiān*, a very old town lying a little to the north of Chārikār at the entrance of a Pass over the north-east end of the Paghmān Range. (Beal, l. c. II. 285 note). There is no toponym resembling 'Diktūr' in the maps. Paryān [Parwān] lies about 8 miles north of Chārikār. Constable, 22 C c. Khāwak (last line) is shown in Constable, 22 D c. The Khāwak Pass "leads from the valley of the Panjshīr to that of Indarāb. It is one of the lowest and most accessible of the Hindu Kush Passes. It is probable that it was used by Alexander on his march from Bactria and it was certainly the route by which Hieuen Tsiang returned from India in 644 A. C." (Sir Clements Markham in Proc. Royal Geographical Society 1876, pp. 114-5).

III. 401, *l.* 12. *Burhān Aghlān Jūjītār.*

Ūghli or 'Ūghlān' signifies "son, king's son or prince" in Turki and the sobriquet 'Jūjītār' indicates that he was a descendant of Jūjī, the eldest son of Chingīz Khān. So Tīmūr afterwards says that "no man

of *this Ulūs* [tribe] had shown such a lack of energy and courage since the days of Chingīz Khān". (407 *post*). By *Ulūs*, the writer means 'the descendants of Chingīz.' In the Ẓ. N. (II. 22, l. 3), Burhān is said to have belonged to the tribe of Qiyāt قوم قیات. 'Qai,' plural Qiyāt, is the name of a Mongol tribe and Amīr Khusrau makes an unsavoury pun upon the name. (529 *infra* and Note).

III. 403, *l.* **9.** *Some of the horses.....were let down in the same manner.*

Raverty says (Notes on Afghānistān, 136) that this mode of lowering horses and ponies is still practised in these parts. He thinks that the river crossed by Tīmūr was that rising from the Waman Darra and that the mountain is the Tiraj Mīr or Sarovar Range. (*Ibid*, 137, 145). The narrow defiles mentioned on p. 406 *infra*, he identifies with the tract now known as Giwār. (*Ib.* 101 and 137). The Tiraj or Tirakh Mīr is shown in Constable's Atlas, Pl. 22, F b. It lies north-west of Kashkār. Giwār is mentioned by Bābur, who says that Alingar is one of the five divisions (*tumāns*) of Lamaghān and the part of Kāfiristān nearest to it (Alingar) is Gawār, out of which its river, the Gau or Kau issues. (B. N. Tr. 210). Raverty supposes Tīmūr to have marched due east into that part of Kāfiristān called Kashtūr or Kashtūz, and Burhān Ughlān to have been sent towards the south-eastern tract occupied by the Siyāh-posh or Tor-Kāfiri (Black-clad Kāfirs). According to him, the Kators are the *Safed-posh* or *Spin-Kāfiri* or White-clad Kāfirs (N. A. 136 *note*), but other authorities state that the principal tribe of the *Siyāhposh* is still called Katīr (Kator) and trace the name to a title used by the later Kushān emperors, in whose territories Kāfiristān was included. (Houtsma, E. I., II. 620).

III. 404, *l.* **7.** *Shaikh Arslān Aztūmān Kabak Khān . .. . who is a lion in the day of battle.*

Aztūmān از تومان is not part of the name or the sobriquet of the Shaikh. *Az* means 'from' and the meaning is that Shaikh Arslān belonged to the *Tūmān* [brigade, division, or corps of nominally ten thousand fighting men] which bore the name of Kabak or Kapak Khān. The reading in the Ẓ. N. (II. 23, l. 7) is با تومان کیپك خان, *i. e.* '*with* the Tūmān of Kīpak Khān.' Niẓām-i-Shāmi has از اهل و لشکر خویش "with his followers and division." (MS. 126 a, l. 5). The point of the complimentary description lies in the fact that 'Arslān' means 'lion' in Turki.

III. 404, *l.* **18.** *Musā Zakmāl, Husain Malik Kūchīn and Mīr Husain Kūr.*

The Ẓ. N. (II. 23, l. 17; 38, l. 12; 103, l. 19 and 647, l. 11) always styles Mūsa, رگمال 'Ragmāl,' which has a meaning and signifies 'masseur, champooer, bone-setter'. The man was a *pahlwān*, wrestler, gymnast or athlete. The Oriental methods of bone-setting require great physical strength and the art is still practised by *pahlwāns*. Mīr Ḥusain's sobriquet is given by Yazdi as قورجی or قورچی (II. 23, and 46, l. 6), which means 'armourer, armour-bearer' and this also appears to be the right reading. He was Mīr Ḥusain-i-Qūr, that is 'Mīr Ḥusain of the Qūr'.

Qūchīn or Qūjīn is the name of a Mongol tribe. Bābur's grandmother Ais-daulat or Aisān-daulat is said to have belonged to it. (Gulbadan, H. N. Tr. 67 note). The Qūchīns were evidently persons of note, as Yazdi says of Amīr Allāhdād, one of Tīmūr's most distinguished lieutenants, that he was the commander of a brigade (قوشون) which bore the title of 'Wafādār' ('The Loyal') and was composed of the Qūchīns. (Ẓ. N. II. 130, l. 9=506 *infra*). In the *Malfūẓāt*, Amīr Allāhdād himself is styled Qūchīn. (451 *infra*). A Bāyazīd Kūchīn is mentioned at 453, 509 *infra*.

III. 406, *l.* 4. *Shaikh 'Ali, the son of Airakūli Adīghūr.*

شیخ علی وایدکو چقراوینور و شیخ محمد Ẓ. N. II. 26, l. 1. 'Adīghūr' is a mistake for اویغور 'Ūīghūr', the name of a well-known Mongol tribe. The name itself is given as Aidkū ایدکو in the Ẓ. N. (II. 26, l. 1) and ادکو in Niẓām-i-Shāmi. (Folio 126 a, l. 1). 'Chaqar' or 'Chaghar' was, perhaps, the name of this Aidku's father. امیرایدکو is mentioned by Yazdi (Ẓ. N. II. 33, l. 5), and frequently by Ibn 'Arabshāh also. (Tr. Sanders, 51, 52, 73). ایدکوتمور and ایکوتمور also occur. (Ẓ. N. II. 57, l. 3; 83, l. 17). A man named Aidkūtimish is mentioned in Gardezi's chapter on the Sāmānis, (Z. A. 21, l. 9).

III. 406, *l.* 18. *Sūbakh Tīmūr.*

سونج Sūnj in the Ẓ. N. II. 26, l. 18, which is right. The dots have been transposed. Sunjak Bahādur is mentioned by Dowson himself on pp. 404, 434, 496, and 501. Niẓām-i-Shāmi also calls this man Sūnj Tīmūr. (Folio 126 b, l. 11). سونجك or سیونجك occurs in the Ẓ. N. II. 83, l. 4 f. f.; 89, l. 6 and 105, l. 9; A Malik Sūnj is mentioned in the T. F. of Barani also. (24, l. 11 and 174, l. 15). The name of the Uzbeg Sūinjūk Khān or Sūnjūk Sultān, son of Abul Khair Khān, occurs in the B. N. (Tr. 396, 622). Sūyūnduk appears to be another variant of the same name. Sūnjak Bahādur is mentioned by Niẓām-i-Shāmi. (Folio 126 a, l. 4). Shaikh Ḥusain must have been called *Sūchi* (l. 28) because he was *Ābdār* or 'water-bearer.'

III. 408, *l.* 16. *Repairing of the fort of Iryāb.*

Iryāb lies west of the Peiwār Kotal which is about 90 miles south of Kābul. (Raverty, N. A. 81). It is now in the Kurram Political Agency. The Iryāb is a tributary of the Kurram and "the Upper Kurram valley is the Iryāb of Tīmūr's historians." (Proc. R. G. S. 1879, p. 48). "The river of Kurram issues out of the 'Darra' (valley) of Iryāb and flowing east of Baghzan, the chief town of Peiwār, enters the Kurram district". (Raverty, Ṭ. N. Tr. 499 Note). Baghzan (or Naghz or Naghr) lies about thirty-five *Kuroh* S. S. E. of Kābul. (*Ibid*, N. A. 68).

III. 411, *l.* 10. *Wednesday, the 14th of Muharram.*

If the 12th fell on a Tuesday, as we have been just told (409 *ante*), the 14th must have been a Thursday or پنجشنبه as it is in the Ẓ. N. (II. 49, l. 15) and Niẓām-i-Shāmi. (Folio 129 b, l. 13).

III. 411, *l.* 8 from foot. *Būraj Chūra.*

Chūra or *Chūhra* signifies in Turki 'a young soldier.' (B. N. Tr. Appendix, xxviii). A Būraj (or Būrj) 'Ali is mentioned by B. (II. 22-3).

Pīr Muḥammad Khān Shirwāni is said to have ordered the poor man to be thrown down from a tower and then said that he had "become a victim to his name." اسم بامسمی *nomen et omen*. (Lowe, Tr. II. 16). The pun and the deed are both equally atrocious. The Turki name بورج has nothing to do with the Persian برج, which signifies 'tower.' Another man of the same name, Būrji Tawāchi, is mentioned in the *Tārīkh-i-M'aṣūmi*. (E.D. I. 241).

III. 413, *l.* **4.** *Sunday, the 21st of the month,* [*Muḥarram*].

There is again some error in the week-day here. If the 12th was a Tuesday, the 21st must have been a Thursday. A few lines lower down, the 28th is put down as a Wednesday. Here again, the Ẓ. N. has Wednesday, the 27th, which is serially correct. (II. 53, l. 4). Niẓām-i-Shāmi has 24th, Sunday. (130 a, l. 15). If the 24th was a Sunday, the 21st must have been a Thursday.

III. 413, *l.* **5.** *I came to a place in which the rivers Jamd and Chināb (Chināb) unite.*

The name of the place where the junction took place is not given in the *Malfūẓāt* or the Ẓ. N., but Niẓām-i-Shāmi calls it سور (Folio 130 a, l. 15), by which he must mean Shor or Shorkot. It lies 26 miles north-west of Tulamba. Lat. 30°-50′ N., Long. 72°-7′ E. (Th). Constable 24 E b; see also E. D. V. 469 note. The two rivers meet *now* at Trimmu, ten miles south of Maghiāna in Jhang district, and about 26 miles north of Shor or Shorkot. (I. G. XVI. 161; Mihrān, 332).

III. 413, *l.* **2 from foot.** *Tulamba is about seventy miles from Multān.*

The distance is stated as thirty-five *Kuroh* in the Ẓ. N. (II. 54). Tulamba lies fifty-two miles N. E. by N. of Multān in Lat. 30°-22′ N., Long. 72°-18′ E. according to Thornton. Dowson has, throughout this translation, taken the *Kuroh* as equal to two miles, but Tīmūr's *Kuroh* would appear to have been the short Indian *Kos* of about 1½ miles. So at 428, 492 *infra*, it is stated that Fatḥābād is 18 *Kos* from Sarsuti (Sirsā); the actual distance is 26 miles.

III. 414, *l.* **8.** *My wazīrs had fixed the ransom of the city at two lacs of rupees.*

All that Yazdi says is دو لک مال برسم اماتی انداختند (II. 54, l. 11). 'Two lacs of money,' and so also Niẓām-i-Shāmi. (Folio 130 b, l. 7). It is nonsense to talk of 'Rupees' in 1398 A. C. or in this context. The word was not known and is never used in any other chronicles of the period. It must have been interpolated either by Abu Ṭālib Ḥusaini or by Dowson. In the counterpart passage in the Ẓ. N. at 484 *infra* also, all that is said is that "a ransom of two lacs was demanded." If the word occurs in the original, it would be an almost decisive proof of the spuriousness of Abu Ṭālib's work.

III. 415, *l.* **13 from foot.** *I halted at Shāh Nawāz, a populous village on the bank of the Biyāh.*

Shāh Nawāz seems to have disappeared and cannot be now traced on

our maps, probably on account of the changes which have taken place in the courses of the rivers. But it is mentioned in the Itinerary of Sayyad Ghulām Muḥammad, who was sent by Warren Hastings on a mission to Kābul in 1786 A. C. He speaks of it as the second stage, 15 *Kos* from Multān, on the route from the latter to Derā Ismā'īl Khān. The third stage was Shāhpur, ten *Kos* from Shāhnawāz, and the fourth Tulamba, ten *Kos* from Shāhpur. (Raverty, Mihrān, 282 *Note*). 'Shāhnawās' is shown also in Rennell's Atlas on the eastern bank of the Rāvi in Lat. 30°-5′ N., Long. 72°-0′ E.

III. 417, *l.* 10 from foot. *The rain kept continually falling, [at Multān] so that most of the horses.....died..... and scarcely a horse remained among us.*

Raverty, commenting on the loss of the Prince's horses, remarks that "the rainy season must have been very severe, though now there is no rainy season hereabouts, as the monsoon does not extend its influence so far west." He then indulges in some apparently hazardous speculations regarding the climatic changes that may have taken place in Sind since the days of Tīmūr and Alexander the Great. (Mihrān, 282). A more recent writer, Mr. Abbott, has echoed these sentiments and let his imagination run riot in a somewhat similar fashion. (Sind, A Reinterpretation, 16). But there can be no real grounds for entertaining any supposition of 'great climatic changes' from a solitary instance. According to the T. M. (Text, 163, l. 3=E. D. IV. 33), Multān was taken in Ramaẓān 800 H. (18th May—16th June 1398 A. C.), *i.e.* just about the beginning of the rainy season. Though the average annual rainfall in Multān is only about seven inches, there have been several years, even in recent times, when cyclonic bursts have occurred and the rainfall has approached twenty inches, as it actually did in 1902. Multān is liable to be visited by severe floods also as it was in 1893-4 and 1905. (I.G. XVIII. 24). Similar torrential downpours are, likewise, not uncommon in Sind. In Karāchi town, which has an average annual rainfall of only five inches, twelve fell in not more than 24 hours in 1902. (I. G. XXII. 394). The mortality among the horses was most probably due to the outbreak of some epizootic disease in consequence of the Prince's camp having been laid under water by the rain or the floods in the river.

III. 419, *l.* 20. *Janjān which was stated to be eight miles from Multān.*

The distance is given as چهل کروه 'forty Kuroh' from Multān in the Ẓ. N. (II. 61, l. 8), which must be correct, as Tulamba is said to have been thirty-five *Kurohs*—seventy miles, according to Dowson, p. 413 *ante*. 'Eight' must be meant for 'eighty.' If 'eight' is correct, it may roughly represent the distance not between Multān and Janjān but between Tulamba and Janjān. Janjān, Sahwāl and Asiwān have not been identified. They are believed to have disappeared on account of the changes in the courses of the rivers. (Raverty, Mihrān, 283 and *note*).

III. 421, *l.* 10 from foot. *I left Ajodhan.....on my march to Bhatnīr,*

and passing by Rudanah, I halted at Khālis Kotali.

Cf. the corresponding passage in the Ẓ. N. at 488 *infra* and Dowson's note there. The existence of any place named Rudanah seems doubtful, as no one, not even Raverty, who stands up for this reading, has been able to spot it on any map or say where it is to be found. The alternative reading, از رودنه گذشته, "without crossing or passing over the river" is also, as Dowson points out, manifestly wrong, as 'the Ghārra or Ghāra runs between Ajodhan and Kotali and *must be crossed* on the road to Bhatner'. I suggest that رودانه or رودنه is a copyist's error for رودخانه River. In the B. I. Text of the Ẓ. N. the sentence runs thus: از آب اجودهن که از معظمات انهار هند است گذشته حد خالص فرود آمد "Having crossed *the river* of Ajodhan, which is one of the greatest rivers of Hindustān, he alighted within the precincts of Khāliṣ (Kotali)." Niẓām-i-Shāmi has almost the same words. (Folio 133 a, l. 1). It seems to me that this tangle is due to some copyist having read the word رودخانه wrongly as رودانه. The phrase رودخانهٔ عظیم is rendered at 485 *infra* as 'a strong river fortress', but really signifies 'a great river'. رود خانه in the sense of river or river-bed occurs often in the Ẓ. N. (II. 49, l. 9; 54, l. 7). Raverty says Khāliṣ Kotali is now known as Pīr Khāliṣ. (Mihrān, 394 note). F. calls it Khāliṣ Kol. (I. 156, last line).

III. 422, *l.* **10.** *He [Dul Chain] had assembled a body of Rājputs, a class which supplies the most renowned soldiers of India.*

This mention of Rājputs here and on pp. 423, 426, 433 and 472 *infra* is exceedingly suspicious. There is no reference to *Rājputs* either in Yazdi, Niẓām-i-Shāmi, Mirkhwānd, Khwāndamīr or any other old history of Tīmūr. The tribal designation is not used in any Persian history or chronicle which can be proved to have been written before the 16th century. Dowson says that he has not translated these extracts from the *original* Persian version of Abu Ṭālib Ḥusaini, but from the later recension or revision made by Muḥammad Afẓal Khān. It is therefore not easy to be sure that these references to Rājputs were not interpolated by Afẓal Khān. If they can be proved to exist in the first, *i. e.* Abu Ṭalib's own recension of the *Malfuẓāt*, they would furnish convincing internal evidence of its fabrication. Tīmūr could have known nothing of Rājputs.

III. 426, *l.* **3 from foot.** *Auzān Mazīd Baghdādi.*

It is 'Auzān' also at 491 *infra*, but اوزون Auzūn in the Ẓ. N. II. 75, l. 3 f. f. The word means 'tall, long.' The man was so called probably on account of his unusual height. His real name must have been Mazīd.

III. 427, *l.* **10.** *And passing by the fort of Firoz, I arrived at a town called Sarsūti.*

This is not 'Ḥisār Fīrūza', but a place called Firūzābād which was situated only a few miles west of Sarsūti (or Sirsā), Tīmūr's next stage. Hiṣār Firūza lies at a distance of about sixty miles E. S. E. of this

Firūzābād. (Mihrān, 288, 267 note). Barani also tells us that Firūz Shāh Tughlaq built a fort near Bhaṭner, which was called Firūzābād (566, l. 11), and it is the place which is called Firūzābād-i-Harni Khera by Shams-i-Siraj. (354 *ante*). According to the T. M. also (126, l. 4; E. D. IV. 8 and note), one of the Sultān's canals was carried from the Ghaggar to Sarsūti (*Sirsa*) and thence to *Harni* or *Harbi* Khera. Here, 'Harbi Khera' is an error for 'Harni Khera'. The village of Firūzābād-i-Harni Khera still exists and lies about twelve miles west of Sirsa, according to the Hissār District Gazetteer.

III. 428, *l.* **14.** *I marched from Fathābād and passing by the fort of Rajabpūr, halted in the vicinity of Ahrūni.*

Rajabpūr or 'Qil'a-i-Rajab', as it is called in the Ẓ. N. II. 78, is said by Elliot to have been partly in Ratia and partly in Fatḥābād. (Races, II. 132). Ratia is shown in Constable 25 A c, and lies about fifteen miles north-east of Fatḥābād. Raverty thinks that Rajabpūr must be the village of Ryepoor, 11 miles N. E. of Fatḥābād on the route from Fatḥābād to Ahroni. (Mihrān, 288 note). None of these identifications is quite satisfactory, as neither 'Ratia' nor 'Ryepoor' bears much phonetic resemblance to Rajabpūr. Ahroni was a *Maḥāl* in *Sarkār* Hiṣār Firūza, Ṣūba Dehli. (*Āīn*, Tr. 293). It has now reverted to its original name 'Ahirwan', the *wāv* being pronounced as a consonant and not as a vowel. The name is said to be derived from the Āhir tribe. (Elliot, Races, II. 133). A village called 'Ahrawan' still exists at a distance of about five miles from Ratia and it is provided with a Branch Post Office which is subordinate to Fatḥābād. Tohāna (l. 23) lies about 20 miles east of Ratia. It is now a station on the N. W. Railway.

III. 438, *l.* **5.** [*It had been said*] *that in the battlefield, they* [*elephants*] *could take up the horse and his rider with their trunks and hurl him into the air.*

The writer has evidently in mind a passage in the *Tārīkh-i-Yamīni* of 'Utbi, who describes how in the battle with Īlak Khān, one of Sultān Maḥmūd of Ghazna's elephants seized the Khān's standard-bearer in his trunk, flung him up into the air and then catching him on his tusks, tore him into two pieces, while other riders were hurled down from their mounts and trampled to death. (Lāhore Lith. 283; see also *Ḥabību-s-Siyar* in E. D. IV. 172). Yazdi has a direct quotation from Jurbādhaqāni's Translation of 'Utbi. (Ẓ. N. II. 146, l. 3). See Dowson's note to 512 *infra*.

III. 439, *l.* **8.** *His right wing was commanded by Mu'īnu-d-dīn, Malik Hādi etc.*

The command of the right wing is given in the *Malfūẓāt* to Mu'īnu-d-dīn and Malik Hādi and of the left wing to Ṭaghi Khān and Malik 'Ali. The positions of the commanders are just reversed in Dowson's version of the *Zafarnāma*. Mu'īnu-d-dīn and Hāni (or Hāti) Khān are stationed on the left, while Ṭaghi Khān and Malik 'Ali Hanja are placed on the right. (498 *post*). The B. I. Text agrees with the *Malfūẓāt*. (100, l. 4). Mu'īnu-d-

dīn and Hāni Khān cannot be identified, but Ṭaghi Khān (or Ṭughān Khān, as Niẓām-i-Shāmi calls him, at Fol. 140 a, l. 9), may be Ṭaghi Khān Turkbacha-i-Sultāni of the T. M. (Text, 170, l. 9; E. D. IV. 38).

III. 443, *l.* **11.** *Fazlu-llah was Vakil and Nāib of Mallū Khān.*

Faẓlulla Balkhi is mentioned in the T. M. (Text, 160, l. 8; E. D. IV. 31), Ṭ. A. (127, ll. 1-3) and F. (155, l. 8), as one of the partisans of Nāṣiru-d-dīn Nuṣrat Shāh, the rival of Sultān Maḥmūd Tughlaq, who bestowed upon him the very high title of Qutlugh Khān. Shams-i-Sirāj says Faẓlulla was Nāib-i-Mustaufi, Deputy Accountant-General or Auditor-General, in the latter part of the reign of Firūz Shāh Tughlaq. (482, l. 7 f. f.).

III. 444, *l.* **20.** *The Khutba, with my name, was repeated in the pulpits.*

He does not say that coins were struck and Yazdi also is silent on the point. If any were stamped, they must have been exceedingly few. Rodgers assures us that no gold or silver pieces have been ever found. The only coin he had ever seen was a small copper piece or 'Damṛi', as he calls it, with the words عدل سلطان تیمور on the obverse and ضرب بحضرتِ دهلي on the reverse. He states that the 'Damṛi' is now in the British Museum Collection. (J. A. S. B. XLII. (1883), Pt. i. 59, 62, 63).

III. 449, *l.* **6.** *'Alāu-d-dīn Nāib-Karkari returned to my camp.*

نایب شیخ کوکری (Ẓ. N. II. 127, l. 5 f. f.), *i. e.* envoy, deputy, *vakīl*, representative of Shaikh [ā], the Kūkar. Cf. 505 *post*, where he is spoken of as "the deputy of Shaikh Kūkari." Dowson's 'Shaikh Kūkari' is really 'Shaikhā Khokhar' [or, perhaps, 'Gakkhar']. The confusion is due to the common error of reading a 'vāv' as a 're'.

III. 449, *l.* **13.** *Bahādur Nāhir sent to me two white parrots which could talk well .... They had belonged to Sultān Tughlik Shāh and had lived at the courts of the Sultāns ever since.*

"A white parrot with black beak and legs," probably a grey African parrot or cockatoo, had been brought from over the seas as a present for Sultān Firūz Tughlaq. (Shams, Text, 387, l. 2). The two birds sent by Bahādur Nāhar must have come into his possession along with the other belongings of Abu Bakr Shāh, the ill-starred grandson of Sultan Firūz. Abu Bakr had to fly from Dehli and take refuge at Kotila in Mewāt, with this Khānzāda leader, who had the baseness to surrender him to his enemy in 793 H. (T. M. Text, E. D. IV. 25). The 'Tughlik Shāh' mentioned here must be Ghiyāṣu-d-dīn Tughlaq I and not Tughlaq Shāh II. The latter was a pageant who reigned for only six months, just ten years before Tīmūr's invasion and there would be little or no point in the statement, if applied to him. Cf. Yazdi, who states more explicitly that the birds had *survived from the time of Sultān Tughlaq Shāh*. (505 *infra*). آن دوطوطی از عهد طغلق شاه باز مانده بودند و مدتها در مجالسِ سلاطین سخنوري شکرخائی کرده ; Ẓ. N. II. 128, l. 3. Parrots have been known to live for sixty and even a hundred years. The English newspapers reported some time ago the case of a parrot which had passed its century.

III. 449, *l.* 10 from foot. *I arrived at the village of Katah.*

The distance from Dehli is stated as about 14 *Kos*. Katah (l. 23) is Katha in Bāghpat. 'Aḷāu-d-dīn Khalji crossed the Jumna at Katha. (Barani 246, l. 2). Katha lies about 20 miles north of Dehli. Bāghpat or Bhāgpat, which is mentioned a few lines lower down, is about 30 miles south-west of Mīrat and about 35 north of Dehli. (I. G. VI. 190; E. D. VIII. 149 *note*). It is shown in the I. G. Atlas, 31 A 2. Asār is Asāra or Asaura, a village about ten miles north of Bāghpat. (See the Post Office Guide).

III. 449, *l.* 9 from foot. *Bahādur Nāhir with his eldest son, named Kalnāsh.*

Dowson notes that the Ẓ. N. reads 'Kaltāsh' and 'Katāsh.' I propose to transpose the second and third letter in *Qalīāsh* and read 'Qailāsh', a not uncommon Hindu name even now. Bahādur Nāhar was a recently converted Jādon Rājput (I. G. XII. 401; Crooke, T. C. III. 233), and it is not at all unlikely that his son had a Hindu as well as a Muḥammadan name. This 'Kailāsh' may be identical with Iqlām or Iqlīm Khān, son of Bahādur Nāhīr. (T. M. Text 175, 179, 181=E. D. IV. 41, 44, 45). Thornton mentions a place called 'Iklimpoor' in Gurgāon district, which may have been named after this Iqlīm Khān.

III. 450, *l.* 9. *Ilyās Afghān and his son, Maulānā Aḥmad Thānesarī.*

The B. I. Text of the *Ẓafarnāma* gives the names as "Ilyās Afghān *and the son of Maulānā Aḥmad Thānesarī*" (II. 129, l. 10 and 140, l. 4 f. f.) and Niẓām-i-Shāmi has exactly the same reading (Folio 142 a, l. 10), which must be correct, though Dowson again erroneously speaks of Maulānā Aḥmad as the son of Ilyās Afghān, in his translation of the Ẓ. N. at 506 *post*.

This Ilyās Afghān is, most probably, the Malik Ilyās [or Ilmās] who had been a slave of Sultan Fīrūz (Ṭ. A. 127, 129; F. I. 155, 159; B. I. 267=Tr. 362) and was an adherent of Nāṣiru-d-dīn Nuṣrat Shāh. He was posted in the Duāb and is said to have joined Nuṣrat Shāh after Tīmūr's return. (T. M. Text, 160, 161, 167=E. D. IV. 31, 32, 36). Maulānā Aḥmad Thānesarī also can be identified. He was one of the most learned men of the time of Sultān Fīrūz and is mentioned in Shaikh 'Abdul Ḥaqq Dehlavi's "Memoirs of the Poets and Philosophers of Dehli" as a distinguished literary character whose poems in Arabic bore convincing testimony to his eminent talents and genius. (E. D. VI. 487). He was a pupil of Shaikh Naṣīru-d-dīn Chiragh-i-Dehli. His *Qaṣīda-i-Dāliya* is universally recognised as a classic. He was in Dehli when it was sacked by Tīmūr and is said to have been taken prisoner but afterwards released. He died in 820 A. H. and is buried at Kālpi. (Houtsma, E. I., IV. 738). This leaves no room for doubt and shows that it is absurd to speak of the Maulānā as the son of Ilyās [or Ilmās] Afghān, the quondam slave of Fīrūz.

III. 452, *l.* 13. *I arrived ..... at Pīrozpur.*

Elliot says that this Pīrozpur was a town or village in the *pargana* of Hastināpur in his time and lay on the bank of the *old* Ganges or Budh Gangā. The Ganges has left its old bed and does not now flow past

Pīrozpur, which is stated to have been about twenty *Kos* below, *i. e.* south of Tughlaqpur. (Races, II, 28 and 130). But it may be the place which Thornton mentions as 'Ferozepoor', in the district of Muẓaffarnagar, half a mile from the right bank of the Ganges. Lat. 29°-30′ N., Long. 78°-2′ E. There is another 'Ferozepoor' in Sahāranpur district also, 45 miles N. W. of Mīrat, Lat. 29°-37′ N., Long. 77°-31′, but it is too far north and too far also from the Ganges and cannot be the place meant.

III. 452, *l.* 8 from foot. *I marched up the river for a distance of fifteen Kos towards Tughlikpur.*

This Tughlaqpur is not the Tughlaqpur before mentioned which was near Safīdon. This place was in another and different district. It is the Tughlaqpur which is mentioned as a *Maḥāl* of the *Sarkār* of Sahāranpūr in the *Āīn*. (Tr. II. 292). Elliot states that the chief town of the *pargana* of Tughlaqpur in his days (*circa* 1840) was Nūrnagar and that it was so called because Nūr Jahān was said to have resided here for some time. He adds that the *pargana* was also known as Gobardhanpur. (Races, II, 131). There is a 'Noornagar' on the route from Muẓaffarnagar to Hardwār, 22 miles north-east by north of the former town. Lat. 29°-41′ N., Long. 77°-59′ E. (Thornton). Gobardhanpur is now one of the five parganas in the Muẓaffarnagar *taḥṣīl* of Muẓaffarnagar district. (I. G. XVIII. 92). Tughlaqpur and Nūrnagar are now included in the *pargana* of Pūr Chhapār in the same *taḥṣīl*. They lie just on the borders of the *pargana* of Gobardhanpur. I am informed by a local authority that the villages of Tughlaqpur, Nūrnagar and Gobardhanpur lie 17, 22 and 28 miles respectively north-east of Muẓaffarnagar town.

III. 453, *l.* 13. *They put every living soul to the sword, thus sending them through water to the fires of hell.*

This phrase occurs again a few lines lower down and Dowson observes in his Note that "Tīmūr was evidently proud of this savage jest." But the 'jest' is not Tīmūr's at all and there is nothing to be proud of about it. It is only a hackneyed, rhetorical tag, a translation of an old Arabic epigram, اغرقوا فا دخلوا نار, which is found in the Qurān. (XXVI. 25). Pharaoh and his army are there said "to have been drowned and made to enter fire" for their sins. The identical expression is used by Minhāj (Ṭ N. 169=E. D. 323) for the Khokhars who were drowned in the Jhelum after the battle with Sultān Mu'izzu-d-dīn-i-Sām. Amīr Khusrau says of the same invader that the sword which he struck against the Rāi of Qanauj drowned him in the water through waves of fire.

'*Ashīqa*, p. 48, verse 8. ز شمشیری که زد بر رای قنوج - در آبش غرقه کرد از اتشین موج

And the hemistich رفت بدوزخ هم از راه آب "By that same watery way, he went to hell", is cited twice by Budāuni. He quotes it once in his account of the fate which overtook Kulchand of Mahāban after his defeat by Maḥmūd (I. 14; Tr. I. 24) and again in connection with the catastrophic termination of the meteoric career of Pīr Muḥammad Khān

Shīrwāni in the waters of the Tāpti after his sack of Burhānpur. (Text, II. 51=Tr. II. 47 and E. D. V. 275 note). This catchpenny antithesis or metaphor occurs also in Yazdi who says of the Gabrs of Mīrat that all of them "went by the ford of the water of the sword to the fires of hell". جموع بگذار آبِ تیغ باتشِ دوزخ بیوستند (Z. N. II. 131, l. 3). See also *Ib.* 24, l. 16, where he says that the Siyāh-posh Kāfirs went to the fires of hell by the road of the water of the sword. از ممرِ آبِ تیغ باتشِ دوزخ بیوستند

III. 463, *l.* **11.** *I encamped at the village of Bahrah, in the country of Miyāpur. Next day, I marched four Kos and halted at the village of Shikk Sār.*

Mayāpur is the name of an old ruined town or suburb between Hardwār and Kankhal, south of the former. It is called 'Moyu-lo' by Hieun Tsang [or Yuan-Chwāng]. (Beal, l. c. I. 197-8). Cunningham derives the name from the old temple of Māyādevi which it contains. (A. G. I. 352). It is mentioned in connection with the hills of Bardār (Hardwār ?) and Bijnor [or Pinjor] in the Ṭ. N. in E. D. II. 353. See also *Ibid*, 334.

Bahrah is spoken of as "a dependency of Bakri, well-known as the country of Miyāpur". (513 *infra*). Bakri is most probably the modern Bhogpur. Bhogpur and Baghra are mentioned as *parganas* in the *Sarkār* of Sahāranpur. (*Āīn*, Tr. II. 291). The town of Bhogpur lies about ten miles south of Hardwār and the *pargana* of Bhogpur comprised the eastern portion of Jwālāpur, including Hardwār itself, in Elliot's time. (Races, II, 129). The village of Baghra which was four *kos* from Shikk-Sār is not easily identified. It may be 'Badhera', a village which lies about five miles south-east of Sarsāwa, 'Shikk Sār' is *Shiqq-i-Sarsāwa.* The town of Sirsāwa lies about ten miles west-north-west of Sahāranpur on the route to Ambāla. Lat. 30°-2′ N., Long. 77°-29′ E. Constable, 25 B c. *Shiqq* is not a part of the proper name, but a common noun signifying "a geographical or territorial division or administrative area".

III. 464, *l.* **7.** *Then I again mounted and on the morning of the 15th, I found myself between two mountains, one the Siwālik mountain, the other the Kūkā mountain. This was the valley (darra), and it was exceedingly strong.*

I venture to suggest that 'Kūkā' کوکا is a miswriting of کرکا Karkā, *i. e.* Gargā. It is the Gagar range of our Gazetteers which is also called Gargāchal or Gārgāchal. It runs along the districts of Almora and Kumāon and presents a line of higher elevation than any ranges between it and the main ridge of the Central Himalayas. (I. G. XII, 121). The 'Darrah' or valley between the Siwālik (the Sub-Himalayas) and the Kūkā or Gargā hills (the Outer Himalayas) was, probably, Dehra Dūn or the Kyārda Dūn in the south-east portion of Sirmūr State. (I. G. XXIII. 21).

III. 469, *l.* **3.** *After marching six Kos [from Mansār], I encamped at the village of Bāila.*

Mansār and Bāila still exist as villages and lie north-east of the modern town of Jammū. I am indebted to the Governor of Jammū for

the information that Bāila is about ten and Mansār thirteen *Kos* from Jammū itself. Both lie on the route from Kāngra to Old Jammū, which was situated about one *Kos* north-east of the modern town. An old fort still stands on the ancient site.

III. 470, *l.* 4. *Mullā Nūru-d-dīn had returned to the village of Jabhān.*

The reading in the B. I. Text (II. 164), is جبهان *Recte*, Chibhān, the old name of Bhimbar. (Cunningham, A. G. I. 134; *Āīn*, Tr. II. 347 note). Chibhān or Chibhāl is the country of the Chibhs, which extends from the Manāwar Tāwī or Malikāni Tāwi to the Jhelum. (I. G. XV. 100).

III. 471, *l.* **19.** *I commanded.....that they should attack and plunder the town of Jammū and the village of Manū.*

'Manū' is a misreading of 'Bāo' باو. Jammū and Bhāo or Bāo lie on opposite banks of the Tohi or Tawi, a small stream which joins the Chenāb at the foot of the hills. They are said to have been founded by and named after two brothers. (Cunningham, A. G. I. 133). Bāo is shown in Constable, Pl. 25 A a.

III. 475, *l.* **10 from foot.** *He* [*Khiẓr Khān*].....*took refuge with Ahodan governor of Bayāna.*

اهودن also in the Ẓ. N. II. 175, l. 8 f. f., but the person referred to is شمش خان اوحدی, Shams Khān Auḥadi, who was Amīr of Bayāna from about from 800 to 819 H. (T. M. in E. D. IV, 37, 49). His descendants continued to rule in Bayāna for many years and are frequently mentioned in the histories of the period. The 'nisba' may be derived from Auḥadu-d-dīn.

III. 482, *l.* **1.** *An account of the victory was engraved upon stone, with the date of the month Ramazān 800 H., together with the date used in the locality.*

Sharafu-d-dīn does not say any such thing at all. Tīmūr could have known nothing of the "date [or special era] used in that locality," or the peculiar chronological system of the Kāfirs or Kators, even if they had possessed any. The words of the *Ẓafarnāma* are و حکایتِ آن غزوِ نامدار را که در ماه رمضانِ مبارک سنه ثمانمایه وقوع یافته بود با تاریخ همانجا برسنگ نگاشتند II. 25, l. 3. "And the history of that glorious holy war which had been waged in the blessed month of Ramaẓān 800 H. was engraved upon a stone *in that same spot*, along with the date [تاریخ]." The mistake is due to the erroneous interjection of an *iẓāfat* after تاریخ. Cf. Dowson's own translation of the corresponding passage and the inscription in the *Malfūẓāt*, 405 *supra*, where Tīmūr is said to have given orders for recording the fact that he had reached the country by a certain route in Ramaẓān 800 H. and there is no reference to any "date used in that locality". تاریخ may also mean the actual day of the month of Ramaẓān 800 H. on which the conquest was completed.

Masson was inclined to think (Journeys in Balochistan, Afghanistan, etc. I. 200-1) that a structure which was in existence in his time, a little to the north of Nājil (in Kāfiristān) and known as the 'Timur Hisar',

was the fort on the river which Tīmūr destroyed after it had been abandoned by the Kāfirs and that the inscription must have been engraved near this place. See also Holdich, Gates of India, 357.

III. 487, *l.* 17 from foot. *Shaikh Munawwar and Shaikh S'ad.*

Sharafu-d-dīn (Ẓ.N. II. 65, l. 1) and Niẓām-i-Shāmi (Folio 133 b, l. 3) state that Shaikh Munavvar was a grandson [نبیرہ] of some Shaikh called Nūru-d-dīn. I venture to identify the latter with Shaikh Nūru-d-dīn of Hānsi who was the spiritual preceptor and guide of Shams-i-Sirāj. (T. F. 81, l. 3). Nūru-d-dīn was the son of Shaikh Quṭbu-d-dīn-i-Munavvar and Sultān Fīrūz once paid him a special visit, with a view to persuade him to transfer his abode from Hānsi to the newly-founded city of Ḥiṣār-Fīrūza. (*Ib.* 131; 302 *supra*). An anecdote connected with Fīrūz's interview with Quṭbu-d-dīn, the father of Nūru-d-dīn, is also related by that author. (*Ib.* 78-82; 287 *supra*). Shaikh Munavvar of Yazdi was, most probably, named after his ancestor, Quṭbu-d-dīn-i-Munavvar of Hānsi, q. v., *Āīn*, Tr. III. 372-3. In the *Malfūẓāt* (421 *ante*), 'Munavvar' is called, by Dowson, Manuā منوا, but this may be due to the 're' having been wrongly read as an 'alif', or it may be a contemptuous diminutive. Shaikh S'ad or S'adu-d-dīn was a descendant of Shaikh Farīd-i-Shakarganj.

III. 488, *l.* 1. [*The fort of Bhatner*] *is surrounded by the desert of Chol.*

بجانبِ دستِ راست و اطراف و جوانب چولست; II. 67, l. 4. "On its right hand and on its sides, there is *a Chol*"—a wilderness or uncultivated waste. 'Chol' is not the *name* of the desert but a common noun signifying, as Yazdi himself declares, (II. 47, l. 13) بیابان "an arid or waterless tract". Cf. Dowson's own translation at 421 *ante*, where the *Chol* is said to "extend for many miles around."

III. 488, *l.* 14. *Khālis Kotali, two Kos from Ajōdhan.*

ده کوس 'ten Kos' in the Ẓ. N. (Text, II. 67, last line) and also in the *Malfūẓāt* (421 *ante*) which must be correct. دو has been wrongly read for ده. F. calls it 'Khālis Kol.' (I. 156, last line). *Kol* or *Kolāb* means 'pool' or 'lake', but Yazdi speaks of it as a قلعه. (68, l. 2).

III. 490, *l.* 3. *He presented . . . . three Arab horses with golden saddles.*

سه نقوز اسپ بازینِ زر (Ẓ. N. II. 71, l. 10). نقوز means 'nine' and the number of horses presented was not three but twenty-seven. The number is correctly stated in the *Malfūẓāt* (424 *ante*) as 'twenty-seven'.

III. 490, *l.* 18 and footnote. *All the Mss. agree in giving this Muhammadan name to his brother.*

Here as well as in a Note to 425 *ante*, Dowson expresses surprise because one brother is said to have had a Hindu name and the other a Muḥammadan *laqab*. But it is common knowledge that this was not at all unusual in those times. The Hindu Bhaṭṭis were, during the 14th century, being gradually proselytised under the influence of Muslim saints and Sultans. It often happened that while one brother embraced, for worldly considerations or from inward conviction, or indifference in

matters spiritual, the dominant religion, another held back and continued to adhere to the old faith. Mr. Crooke states that large numbers of these tribes were converted in the times of 'Alāu-d-dīn Khalji and Quṭbu-d-dīn Mubārak and that in Sirsa, which lies in the old Bhaṭṭiyāna, the term Bhaṭṭi is commonly applied to any Musalmān Jat or Rajput, from the direction of the Sutlej, as a generic term. (T. C. II. 14).

But Kamālu-d-dīn is called 'Maīn' and not 'Bhaṭṭi' in the T. M. (Text, E. D. IV. 22, 28, 29). Dowson suggests (IV. 22 *note*) that the Maīn are the same as the 'Minās', but the latter are 'Meos', found, generally, in Gurgāon and Rajputāna. The Maīn are a branch or sept of the Bhaṭṭis. The word 'brother' is used here, most probably, in the loose sense of 'cousin' or 'relative'.

The author of the T. M. must have known that the Bhaṭṭis were not identical with the 'Maīns,' as he calls Khulchain [Dulchain of Yazdi] and his son Hansu [Hansrāj ?] 'Bhaṭṭis', while Rāi Kamālu-d-dīn and his son Dāūd are invariably styled 'Maīns'. (Text. E. D. IV. 22, 28, 29, 32, 40). Barani also mentions Bhaṭṭis and Maīns. (483, l. 5 f. f.; 245 Note, *supra*).

III. 493, *l.* **20.** *Amīr Sulaimān marched from the vicinity of Mūng to the neighbourhood of Samāna.*

Mūng is Mung-i-A'alā or Moonuk of Thornton, who says that it is on the Ghagghar on the road from Dehli to Ferozepore, 140 miles north-west of the former. Lat. 29°-49′ N., Long. 75°-57′ E. It lies north-east of Fatḥābād. (Raverty, Miḥrān, 439 and *Note*). Samāna is in Lat. 30°-10′ N., Long. 76°-20′ E., and about 17 miles south-west of Patiāla. (I. G.).

III. 495, *l.* **17.** *This fort [Loni] is situated in the Doāb between the rivers Jumna and Halīn. The latter is a large canal which Sultān Fīrūz Shāh brought from the river Kālini.*

This 'Halin' is written هيكن in the Ẓ. N. (II. 86, l. 7) and is meant for the Hindan (هندن). Thornton states that the Hindan "rises at the south-west base of the Siwālik range. Its course is divided from that of the Jumna by slight elevation of the surface along which the Doāb canal extends. It falls into the Jumna after a course of 160 miles in the north-western corner of Bulandshahr district." The Kālini is the Kālinadi (West), which is its chief tributary. "Its channel forms an important link between the Ganges and the Jumna and water can be passed into the Hindan from the present Upper Ganges Canal." (I. G. XIII. 135).

III. 495, *l.* **22,** *Maimūn Maishūm.*

'Maimūn' only is the name. 'Maishūm' is an expletive and antithetical jingle. 'Maimūn' means 'auspicious,' 'Maishūm' signifies 'unfortunate, perverse, execrable', an epithet of revilement which is appended here only for rhetorical effect.

III. 495, *l.* **2 from foot.** *He gave orders that such of the servants of Naukar Khān and of the inhabitants of the place as were Muhammadans should be set aside.*

"Naukar Khān" is, like Mūr Khān, a fiction.

فرمان داد که از نوکرانِ ملوخان و متوطنانِ آن قلعه هر که از زیورِ اسلام متحلی بود جدا کردند; II. 87, l. 6. "He gave orders that such of the servants of Mallū Khān and of the residents of that fort as were adorned by the jewel of Islam should be set aside". "Naukar Khān" is a mythical personage. The people referred to were the servants—*Naukar*—of Mallū Khān. The copyist of the Ms. must have missed out the word *Mallū*. "The servants of Mallū Khān" are mentioned a few lines higher up on this page.

III. 498, *l.* 7. *The soldiers by way of precaution, entrenched their camp which was near a little hill called Pushta-i-Bihāli.*

Fanshawe thinks that Tīmūr's camp was on what is now known as the Ridge, and that the battle took place on the plain traversed by the high road from Ṣafdar Jang's tomb to the Quṭb Minār. (D. P. P. 58). Ghiyāṣu-d-dīn Tughlaq had routed Khusrau on the same spot. (*Ibid*, 250-1).

III. 498, *l.* 11 from foot. *The right was commanded by Taghī Khān, Mir 'Alī Hauja and others.*

Mīr 'Ali *Hauja* must be 'Ali Malik of *Uccha*. He is so called because he held that town for Sārang Khān, when Pīr Muḥammad Jahāngīr besieged it. After he had been beleaguered for a month, Sārang sent Malik Tāju-d-dīn to his relief, but the Tātār fell suddenly upon this reinforcement and signally defeated Tāju-d-dīn who was compelled to fly to Multān. (T. M. 162, l. 7=E. D. IV. 32-3). هوجه 'Hauja' (Ẓ. N. II. 100, l. 4) is a puzzling perversion of اوچه.

III. 502, *l.* 2 from foot. *A number of soldiers collected at the gate of Dehli and derided the inhabitants.*

This is watering down the meaning so very much as to leave nothing of the substance. What Yazdi really says is that they assaulted the people of Dehli and "fell upon the inhabitants just as wild beasts of prey fall upon a herd of deer or as strong vultures pounce upon a flock of feeble birds". چون سباعِ شکار جو برگلهٔ گور و اهو افتد و مانند عقابِ شکوه مند که قصد مرغانِ ضعیف بنیت کنند بر مردم حمله می بردند و متعرضِ رعایا می شدند. 121, l. 4.

According to the *Malfūẓāt* also, a party of "fierce Turk soldiers..... laid violent hands on the goods of the inhabitants." (445 *supra*).

III. 503, *l.* 2. *The wife of Jahān Malik 'Āghā and other ladies, etc.*

در آن حال حضراتِ عالیات چلپان ملك آغا و دیگر خواتین بعزمِ تماشای هزار ستون بشهر در آمدند II. 121, l. 10. "At that time, their Exalted Highnesses Chalpān Malik Āghā and other princesses went into the city, with the intention of seeing the Hazār-Sitūn". Chalpān [or Jalbān] Malik 'Āghā was one of the wives of Tīmūr himself and is again mentioned by Yazdi. (II. 186, l. 6 f. f.). She is said to have been a woman of rare beauty and was executed afterwards for some imaginary fault. (Houtsma, E. I., IV. 779). Another consort of Tīmūr's named Tūmān Āghā is spoken of at Ẓ. N. II. 188, l. 4.

III. 504, *l.* 4 from foot. *Jahānpanāh has thirteen gates, six to the north-east and seven to the south-west.*

The bearings are very differently stated in the original. The B.I. Text

and the *Malfūẓāt* (448 *ante*) read 'six to the north-west and seven to south-east'. شش از جانبِ شمال مایل بغرب و هفت از جانبِ جنوب مایل بشرق II. 125, l. 8 f. f. and the Tourist Map of Dehli shows that this is correct.

III. 505, *l.* **15.** *Saiyid Shamsu-d-dīn .... and 'Alāu-d-dīn whom he sent as envoys to the city of Kūpila.....reported that Bahādur Nihār had made his submission.*

Here again, the B. I. Text has the right reading 'City of Kūtila' شهر کوتله (II. 127, l. 4 f. f.). See also the *Malfūẓāt.* (449 *ante*). This Kotila is often mentioned in the T. M., Ṭ. A., F. and B. as the stronghold of the Mewāti chief, Bahādur Nāhar. (E. D. IV. 24, 25, 27, 32, 53, 75). See also the *Āīn* (Tr. II, 193), where Kotla is said to have been a fort in *Sarkār* Tijāra, *Ṣūba* Āgra. 'Kūpila' is a very different place. It is the old name of Hardwār or Mayāpur.

III. 506, *l.* **8.** [*The people of Mīrat were*] *boasting that Tarmsharīn had attacked the fort but was unable to take it.*

Tarmsharīn was the son of Dawā or Duā Khān, and belonged to the Western branch of the Jaghatāi Khāns of Transoxiana. He reigned from 722 to 730 or 734 H. (*Tārīkh-i-Rashīdi*, Tr. Ney Elias and Ross, Introd. 49). B. (I. 223; Tr. I. 305) and F. (I. 134, l. 2) both mention the invasion, but the former puts it into 729 and the latter into 727 H. (See also *Āīn*, Tr. III. 345 *Note*). As there is no reference to the incursion in Barani, F. accuses him of having deliberately suppressed the fact with a view to curry favour with Sultān Firūz Tughlaq, but the imputation is not at all warranted, as Barani has mentioned two Mughal invasions in his account of Firūz's own reign, (268 *ante*=Text, 601-2), while F. himself, the Ṭ. A. and all the other compilers who have copied their accounts of Firūz from the T. M. speak of only one such irruption. *All* the Mughal inroads of 'Alāu-d-dīn's reign are described by Barani, and he has even recorded one or two which are left out by F. or some of the later chroniclers. An invasion in the reign of Ghiyāṣu-d-dīn Tughlaq I, to which there is no reference in any of the compilers is also mentioned by him. (Text, 450, l. 8 f. f.). All the other calamities and disasters of the regime of Muḥammad, the famines and economic chaos, the revolts and rebellions, the invasion of Kumāon and the abortive projects of agricultural reform, are registered in full by him; the ferocious cruelty and blood-lust which turned the portico of his palace into a shambles, the insane profusion of his largesses and the crazy adulation of and abject submissiveness to the Khalīf are also described with brutal candour. In the circumstances, it seems difficult to resist the conclusion that this particular omission must be due to carelessness or inadvertence.

III. 514, *l.* **9.** *Ratan Sen had assembled a great number of Hindus.*

The B.I. Text absurdly makes specific mention of the *Majūs* here also. خلقی کثیر از مجوس و اصنافِ هندوان از اطراف و جوانب بهم پیوسته اند II. 155, l. 2.

The territory of this Ratan Sen was, probably, somewhere in Dehra Dūn or the Kiārda Dūn in Sirmūr. (I. G. XXIII. 21). It is not likely

that the Rājā had a large number of *Majūs*,—Magians or Persian Zoroastrians—among his subjects. These apparently unmistakable allusions to the existence of colonies of Parsis or Irānian fire-worshippers in the remote regions of Northern India are unhistorical and founded on the loose and confusing use of 'Majūs' as synonymous with 'Gabr.' Musulman authors huddle together under the term 'Gabr' not only Hindus but all infidels, Christians included. The word is foisted in here merely for that 'alternation of diction' to which Persian authors attach such undue importance and which is chiefly responsible for their turgidity and bombast. There is no mention of *Majūs* in the counterpart passage of the *Malfūẓāt*. (463-5 *ante*).

III. 518, *l.* **2.** *Ulja Tamūr Tūnkitār and Fūlād and Prince Rustam's confidant Zainu-d-dīn.*

The B. I. Text reads the clause differently. اولجه تمور تونقتار و قولادو از جمله امیرزاده رستم و معتمد زین الدین (164, l. 3).

"Ulja Tamūr Tūnkitar and Qūlādū belonging to the contingent of Amīr-zāda Rustam and the trustworthy, Zainu-d-dīn." Niẓām-i-Shāmi reads the names in the same way. (Folio 149 a, l. 15). 'Tūnqitār' is said to mean 'a night-guard, a man who repeats a prayer aloud when a prince is mounting.' (B. N. Tr. 464 *n.*). Zainu-d-dīn was the confidential agent of Tīmūr himself and not of Prince Rustam.

III. 518, *l.* **11.** *The officers of the Exchequer had called for a contribution of 100,000* durusts *of gold, each durust weighing two and a half miskāls.*

صد هزار دُرست زر هر یك بوزن دو مثقال و نیم ; Ẓ. N. II. 164, l. 21.

The *Malfūẓāt* makes this "one lak of *silver tankas*, each *tanka* weighing two and a half *Miskāls*," (470 *ante*). As the *Miṣqāl* weighed between 70 and 72 grs., the *Tanga* and *Durust* must have both turned the scale at about 175 or 180 grs. One of the meanings of دُرست is 'coin of standard value' (Steingass) and the word is used in the *Bādishāh-nāma* of 'Abdul Ḥamīd Lāhori (II. 396, ll. 16, 18) for the *Muhr*, as well as the *Rupee of full weight* (*q.v.* my Historical Studies in Mughal Numismatics, 99). In the Kashmīr chapter of the C. H. I. (III, 279), the money tribute demanded from Sultan Sikandar is put down as 'one hundred thousand golden *dirhams*', but this is not in accordance either with the *Malfūẓāt* or the *Ẓafarnāma*, as the *dirham* did not weigh $2\frac{1}{2}$ *misqāls* (about 180 grs.) but was a coin of which the ponderary value varied from about 45 to 55 grs. It was, generally, reckoned at about $\frac{7}{10}$ths only of a *miṣqāl*. F. (II. 340, l. 7 f. f.) states that the tribute demanded was 'one hundred thousand 'Alāi *ashrafis*' or gold *Muhrs*.

III. 522, *l.* 10 from foot. *This place* [*the pool*] *is three Kos from Barūja.*

سی کروه in the Ẓ. N. II. 182, l. 4, 'thirty Kos' not 'three.' The context shows that 'thirty' is correct. Tīmūr was riding post haste and 'making

all possible speed'. In the *Malfūẓāt*, he is said to have started from Barūja after noon-day prayers and reached the lake after about six hours, at evening prayer (477 *ante*), which also proves that the distance must have been much greater than "three Kos."

III. 522, *l.* 8 from foot. *The officers who had been appointed to guard the way from Naghaz to Bānū had built a bridge.*

Bābur writes:—"Four roads lead from Kābul from the Hindustān side, one by rather a low pass through the Khaibar mountains, another by way of Bangash, another by way of Naghr (*var.* Naghz) and another through Farmūl." (B. N. Tr. 206). Naghz is also mentioned along with Farmūl by Abul Faẓl in the *Āīn*. (Jarrett, Tr. II. 399). The name is not found on modern maps but the place appears to have been situated on the Iryāb and was close to, if not identical with, Baghzan (or Bazghan), which is said to have been about 35 *Kuroh* south-south-east of Kābul. (Raverty, N. A. 68). Hamilton (East India Gazetteer, Ed. 1815, p. 618) says 'Nughz' is about 100 miles S. E. of Kābul in Lat. 33°-17′ N., Long. 69°-28′ E. See my Note on Vol. II. 147, l. 9 f. f.

III. 524, *l.* 5 from foot. *Mu'izzu-d-dīn Kaikūbad, King by virtue of three descents.*

According to Elliot's rendering of this passage, Īltutmish was the grandfather of the grandmother of Mu'izzu-d-dīn Kaiqubād and Nāṣiru-d-dīd Maḥmūd was the father of his grandmother. But the Ṭ. A. (35, l. 17 and 36, l. 4) and F., who quotes these very couplets, (I. 71, l. 5 and 83, l. 4 f. f.), agree in stating that Balban was married to a daughter of Īltutmish and Nāṣiru-d-dīn Maḥmūd to a daughter of Balban. Subsequently, a daughter of Nāṣiru-d-dīn married Balban's son, Bughra Khān and she was the mother of Mu'izzu-d-dīn Kaiqūbād. Īltutmish must, therefore, have been the grandfather of Mu'izzu-d-dīn's *mother* (and not of his grandmother) and Nāṣiru-d-dīn was the father of his mother and not of his grandmother. See also B. (I. 89=Tr. I. 126; 90; Tr. I. 129).

III. 524, last line. *Praise of.....the Masjid-i-Jām'a and its lofty minaret built by Shamsu-d-dīn.*

Here, as well as in the *Khazāin* (*ante* 69), Khusrau speaks of the *Masjid-i-Jāmi'a* of Dehli and its lofty minaret (the Quṭb) having been built by Īltutmish and a similar statement is made by Shams-i-Sirāj. (304, l. 6= 353 *ante*). 'Awfi also avers that the Masjid-i-Jāmi'a, which he calls *Masjid-i-Alfi* or the 'Mosque of a Thousand Arches' was erected by that Sultan. On the other hand, both these monuments are ascribed in the *Futūḥāt-i-Fīrūzshāhi* to Mu'izzu-d-dīn Sām (383 *ante*), while Ibn Baṭūṭa associates them erroneously with the name of Mu'izzu-d-dīn Kaiqūbād. (597 *infra*). These asseverations are apparently conflicting, but they are not quite irreconcilable. The Masjid and the Pillar were both *begun* by Quṭbu-d-dīn in or soon after 1193 A. C., when he was viceroy of Dehli under the Ghūri Sultan. The first was considerably enlarged and the second really complet-

ed by Shamsu-d-dīn. In the inscriptions on the lowest band of the first storey of the Minār, Quṭbu-d-dīn is referred to only as the *Sipāhsālār* (Commander-in-Chief) and there are eulogies also of his master and suzerain, Mu'izzu-d-dīn and of the latter's brother, Ghiyāṣu-d-dīn. But the work was only begun by him, and experts are not quite sure that even the first storey was quite finished at his death. The second, third and fourth storeys belong entirely to Īltutmish and each of them contains inscriptions which bear witness to the fact. (Sir J. Marshall in the C. H. I. III. 576-578; Thomas, C. P. K. D. 21-24, 79, 286 and note; Fanshawe, 256-64; T. W. Arnold in Houtsma, E. I., II. 1168).

III. 525, *l.* 6 from foot. *His elephants occupied a breadth of three miles at Hāpur.*

The 'Alīgarh text (52, couplets 5 and 6) reads 'Bahāpur' and this must be the correct lection. The error is due to the initial letter of the toponym having been misunderstood as the preposition 'ba'. The context requires all the places mentioned to be in the near neighbourhood of Dehli. This is true of Sīri, Indarpat and Tilpat, but it can scarcely be predicated of Hāpur, which is situated about thirty-three miles north-east of Dehli. It is now a station on the Dehli-Murādābād Railway and is shown in Constable, Pl. 27 C a. Bahāpur is mentioned more than once by Barani (134, 135 *ante*) and a village of that name seems to be even now extant. It is said to be about *six Kos* south of Shāhjahān's Dehli (*Āṣār*, I. 15; Cooper, Handbook for Dehli, 1863, p 92), that is, about a mile south of the Okhla Railway Station.

III. 527, *l.* 2. *Bārbak Khān-i-Jahān [was sent against the Mughals].*

His full name is given as Hizabr Khān, Malik Shāhak Lashkar Khān by Barani (126, l. 3). The leaders of the Dehli army are spoken of as Malik Bārbak Bektars *and* Khān-i-Jahān in the Ṭ. A. (51, l. 8), and F. (84, l. 2 f.f.). B., following the T. M. (53-54), states that Malik Shāhak Bārbak was given the title of Wazīr (*Recte*, Hizabr ?) Khān at the accession of Mu'izzu-d-dīn and that of Khān-i-Jahān, when he was appointed commander of the expedition sent against the Mughals. (I. 157=Tr. I. 220). Amīr Khusrau also speaks of him as "Bārbak, the swordsman" (تیغ زن) and "Khān-i-Jahān Shāhak, the breaker of armies" (لشکر شکن) (Text, 64, couplet 4). In the C. H. I. (III. 184), the commander of the army which was sent to repel the Mughal invasion is said to have been Malik Muḥammad Baq Baq, but this Malik Baq Baq was an entirely different person. See Barani, 126, l. 6, who mentions Malik Baq Baq and Malik Shāhak separately. This Malik Shāhak Khān-i-Jahān [or Azabr or Hizabr Khān] was put to death soon afterwards. (Barani, Text. 134, l. 5: T. M. 55-6).

III. 528, *l.* 8 from foot. *The Jumna was crossed at Jewar.*

Jewar is in Bulandshahr district on the route from Koil ('Alīgarh) to Dehli and 36 miles north-west of the former (Th.). It is now in the Khurja *taḥṣīl* and lies 20 miles west of Khurja town. Lat 28°-7′ N., Long. 77°-34′ E. (I. G. XIV. 102). Constable, 27 C a. It is most probably the place, the

name of which has been (wrongly) read or written as 'Chitūr' at 346 *ante*.

III. 530, *l.* **1.** *He sent Shamsu-d-dīn Dābū with a message inviting to peace.*

Dabū (دابو) is an error for 'Dabīr' دبیر, secretary. He is called Shams-i-Dabīr in the *Qirānu-s-S'adain*. (Text, p. 102, couplet 3). Barani also says that Shams-i-Dabīr was ordered by Nāṣiru-d-dīn Bughrā Khān to bring pen and inkstand and write down the counsels which he gave to his son, the Sultan Mu'izzu-d-dīn. (95, l. 4). Badāuni tells us that Balban made Shamsu-d-dīn secretary (دبیر) of the kingdom of Bengal, when it was assigned to his son Nāṣiru-d-dīn Bughrā. He also cites one of his Qaṣīdas, and adds that Amīr Khusrau has spoken in the highest terms of the virtues and excellences of Shamsu-d-dīn the Dabīr in the Preface to the *Ghurratu-l-Kamāl* and in the Epilogue to the *Hasht-Bihisht*. (I. 94=Tr. I. 134-135).

III. 532, *l.* **12.** *The army encamped at Kautpur.*

The reading in the 'Alīgarh text is کنتپور Kantpur and this is also the form found in Cowell's abstract translation in J. A. S. B. XXXIX (1860). The right reading *may* be کنتیپور Kantitpur, and the place meant Kantit, now in Mirzāpur, where there is a ford on the Ganges. Sikandar Lody is said to have crossed the river here. (*Tārīkh-i-Khān Jahān Lody* in E. D. V. 94, 95; Ṭ. A. 162, l. 5; F. 181, l. 13 f.f.; B. I. 316=Tr. 416).

III. 534, *l.* **13.** *Which bears the seal of the Tarkhān prince, Jāni Beg, being, therefore, about one hundred and fifty years old.*

"One hundred and fifty" must be due to some error in calculation. If Elliot means Jāni Beg Tarkhān—and he can hardly mean any one else—the manuscript must have been 250 years old and not 150 only, when Elliot wrote. Jāni Beg died in 1009 A. H.=1600-1 A. C. (E. D. I. 252; A. N. Tr. III. 1172 and Note; *Āīn*, Tr. I. 363).

III. 538, *l.* **11.** *The rebel [Chhajū] took the road of Jūbāla.*

Read 'Chūpāla', *i. e.* Chaupla. It was a *Maḥāl* in *Sarkār* Budāun, *Ṣūba* Dehli. (*Āīn*, Tr. II. 290). There was a ford here on the Rāmgangā (B. II. 154; Tr. II. 158=E. D. V. 507). Elliot says (Races, II. 137) that Rustam Khān Dakhani founded Rustamnagar in this place and that in the time of Farrukhsiyar, the name was changed to Murādābād. According to the I. G. (XVII, 429), the name was given by Rustam Khān himself in honour of the Prince Murād Bakhsh. Budāun, where Sultān Jalālu-d-dīn is said by Barani to have encamped, (138 *ante*) is about 50 miles south of Murādābād.

III. 538, *l.* **3 from foot.** *Victory over Alp Ghāzi.*

This was not the personal name of the man but his title. He is the theme of several panegyrics in Amīr Khusrau's second and third *Divāns*, the *Wasaṭu-l-Ḥayāt* and *Ghurratu-l-Kamāl*. He is there styled Alp Khān-i-Ghāzi and his father's name is given as Azhdar Malik. (535). Barani gives his *laqab* as Malik Ikhtyāru-d-dīn. (116, l. 4 from foot). Alp-i-Ghāzi appears to have been an old Turki title and Minhāj says it was borne by Malik

Nāṣiru-d-dīn, son of Qizil (or Qara) Arslān Saljūqi, nephew of Sultan Ghiyāṣu-d-dīn and Sultan Mu'izzu-d-dīn-i-Sām. (Ṭ. N. 125, l. 2 f.f.; 121, l. 14; 50, l. 14; Raverty's Tr. 490). *Alp* or *Alb* is said to mean in Turki 'man, hero, champion, brave'. *Alp-ar*, 'Brave man', is said to be the title by which Afrāsiāb is called in Turki and an Alp-ar Khān is mentioned by Juwaini. (*Tārikh-i-Jehān-Kushā*, Text, l. 92. *Vide* Sir E. D. Ross's Note to Ḥājji Dabīr, Ẓ. W. III. Index, lv). See also Barthold, Turkestān. 412, 413.

'Baglāna' (last line), which is said to have been near the Ganges, is a miswriting of 'Pachlāna' پچلانه (*q. v.* my note on Vol. IV. 50, l. 14).

III. 541, *l.* **12.** *Malik Khurram, 'Āriz-i-Mamālik, the Chief Karībak.*

This "Karībak" must be an error for قربك "Qīrbak." Malik Tāju-d-dīn-i-Qīrbak is mentioned by Barani as one of the courtiers of Mu'izzu-d-dīn Kaiqūbād (126, l. 10) and there is a Malik Qīrbak in his list of the great officers of 'Alāu-d-dīn Khalji (*Ib.* 241, l. 8) as well as Ghiyāṣu-d-dīn Tughlaq. (424, l. 6). In another place, he speaks of a Malik Qīrbak holding fourteen offices in the reign of Quṭbu-d-dīn Mubārak (379, l. 12), but elsewhere he calls this great pluralist and dignitary ملك قرابك (396, l. 2). In another passage again, he writes that Haibat Khān was the slave and Qarābeg (or Qirābeg) of Sultan Balban. (49, l. 19, 101 *ante*). In the *Tārīkh-i-Mubārakshāhi* also, it is stated tnat Sultan Jalālu-d-dīn Khalji appointed his brother's son 'Izzu-d-dīn *Qarbeg-i-Maimana* and Malik 'Iwaẓ *Qarbeg-i-Maisara* (Text, 62, l. 9; see also *Ibid*, 69, l. 3). It would seem that "Qīrbak", "Qarbeg", "Qarābeg" or "Qirābeg" were synonymous or interchangeable and that none of them was a personal name. It was the title or designation of some high military official, which existed down to the times of Firūz Tughlaq as Malik Jalāu-d-dīn Dudahti or Dūdahi is said to have been 'Qīrbak' in that reign. (*Ib.* 527, l. 3 f. f.). The word may be قوربك or قربك. 'Ali Ṭabāṭabā, the author of the *Burhān-i-Maāṣir*, says that "Alāu-d-dīn Ḥasan Shāh Bahmani appointed 'Imādu-l-Mulk قوربیگ میسره and Mir Saku قوربیگ میمنه", which Major King renders as "Commander of the Left Wing and of the Right Wing." (Trans. 6).

III. 542, *l.* **6 from foot.** *Malik Jāndārbak Ahmad.*

"Jāndārbak" is the same as 'Sar Jāndār' 'Head of the Bodyguards or Lifeguards.' He is called 'Aḥmad *Sarjāndār*' on the immediately preceding page, (541, l. 13). These *Jāndārs* are mentioned by Ibn Baṭūṭa in his description of Muḥammad Tughlaq's public audiences. "At the Sultān's back, stands the great Qabūla with a flywhisk in his hand to drive off the flies. A hundred armour-bearers stand on the right and a like number on the left, carrying shields and swords and bows." (Gibb, 199). These 'armour-bearers' are the 'Jāndārs'. Baihaqi explicitly states that 'Jāndār' signifies شمشیر دار='sword or scimitar-bearer'. (141, l. 14). Barani also speaks of *Sarjāndār-i-Maimana* and *Sarjāndār-i-Maisara*, Commanders of the Bodyguards standing on the Right and of those standing on the Left. (454, l. 7). The *Jāndārs* appear to have also carried out the

sentences of capital punishment and acted as executioners. (Barthold, Turkestan. 228, 312 and note, 378). Just as 'Jāndārbak' means 'Chief Jāndār', so 'Shikārbak' signifies 'Chief Huntsman.' Malik Dihlān who is spoken of as the *Mir-i-Shikār* of Firūz Tughlaq by Shams, (Text, E. D. 295) is called 'Shikārbak' by Barani. (582, ll. 2 and 10).

III. 544, *l.* 10 from foot. *'Ashīka of Amīr Khusrū.*

The title is sometimes written also as *'Ishqīya.'* We learn from Abul Faẓl that this 'Maṣnavi' was one of the favourite books of Akbar and was frequently read out to him. "On many occasions", the historian writes in his account of the Emperor's journey by boat to Bengal, "Mīr Sharīf, the brother of Naqīb Khān, read with a beautiful voice the *Kitāb-i-'Ishqīya* and His Majesty emerged many a time from behind the veil and showed tender heartedness (رقّت میفرمودند) and had melted eyelashes." (A. N. Tr. III. 125; Text III. 88). Mr. Beveridge was not able to identify correctly the poem referred to. He thought it was "some special book having this title, a *Kitāb-i-'Ishqi* which is attributed to Aristotle, or the Diwān of the poet whose pen-name was 'Ishqi." There can be little doubt that the *Kitāb-i-'Ishqīya* which the great emperor could not hear without shedding tears was this fine poem on the tragic loves of Davalrāni and Khiẓr Khān.

III. 545, *l.* 2. *Khusrū says (infra p. 555) that her [Daval Rānī's] hands were cut off, while she was clinging to her husband's body and implies that she was left among the slain, though he says not so distinctly. Ferishta asserts that she was taken into Quṭbu-d-dīn's harem.*

There must be an error here. I cannot find in the 'Alīgarh lithograph of the *'Ashīqa* any such statement about the severance of Davalrāni's hands during the struggle between Khiẓr Khān and his assassins. Neither F. nor B. says a word pointing to any such mutilation. Both assert that she was forced to enter Quṭbu-d-dīn's harem, but this carries with it the implication that she was neither "left among the slain," nor mangled in the hideous manner alleged. It is also extremely improbable that the myrmidons who were sent by the fratricide with a view to gain possession of her person, should have been guilty of such barbarity and violence. The only couplet in which there is any reference to "the cutting off of hands" is thus worded. After describing the decapitation of Khiẓr Khān and bewailing the event in a long interlude, Khusrau exclaims

بریده دستِ آن بی مهرِ خونریز - که زد بر گردنِ او خنجرِ تیز

(p. 280, verse 9). "May the hands of the cruel and blood-thirsty one who struck off his [Khiẓr Khān's] neck with the sharp dagger, be cut off!"

III. 545, *l.* 4. *Fīrishta asserts that she [Davalrāni] was taken after Kutbu-d-dīn's death by the villain, Khusrū Khān. Barani who was intimately acquainted with the facts is silent upon the subject, so that it may be hoped that the high-born damsel escaped that union with the 'foul Parwāri', which would have been worse than death.*

Firishta does not say any such thing at all either in the Bombay Text or Cawnpore Lithograph. (I. 130, l. 16). The statement is only one of the many unwarranted and misleading interpolations in the Translation of Briggs. (I. 396). All that he, Barani, Niẓāmu-d-dīn and Budāuni state is that Khusrau married "a wife" (زن or زنی) or "most honoured wife" (حرم محترم) of Quṭbu-d-dīn and that Sultan Tughlaq afterwards severely punished the individuals who had taken active part in or abetted the illegal *Nikāḥ* or ceremony of marriage. But we know that Quṭbu-d-dīn had several wives and neither F. nor any other author declares that the wife of Quṭbu-d-dīn with whom Khusrau went through the ceremony of a marriage was Davalrāni or Devaldevi. It is not unlikely that she was, as he asserts, forcibly taken into Quṭbu-d-dīn's harem (I. 125, l. 12 from foot), after Khiẓr Khān's assassination, but Amīr Khusrau, the only contemporary writer who mentions Devaldevi, says nothing at all of her subsequent fate and there does not seem to be any warrant for indulging in these melancholy speculations and imaginings about her union with the "foul Parwāri." Dowson is merely repeating the words of Thomas (C. P. K. D. 177 *note*), but that author's lamentations on her "after fate" of becoming "the enforced wife of two succeeding Sultans" and his sentimental surmises about "her proud Rajput blood having risen against her union with the foul Pariah" have more of the glamour of romance than of the dry light of history. Their only foundation is a strained and arbitrary interpretation and amplification of Firishta's words. In our own times, Sir Wolseley Haig has echoed these imaginary 'hopes and fears' and inveighed against 'the foul outcaste, her third husband' (C. H. I., III. 124), but both these averments are more than doubtful. There is very little to show that Khusrau was an "outcaste" and nothing at all to prove that he was her "third husband."

The *real* name of the tribe or caste to which Khusrau belonged is not known and cannot be ascertained. The variants in the Mss. have served only to mystify and mislead European writers. The form 'Parwāri' is, in reality, only a modern perversion. Dowson notes that the name is written *Barwār* [and *Barwārān* in the plural] in the B. I. Text and *Barāv* [or *Barāwān*] in his own Mss. of Barani. But *Barāwān* is found in the B. I. Text also. (490, l. 5; 519, l. 2). The T. M. has *Barāv*. (Text, 85, l. 6 f.f.). Ḥājji Dabīr spells it as *Rāv* and Budāuni has *Barwār* (B. I. Text. I. 212) but *Barāv* is found in the Mss. (Tr. I. 285, 288 Note). *Parwār* is found only in the Ṭ. A. and it is asserted there by way of gloss, that it is the name of a tribe resembling the *Khidmatīyā* of his own day, who were employed as guards or *Chaukidārs* of the palace by Akbar. (87, l. 16).

Guided or rather misguided by this spelling and the accompanying gloss, Briggs jumped to the conclusion that this 'Parwār' must be the same as 'Parwāri' and Edward Thomas, following his lead, fastened upon it the meaning assigned to 'Parwāri' in Molesworth's Marāṭhi Dictionary.

It is defined there as "an individual of low caste," and said to be synonymous with 'Ḍheḍ' or 'Mahār', the first [Parwāri] being "a courteous or conciliating term, the second a term of reviling and the third a mere appellative without implication". (C. P. K. D. 184 Note). But it is impossible to subscribe to this opinion for several reasons.

1. The name is not written "*P*arwāri" or even "*P*arwār" except by Niẓāmu-d-dīn and his copyist Firishta. Niẓāmu-d-dīn was born and educated in Herāt. He was not well acquainted with any Indian vernacular and his opinion on a question relating to the intricate and obscure nomenclature of Hindu tribes and castes is of absolutely no value.

2. Khusrau is stated to have himself come originally from Gujarāt, his family and relations to have resided in Bahlāwal or Nahrwāla (Barani, Text, 402, l. 6) and his followers are said to have fled to Gujarāt after their defeat. (*Ibid*, 412, l. 2). There are no 'Mahārs' in that part of the country and the 'Ḍheḍs' are not known as and never called 'Parwāris' by the people of the province. The Gujarāti dictionaries do not recognise it as a synonym of either 'Mahār' or 'Ḍheḍ' and the meaning assigned to it in the well-known 'Joḍnīkosh', compiled by Mr. D. B. Kālelkār and published by the Gujarāt Vidyāpiṭh, is "a caste or tribe like the *Bharvāḍs* or shepherds." In the circumstances, the invocation of the authority of Molesworth on the meaning of a Gujarāti word seems out of place.

3. Barani states that as soon as Khusrau's half-brother Ḥisām [or Ḥusām] took charge of the governorship of Gujarāt, he gathered around himself his relatives and kindred and "all the *renowned Barwārs* of *Gujarāt*" (برواران نام گرفتهٔ گجرات) and raised a revolt. (397, l. 3). A few pages further on, he again employs this identical expresion and declares that Khusrau sent his uncle Raṇdhaval, with the Sultan's permission, to Bahlāwal, where he recruited "all the *renowned Barwārs of Gujarāt* for Khusrau's service". (402, l. 9). It is not easy to imagine an author like Barani speaking of 'Ḍheḍs' as individuals who were 'renowned' or 'famous' and the application of any such epithet as نام گرفتهٔ to 'scavengers' and 'outcastes' is ridiculous.

4. Firishta has copied Barani's statement and adds that Khusrau spent all his resources in mounting and equipping an army of forty thousand troopers (I. 127, l. 1) and Sir Wolseley Haig assures us that this "corps of forty thousand horse was largely composed of and exclusively commanded by members of his own despised tribe". (C.H.I. III. 123). It may be left to the reader's imagination to visualise the spectacle of 40,000 hastily-recruited *Ḍheḍs*, mounted and armed for the first time in their lives with swords instead of broomsticks, performing cavalry exercises and taking the word of command from Mahār captains and Bhangi colonels.

5. In his account of Ṭaghi's insurrection in Gujarāt, Barani states that in the battle near Kaḍi-Pāṭan, about one hundred of the rebels made a furious charge with naked swords on Sultān Muḥammad Tughlaq's own

bodyguard, *like Barāwcān Fidāi's*, [heroes, braves, or paladins], who had taken their lives on the palms of their hands. (519, l. 2) بر طریقِ فدائیان براوان جانرا بر کفِ دست نهاده و تیغها برهنه بردست گرفته. Surely, these 'Barāvān' or 'Barāv' Paladins could not have been the 'foul outcastes' whose "touch is pollution to a Hindu, whose occupation is that of scavengers and whose food consists largely of carrion"!

6. There is no doubt that Khusrau was able to effect a Hindu revolution, to seat himself on the throne and to command all the resources of the kingdom of Dehli for more than four months. He could have hardly done this even for a day without the support and co-operation of the temporal and spiritual leaders of the Hindu community or without having, at his back, an army composed, not of Dheds and Mahārs, but of the martial races of the empire. The idea of high-caste men paying homage to and acknowledging a Bhangi as Emperor of Dehli is simply unthinkable.

7. Indeed, Ibn Baṭūṭā states that "Khusrū Khān gathered a troop of Indians *chosen from among the bravest and greatest; his brother, the Khān-i-Khānān was among them.*" (604 *infra*; Defrémery. III. 198). He, as well as the T. M. (Text, 91, l. 12) and B. (I. 220, Tr. 294), agree in declaring that his followers "fought with the greatest fury, defeated Tughlik's troops and pillaged his camp." Tughlaq, in fact, was able to retrieve the day only because he attacked Khusrau with a division which he had kept in reserve "just when his enemies were busy plundering and scattered, so that none remained near Khusrū." We may be sure that the men who routed Tughlaq's veterans were not the "forty thousand Mahārs" officered by "men of their own despised tribe." They may or may not have been "members of some of the many royal races" of this country, but they must have been certainly "men of good stock," and not 'outcastes' and 'scavengers'.

The uncertainty of the Semitic script makes it impossible to determine now the true reading of the caste-name. It has been suggested that براو may be an error for پوار [Puār, Paramār], but this is a bare possibility and nothing can be built upon such an unsupported conjecture. But it may be safely said that the Parwāri theory is untenable and must be abandoned.

III. 546, *l.* 10 from foot. *And took from him fourteen hundred elephants.*

The number of elephants is certainly overstated by the poet. The number given in manuscripts of the contemporary *Tāju-l-Maāṣir* is one hundred or three hundred (E. D. II. 223), and Ibn-al-Athīr makes it only ninety. (*Ib.* 251). Fakhru-d-dīn Mubārakshāh, another contemporary authority, also puts it at one hundred. (*Tārīkh*, Ed. Ross, 23). But it is stated by Ibn-al-Athīr (E. D. II. 251) that Jayachand's treasure was so vast that 1400 *camels* were required to carry it. Perhaps the poet's memory has played him a trick and he has mixed up the number of the camels which carried the treasure with that of the elephants captured.

III. 548, *l.* 21. *The two Turk Khāns were suddenly captured by a Hindu servant of the Court.*

The 'Hindu servant' was Malik Nāyak Ākhurbak, who commanded the Dehli army on this occasion. (*Khazāin*, Tr. 72 *ante*; Barani, 320, l. 12; Ṭ. A. 8, l. 12). F. is most probably wrong in stating (I. 114, l. 9 f.f.) that the Dehli generals were Malik Nāib and Ghāzi Malik Tughlaq, though he is followed in the C. H. I. (III. 110). The fact that this *Malik* Ākhurbak is styled *Nāyak* may indicate his Hindu descent or parentage.

III. 548, *l.* 6 from foot. *One [of the Mughal leaders] was Tīhū.*

The name is written Tābū (*var.* Tībū) in the 'Alīgarh text, p. 62, verses 1, 4 and 9. The paranomasia on تابو and تابوی leaves no room for doubt as to the third letter being a 'be' and not a 'hā'. See my note on Vol. III. 74, l. 1. 'Tīhū' is, perhaps, only a typographical error for 'Tībū'.

III. 550, *l.* 7 from foot. *There was another Rāi in those parts [M'abar], whose rule extended over sea and land, a Brahmin, named Pandyā Gurū.*

The reading in the 'Alīgarh text is very different and the word 'Gurū' does not occur anywhere in it.

بر آب و خاك فرمانِ تمامش - برهمن بیر پندیا کرده نامش
بسی شهرش بخشکي و بری هم - پتن خوش کرده مهرهت پوری هم
پتن را ساخته منزل گهٔ خویش - بت و بتخانه در مهرهت پوری بیش

"On land and sea, he had full authority and he was a *Brahman named Bīr Pandyā*. He had many cities on dry land as well as in the sea, and he had specially chosen Pattan and Mahrhatpuri [Madura]. He had made Pattān his place of residence and the idols and temples were in Mahrhatpuri." Elliot's Manuscript must have wrongly read گرو instead of کرده in the first couplet. Sir Henry's translation is responsible for putting Dr. Ayyangar on a false scent and tempting him to hazard conjectural identifications of this 'Pandyā Gurū' with some "other Pāndyan prince" or with "the Mahant or chief priest of the temple of Rāmeshwaram". (S. I. M. I. 100 and note).

III. 551, *l.* 3 from foot. *Rāi Karan.....fled ....to seek the protection of Sankh Deo, the son of the Rāi-Rāyān, Rām Deo.*

The names of the two sons of Rāma Deva are given by Sir W. Haig (C. H. I. III. 113) and other authors, as Shankar and Bhīm. This is due to their having followed Briggs' translation of F., who calls them 'Shankal Dew' and 'Bheem Dew' (I. 367), but in the 'Alīgarh text of the poem which is stated to have been prepared after collation with several Manuscripts, the elder brother is spoken of as 'Singhan Dev'.

چون سنگهن دیو پورِ رای رایان - بشد آگاه ز آگاهی سرایان p. 85, verse 10.

And again,

طمع دریشت سنگهن تا بصد جهد - بر در برجِ خویش آن ماه را مهد p. 86, verse 1.

And Singhan's younger brother is not called Bhīmdev, but Bhīlam Dev,

بهیلم دیو, by the poet.

برادر را که بهیلم بود نامش - بخواند و کرد حمّال پیامش

بر آنسو رفت بهیلم دیو چون باد - بمهمان رازِ مهمانی برون داد p. 86, verses 2-3.

Note that the metre also requires بهیلم and the lines cannot be scanned if we read بهیم. There can be little doubt that Shankar, Shankal, Sankh and Bheem or Bhīm are all wrong and that the princes should be called 'Singhana' and 'Bhillama'. A reference to the Dynastic list of the Yādavas of Devagiri shows that one of the most distinguished and capable rulers of the family was named Singhana. He conquered almost the whole of the kingdom of his predecessors,—the Western Chalukyas—and reigned from 1210 to 1247 A. C. (Duff, 176, 191, 310). And it appears from the pedigree of their kinsmen and predecessors, the Yādavas of Seunadesha that Bhillama was a favourite name among them also and was borne by not less than five kings of that house. (*Ibid*, 310). In fact, Bhillama V of Seunadesha was the same as Bhillama I of Devagiri who founded the later dynasty about 1189 A. C. and was the fifth ancestor of Rāmadeva. (*Ibid.* 165; E. H. I. 392-93; see also I. G. XI, 200).

On. l. 17, 'Ulugh Khān' is an error for 'Alf' or 'Alp' Khān. Ulugh Khān had died several years before.

III. 553, *l.* 16. *The marriage of Khizr Khān with Dewal Rāni.*

Khusrau says that the younger daughter Daval Rāni was only six months old when her mother Kaulādevi was captured and sent to Dehli in 1298 A. C. ('*Ashīqa*, دوم را عمرشش مه بود رفتهٔ ـ که بود آن شش مهه ماهِ دو هفته 82, l. 13). He also states that she was eight years old when captured. (Text, 93, verse 5=552 *infra*). It is said in the C. H. I. (III. 113) that the marriage took place in the summer of 1307 A. C., that is, about Ẕī-l-qʿad 706 A. H., but there must be some error, as Devaldevi would have then been only a child of about ten and it would be absurd to ascribe to her at that age the sentiments which the poet puts into her mouth. The fact is that Devaldevi was married to Khiẓr Khān some months after his union with Alp Khān's daughter in Ramaẓān 711 H. and this stands out clearly even from Elliot's summary. Sir Henry does not mention the exact day or month on which the Vāgheli beauty was married to Khiẓr Khān, because the actual date is not specifically recorded in the original poem, but the ceremony must have been performed after 1st Ẕī-l-ḥijja 711 A. H.=9th April 1312 ('*Ashīqa*, 161, 167, 216) when she was about fourteen years old. The date 1307 A. C. (706 A. H.) is given by Khusrau and Firishta as the year of Kāfūr's first expedition to the Dekkan. Devaldevi was captured, F. says, towards the end of that year (I. 116-117), but he does not state anywhere that she was married to Khiẓr Khān in that year. The year of her capture would seem to have been confused with that of her nuptials.

III. 554, *l.* 1. *When the Sultan recovered, Khizr Khān set out on his expedition to Hatānpur.*

The place is called هتنا پور, Hatnāpur, in the 'Alīgarh text. (236, verse

1). B. calls it 'Hatnāpur' or 'Hastnāwar.' (I. 107, Tr. I, 266 and *Note*). Ibn Baṭūṭa says that Khiẓr Khān went to Sandapat, one day's journey from Dehli (E. D. III, 601), which may be Sonpat, 28 miles north of Dehli and 27 miles south of Pānīpat. Hatānpur or Hatnāpur must be meant for Hastināpur, which lies in the Mawāna taḥṣīl of Mīrat district, 22 miles north-east of Mirat, on the right bank of the Buḍḍhi Gangā or Old bed of the Ganges. Hastināpur is spoken of as Hatnā in the *Mujmalu-t-Tawārīkh.* (E. D. I. 105). The name is written as 'Hatnāwar' in the *Āīn* (Tr. III. 70), but elsewhere it is spelt as Hastināpur. (*Ibid.* II. 288).

III. 555, *l.* 7 from foot. *Khiẓr Khān then ordered a confidential servant to place me near the narrative of his love.*

This paragraph has been misplaced and dislocated from its context in this translation. It is absurd to ascribe to or put into the mouth of Khiẓr Khān any such order *after the description of the murders* of himself and his brothers and the record of the inhumation of their lifeless bodies. The passage really occurs towards the beginning of the poem in the chapter entitled سبب نظم این جواهر (Text, 37-41). The poet says that the Prince sent for him and requested him to write a poem on the story of his loves and gave him a نامهٔ درد or 'A Tale of Woe,' which was written not in Persian, but in Hindi. (p. 41, verses 9-15). This reference to the vernacular tongue gives him an opportunity for introducing the disquisition on the beauties of the language of the indigenes which follows here on p. 556. It also has been wrested out of its real position and pitchforked at the *end* of the story, though it is really a part of the Introduction or Prologue.

The fact is that the description of the murder is the Supplement or Epilogue of the Love-Story and the 319 lines constituting it were composed after the completion of the original poem or Love Story itself in Zī-l-q'ad 715 H. (p. 307, verses 1-3). As Khusrau states that he took four months and some days to compose this *Maṣnavi*, his interview with the prince must be dated in Jamādi II. 715 H., when 'Alāu-d-dīn was still alive. As Khiẓr Khān was murdered in 718 H., the Epilogue describing that tragic event must have been written about three years after the completion of the original poem.

III. 556, *l.* 9. *The prevalent languages of Rāi and Rām.*

The 'Alīgarh text has the better readings, which are "Rai" and "Rūm". دگر غالب زبانها در ری و روم-کم از هند یست شد ز اندیشه معلوم p. 42, verse 2. The comparison is between *Hindi*, the mother tongue of the indigenes, and Persian and Turki, the languages spoken in Rai and Rūm, the native lands of the rulers. The rhyme also leaves no doubt that the right reading is Rūm. Rai was the capital of the Medes and one of the most ancient cities on earth. It was said to have been the birth-place of Zoroaster's mother and was for long the chief seat of the Zoroastrian hierarchy. It was situated on, what has been for ages, the chief highway in Asia between the East and West, and its ruins lie about ten miles south-east of Teherān. The Arab geographers speak of it as 'the mother of cities' اُمّ البلاد and

it is mentioned here as the archetype of the culture and civilization of Persia. Read *Rūm* for *Rām* on l. 3, p. 557 also.

III. 556, *l.* 4 from foot. *He who has placed only guavas and quinces in his throat will..... say it is like jujube.*

The words in the Text are امرود و آبی (p. 43, verse 6), which mean '*pears* and quinces'. There are very good grounds for holding that the guava is an exotic fruit which was introduced into India only by or after the advent of, the Portuguese. There is also no doubt that the word itself is derived from the indigenous name of the fruit in the language of Guiana. Sir George Watt states that امرود is the common pear, *Pyrus Communis*; سیب is the apple, *Pyrus Malus*; and آبی is the quince, *Cydonia Vulgaris*. (Commercial Products of India, p. 910). In the list of fruits given by Abul Fazl in the *Āīn*, the امرود is included among the "fruits of Tūrān". Blochmann in his Translation substitutes 'guava' (Tr. I. 65), but there can be little doubt that this is an inadvertent error, "a careless rendering of an ambiguous word", as Yule puts it. (H. J. *s. v.* Guava).

III. 557, *l.* 5 from foot. *The accession of Kutbu-d-dīn Mubārak on Sunday, the 24th of Muharram 716 H.*

Khusrau gives Sunday, 24th Muḥarram 716 H., as the date of Quṭbu-d-dīn's accession. It was Sunday, 18th April 1316, according to the Indian Ephemeris. F. (I. 124, l. 13) gives 8th Muḥarram 717 which must be wrong. The C. H. I. gives 1st April 1316 (p. 291). Sir Wolseley has followed F. and taken the date as 7th (or 8th) Muḥarram, but the year as *716 H.* 1st April 1316 was a Thursday, not a Sunday.

III. 561, *l.* 15 from foot. *By sending the canopy (dūrbāsh).*

The *Dūrbāsh* was not a 'canopy' but "a staff, club, mace, bludgeon, pole or baton with which they keep the mob from pressing too close in public solemnities." It literally means 'Have a care! Stand back! Begone! Give way! Keep at a distance!' So says Richardson in his Dictionary. The *Ghīyāṣu-l-Lughāt* describes it as a double spear, a spear with two horns or branches which was used in ancient times for keeping the people at a distance during royal marches and processions. Manucci tells us that when the Begam Sāheb (Shāh Jahan's daughter, Jahān Ārā) and other great ladies left their palaces, "they were escorted by cavalry and infantry and eunuchs who pushed on one side every one they found in front of them..... The men servants held sticks of gold or silver in their hands and called out, 'Out of the way! Out of the way!'" (Storia, I. 220). These men were in fact the 'gurzbardārs' (mace-bearers) of Bernier and Tavernier. Barani states that the *Dūrbāsh* was borne by the servants of great men on the shoulders when their masters went out (136, l. 4) and the T. M. speaks of it as a two-branched ornamented baton.

III. 563, *l.* 6 from foot. *They can tell the future by the breath of their nostrils.*

This is a reference to the *Swara-vidyā*, a most curious method of divination which is mentioned only in Hindu literature, and seems to be

unknown elsewhere. Abul Faẓl describes it as " the extraordinary science of predicting events by observing the manner in which the breath issues from the nostrils." His disquisition on the subject extends to six pages in Jarrett's translation. (*Āīn*, Tr. III. 232-237). There is a reference to it also in the Travels of the Italian, Pietro della Valle, who appears to have been greatly impressed by what he learnt about it. "The Indian Gioghis ", he writes, " have a curious way of divining by the breathing of a man, wherein they have indeed many curious and subtle observations, which I, upon trial, have found true." He informs his readers that " they have a book on the arts of divination, entitled ' Damerdbigiaska' ", and that he hoped one day " to gratify the curious reader with a sight of it in a translation ". (Travels, Ed. Gray, I. 108 ; Old English Translation of 1665, pp. 55-56). His editor, Mr. Gray, admits his inability to say what ' Damerdbigiaska ' stands for and the name, as printed, is certainly corrupt. I venture to suggest that it *may be* a muddle or perversion of ' Sāmudrikashāstra ', the general designation in Sanskrit of the pseudo-sciences of Physiognomy, Palmistry, Auguries from birds and beasts, the breathing of a man and other modes of vaticination.

III. 564, *l.* 26. *The hellites who had accompanied him* [*Harpāladeva*] *also afforded food to the flames of the infernal regions.*

The mention of this custom by Amīr Khusrau is worth noting and confirms what is said about it by Sulaimān, Mas'ūdi and other old writers. (See my note on E. D. I. 9). This immolation of *male* servants and dependants appears to have taken place even after the fourteenth century and there is a reference to it in the Travels of Duarte Barbosa (c. 1516). He observes that when the King of Narsynga (Vijayanagar) dies, four or five hundred women " throw themselves into the fire and many men who are his intimates are also burnt with him." (Tr. Dames, I. 216-7). A still later example is recorded in the *Maāṣiru-l-Umarā*, the author of which notes that when the news of the death of Rājā Rāmdās Kachhwah in the Bangash province was received at Rangaṭa near Agra in 1022 A. H., fifteen wives and twenty followers burnt themselves in the fire along with his turban. (II. 156-7).

III. 565, *l.* 5. *He* [*Anangapāla*] *fixed a bell by the side of the two lions, in order that those who sought justice might strike it.*

The Bell of Justice is an institution associated with the name of the Sāsānian emperor Khusrau Anūshīrvān. The Arab traveller, Sulaimān, says that it was a custom in China for every governor to sleep with a bell at his head, communicating with a handle at the gate, which any one claiming justice was at liberty to ring. The statement is copied by Idrīsi. (See Yule's Cathay, Ed. 1866, p. cvi). The Mughal emperors Humāyūn (*Akbarnāma*, I. 361=Tr. I. 651), Jahāngīr (*Tūzuk*, Tr. I. 7) and Muḥammad Shāh (*Siyaru-l-Mutāakhirīn*, Tr. Reprint, I. 230) are all said to have imitated the practice. Khusrau refers to the tradition that Anangapāla had revived the Persian custom. Ibn Baṭūṭa makes the identi-

cal statement about Iltutmish (591 *infra*) and he also speaks of the lion-statues. Both legends are, probably, apocryphal, but this is just the sort of thing that makes a strong appeal to the Oriental imagination. Amīr Khusrau's fable of a famished crow ringing the bell and appearing as a complainant is found in different forms in the folklore of many lands. In a variant which is associated with Naushirvān's Bell of Justice, the suppliant is a donkey. (*Siyāsatnāma*, Ch. V. Ed. Schefer, 35-37; Bomb. Lith. Pt. i. 42-4; 'Awfi, *Jawām'iu-l-Hikāyāt*, I. vi. No. 390, J. H. p. 154). In the *Gesta Romanorum*, the animal which rings the Bell of Justice set up by the Roman emperor Theodosius, is a serpent which had been driven out of its hole by a toad. (Tale CV, Tr. Swan, II. 80; Bohn's Edit., p. 182). In another analogue, the redress is sought by jackals suffering from the winter's cold and the king is, according to Manucci's version, the Mughal emperor Jahāngīr (Storia, I. 164), but in Tod's *Rājasthān*, the same story is told of Rāwal Lakhan Sen, a simpleton who sat on the throne of Jaisalmer from 1271 to 1275 A. C. (Ed. Crooke, II. 1210).

III. 584, last line. *Each of them amassed a treasure amounting to seventy* babīns.

Dowson tells us that this *babīn* must be '*Bānbi*', which in Hindi signifies 'a snake's hole' and in Hindu belief "snakes keep guard over hidden treasure." But it is not necessary to go so far afield for the real form or meaning of the word, which should be read as بائين *Baīīn* (also written *Waīn*), *i. e.* tank, cistern. The Gujarāti form is *Wāv*, the Hindi *Bāo* and *Bāoli* and all these forms are derived from the Sanskrit *Wāpi*, *i. e.* a well, stepwell etc. This author has just told us that the Hindus are "accustomed to dig *pits* for the reception of their hoards and some of them form an *excavation* in their houses like a *cistern* for that purpose." This 'Babīn', *Recte* 'Baīīn', is that very *pit* or *cistern*. Indeed, his own definition of it as "a large *cistern*, into which there *is a descent by a ladder on each of the four sides*," leaves no doubt that what he means is not a 'snake's hole' but a tank or stepwell. Dimishqi's contemporary, Ibn Baṭūṭa, also writes thus: "Here there was a *baīn*, which, in their language, means a very broad well with a stone casing and steps by which you go down to reach the water." (Gibb, 218; Defrémery, IV. 13). And the emperor Bābur informs us that he "directed a large *Wāīn* to be constructed, ten *gaz* by ten. In the language of Hindustān, they denominate a large well having a staircase down it, *Wāīn*." (Memoirs, Tr. Erskine, 342). There is an earlier description in Alberūnī's India also, which is, unfortunately, too long to quote. (Tr. II. 144). Ibn Baṭūṭa tells us that Ghiyāṣu-d-dīn Tughlaq I had constructed in Tughlaqābād such a tank (or *Baīn*) and had molten gold poured into it, which became a solid mass and was afterwards dissipated by his son Muḥammad. (Defrémery, III. 214). 'Abdur-Razzāq also informs us that in the Treasury of the King of Vijayanagar, there are chambers with excavations in them, filled with molten gold, forming one mass. (E. D. IV. 109). These *tanks* or *excavations* must be the *Baīīns* of Ibn

Baṭūṭa and the *Babīns* of Dimishqi.

III. 586, *l.* 4. *But [Ibn Baṭūṭa] subsequently fell into disgrace for having visited an obnoxious Shaikh.*

Ibn Baṭūṭa tells us that the name of the obnoxious Shaikh for visiting whom he unwittingly incurred the displeasure of the Sultan was Shihābu-d-dīn. The Shaikh's offence, according to him, was that he had refused to take office under Muḥammad and lived for years in an underground dwelling which he had constructed for himself near Dehli. On being summoned again to court, he openly branded Muḥammad Shāh as a tyrant and when he refused to retract his statement, he was executed. (Gibb, 362 Notes; Defrémery, III. 293-8). It is worth noting that the T. M. (Text, 116, l. 5) and Budāuni tell a very similar anecdote about the Shaikhzāda-i-Jām. B. has copied it from the T. M. and tells it thus: "They say, that one day Sultān Muḥammad came on foot into the Court of Justice of Qāzi Kamālu-d-dīn, Ṣadr-i-Jahān, and said, 'the Shaikhzāda-i-Jām has called me a tyrant. Send for him that he may substantiate his charge of tyranny against me'.....When the Shaikhzāda was summoned, he confessed to having said it and on being asked for the reasons, pointed to the Sultān's practice of "handing over to the executioners the wives and children" of offenders. The Sultān remained silent at the time, but ordered him soon afterwards to be bound and sent to Daulatābād in an iron cage. He was afterwards brought back to Dehli and cut into two pieces in the Sultān's presence". (Ranking, Tr. I. 318; Text, I. 239-40). There can be little doubt of the identity of the two stories and of the two men. This Shaikhzāda-i-Jām is mentioned by Barani and he is said to have been hostile to the Saint Niẓāmu-d-dīn Auliyā, whom Muḥammad Tughlaq held in the deepest reverence. It is also stated that he had been set up as a rival against Niẓāmu-d-dīn by Quṭbu-d-dīn Mubārak. (396, l. 7 f. f.). He was a descendant probably of the Saint, Shaikh Aḥmad of Jām or Zām, a town in Quhistān, which lies about 96 miles S. E. of Meshhed. (L. E. C. 356).

III. 587, *l.* **5 from foot.** *The foot-post is thus arranged. Each mile is divided into three equal parts called* dāwah, *which signifies one-third of a mile.*

Ibn Baṭūṭa seems to have misunderstood the matter. The Indian word 'D[h]āwa' does not mean "one-third of a mile" but 'runner'. Barani tells us that in Sultān 'Alāu-d-dīn's time, دهاوگان, *i. e.* runners, were posted at every half or quarter-mile. (203 *ante*=Text, 331, l. 1). At page 244 again, he states that when famine prevailed in Mālwā, the posts [*Dhāwa*] had gone off the road. (Text, 481, last line). This word 'Dhāwa' is used in the same sense in two other passages. (Text, 330, l. 18 and 447, last line). Budāuni informs us that Muḥammad Tughlaq "posted a chain of 'dhāwa,' that is to say, *Pāiks* or runners, as guards at distances of one *Kuroh* along the whole road from Dehli to Deogir". (Text, I. 226; Tr. 302). Waṣṣāf also declares that foot-soldiers (otherwise, *pāiks*) are called in the lan-

guage of the people of India 'dakk' '' [*dhavak?*]. (43 *ante*). 'Dhāva' is the Marāṭhi form of the Sanskrit *Dhāvaka*, runner, from *Dhāva*, to run. I have suggested elsewhere that the Anglo-Indian "Dawk" may be derived from the same source. (See my "Notes on Hobson-Jobson" in Ind. Ant. LVIII. 1929, *s. v.* Dawk).

Ibn Baṭūṭa's error may have been due to his ignorance of the Indian vernaculars. One of the many meanings of دعوة in Arabic, De Goeje tells us, is 'the distance at which the human voice can be heard.' (Ed. Khurdādbih, Text, 188, l. 11 and Notes, p. 211). This may be about one-third of a mile. It would seem as if the Moor had confounded the Arabic *D'awa* with the Marāṭhi *Dhāva*.

III. 587, *l.* 3 from foot. *The wall which surrounds Dehli is eleven cubits thick.*

Yule complains (Cathay, Ed. Cordier, IV, 46) that the dimensions which Ibn Baṭūṭa gives of the Quṭb Minār are absurdly exaggerated, but there is no over-statement here. Sir John Marshall bears witness to his accuracy and says that the fortifications of Jahānpanāh are some twelve yards in thickness. (Monuments of Muslim India in the C. H. I. III. 587). The word which has been rendered as "Cubit" must therefore have been used for the Indian 'Gaz' or 'Yard'.

III. 588, *l.* 13. *The people known by the name of Sāmirah do not eat with any one, and no one must look at them when they eat.*

The reason was, most probably, the superstitious dread of the 'evil eye' of the 'liver-eater' or جگر خوار, *q. v.* E. D. I. 331 and my note. The author of the *Maāṣiru-l-Umarā* says that this جگر خوار is also called ڈائن, *Ḍāin*. This is the Hindi form of the Sanskrit *Ḍākinī*, and the Gujarāti ڈاکن *Ḍākaṇ*. (III. 313, l. 3). The Sāmirah are of course the Sūmras, but Ibn Baṭūṭa has mixed them up with and used the term also for their rivals, the Sammas.

III. 590, *l.* 15. *The city of Dehli was conquered.....in 584 (1184 A. D.). I read the same date inscribed upon the mihrāb of the great mosque of the city.*

The exact date of the conquest of Dehli has been the subject of dispute for more than seventy years and is still a moot point. Indeed, two divergent dates, 1191 and 1193 A. C., have been sponsored very recently by Sir Wolseley Haig and Sir John Marshall within the covers of one and the same volume of the Cambridge History of India. (III. 42 and 575). But whichever of them, whether 587 H. or 589 H., is correct, it is certain that Ibn Baṭūṭa's 584 H. is wrong and impossible. Ibn Baṭūṭa must have read the inscription incorrectly from a distance and supposed the units figure to be ربع instead of سبع or تسع. (C. P. K. D. 22-23 Note).

III. 597, *l.* 14 from foot. *It was this prince [Mu'izzu-d-dīn Kaiqūbad] who built the minaret of the Northern Court of the great mosque at Dehli which has no equal in the world.*

Here again, two similarly sounding names have misled the Moor. The Minaret is, of course, the Quṭb, but Ibn Baṭūṭa has confused Mu'izzu-d-dīn Kaiqūbād and Mu'izzu-d-dīn Muḥammad-i-Sām, whose viceroy, Quṭbu-d-dīn Aibak began and erected the first storey of the great Tower. (*Futūḥāt*, 383 *infra*). Sir John Marshall (C. H. I. III. 578 note) observes that "two short Nāgari records of 1199 A. D. carved on the basement storey indicate that the Minār was founded in or before that year".

III. 598, *l.* 4. *One of his neighbours sent him* [*Mu'izzu-d-dīn*] *some food to appease his hunger, etc.*

A somewhat similar tale is found in the T. M. (59, l. 10) and is copied by B. Mu'izzu-d-dīn is said to have died in captivity of hunger and thirst. It is further stated that the Sultan composed in prison a quatrain of which the last two lines are thus rendered by Ranking: "My eye which used to see the gold of the mine and the invisible jewel, Today, alas! is blinded for lack of bread." (Tr. I. 228; Text, I. 165). The anecdote and the verses also are most probably apocryphal. Mu'izzu-d-dīn is said by Barani as well as Ibn Baṭūṭa and the other chroniclers to have been in the last stage of paralysis, for some time before his death. His excesses of all sorts had reduced him to a state of mental and physical imbecility and his composition of a *Rubā'ī* in such circumstances is unthinkable. The quatrain 'shrieks forgery aloud', but it is interesting to note that the popular rumour which Ibn Baṭūṭa picked up in the 14th century was still circulating and well-remembered when Yaḥyā bin Aḥmad compiled his chronicle in the middle of the 15th. The story derives no additional title to credit because Ibn Baṭūṭa tells us that he had heard it from an "eye-witness of the fact". We may perhaps vouch for Ibn Baṭūṭa and postulate that he is not romancing, but who will vouch for his 'eye-witness'?

III. 598, *l.* 10. *He* [*Sultan Jalālu-d-dīn Firūz Khaljī*] *built the palace which bears his name.*

If Ibn Baṭūṭa is referring to the palace which is styled 'Kūshk-i-Firūz (or Firūzi)' by the Dehli chroniclers, and called 'Blue Palace' in Dowson's translation, it may be said with confidence that the Tangierine is again in error. The Kūshk-i-Firūzi is said by Minhāj to have been the royal residence in the reign of Raẓiyya. (Text, 185, l. 13; E. D. II. 333). It is also certain that it was in the occupation of Nāṣiru-d-dīn Maḥmūd as well as Balban. (*Ib.* 197, l. 20; 208, l. 13; E. D. II. 342, 346). There was *also* a *Kūshk-i-Sabz*, (E. D. II. 345, 382), a *Kūshk-i-L'al* (Barani, 178, l. 6) and a *Kushk-i-Sufīd*. (E. D. II. 306, 338, 340, 342).

III. 598, *l.* 13 from foot. *Deogīr which is also called the country of Kataka.*

"Ibn Baṭūṭa's memory for strange names", remarks Mr. Gibb, "was never of the best". (p. 368). And Yule also observes that this Moorish traveller frequently "errs in regard to proper names and sometimes even confounds them in a most perplexing manner". (Cathay, IV. 45). 'Kataka' appears to be a mistake for some such name as 'Karṇāṭāka' or a mis-

writing of 'Kannakara' (كنكر). In the very next sentence, he avers that "Deogīr is the capital of Mālwa and of Marhata." The mention of Mālwa in this connection, also engenders suspicion, though the statement may be founded on the fact that before 1344 A. C., in which year Muḥammad Tughlaq reconstituted the administration of the southern part of his empire, Mālwa and the Dekkan provinces were under one governor, Qutlugh Khān, whose head-quarters were at Deogīr. Mālwa was then made an independent or separate province with its capital at Dhār (251 *ante*) and placed under the infamous 'Azīz Khummār.' Ibn Baṭūṭa had then left Dehli.

III. 614, *l.* **9 from foot.** *Bahāu-d-dīn Gushtāsp.*

"Gushtāsp" and "Girshāsp" are frequently confounded by copyists in Persian Manuscripts. See my Note on Vol. II. 310, l. 8. B. speaks of him as *Bahādur* Girshāsp. (I. 226=Tr. 304). F. calls him Bahāu-d-dīn Girshāsp and says he was the son of Muḥammad's uncle and governor of Saggar. (I. 135, l. 18). Barani says just like Ibn Baṭūṭa, that Bahāu-d-dīn was the son of Ghiyāṣu-d-dīn Tughlaq's sister and was "*Ariẓ-i-Mamālik*" in the reign of that Sultan. (428, l. 8). Mr. Vincent Smith is mistaken in describing him as the sister's son of Muḥammad Tughlaq. (O. H. I. 241). He was not Muḥammad's nephew, but his cousin. (Ṭ. A. 96, l. 3).

III. 616, *l.* **1.** *His flesh was cooked with rice. Some was sent to his children and his wife.*

Some of Ibn Baṭūṭa's stories are undoubtedly tall and his "rigmaroles" about Santons who lived for two hundred or more years and were present on one and the same day in Mecca and also Āssām (Lee, 197; Gibb, 270) have been justly derided by Yule, Kosegarten and others. This blood-curdling tale of Muḥammad's malignity and vindictive rancour may appear incredible, but there are parallels in the written "annals of human devilry", as well as in popular folklore. The *Buranjis* or indigenous chronicles of Āssām relate that the son of the Brahman Minister of Nilambar, the Khyen King of Kāmaṭāpur, seduced the queen. The king put his wife's paramour to death and immediately afterwards invited the father to a banquet, made him eat his son's flesh and then told him the whole story. (Gait, History of Āssām, 42; see also *Ibid*, 74 and 160, where two other instances of this identical barbarity are recorded). It is also related of another homicidal maniac who sat upon a throne in Ṭhaṭṭa, Muḥammad Bāqī Tarkhān, that if any of his officers incurred his displeasure, "he was cut into pieces, which were placed in dishes and sent to his house, as a warning". (*Tārīkh-i-Ṭāhiri* in E. D. I. 280). Similar narratives of equally diabolical modes of enjoying 'the luxury of revenge' are familiar to students of storiology. Legends and ballads relating how the Punjab hero Rasālu killed Rājā Hodi, the paramour of his faithless wife, Rāni Kokilan, and made her eat a fricassee of his heart and liver, are "on the lips of every bard in the Punjab". A European analogue may be found in the ninth Novel of the fourth Day in Boccaccio's Decameron. This novel is said by competent critics to be founded on fact, on a

real event in the life of the Provençal poet Cabestan, or the history of a crusader Knight named De Couci and the wife of the Lord du Fayel, (Clouston, *loc. cit.* II. 188-195).

III. 616, *l.* **21.** *He placed Shaikh 'Imādu-d-dīn who resembled him .....under the royal canopy.*

The Shaikh 'Imādu-d-dīn, who is said by Ibn Baṭūṭa to have 'deputised' for the Sultān and acted as his double, must be the Maliku-l-Mulūk 'Imādu-d-dīn of Barani, who tells us that Muḥammad Tughlaq presented to him seventy laks of *tangas* on a certain occasion. (454, last line, and 461, l. 7 f. f.). Ibn Baṭūṭa says that he was the uterine brother of Shaikh Ruknu-d-dīn Multāni and grandson of Shaikh Bahāu-d-dīn Zakariya. (Defrémery, III. 303, 323).

III. 617, *l.* **3.** *This [Karāchil] is a vast mountain.....ten days' march from Dehli.*

I have suggested elsewhere that this 'Karāchil' is either Kurmāchal, [the old Hindu name of Kumāon] or Gargāchal, *i. e.* the Gagar hills which are a portion of the outer Himālayan range in Kumāon. The distance between Dehli and the mountain is put at ten days' journey, *i.e.* about 200 miles. Dehli is in Lat. 28°-39′ N., Long. 77°-18′ E.; Almora is in Lat. 29°-35′ N., Long. 79°-42′ E., which works out as a map-distance of about 175 miles. Ibn Baṭūṭa says elsewhere that the country possessed mines of gold and gazelles which yielded musk. (Defrémery, III. 438-9). This also points to Garhwāl, which has always been reputed for its auriferous deposits and its musk. There are gold washings in the Alaknandā and Bhagirathi valleys and along the Sonā Nadi in the Path Dūn. (U. P. Gazetteer, XXXVI, (Garhwāl), pp. 115-6). The district at the foot of the mountain which the hillmen owned but which they "could not cultivate without the permission of the Sultān," and paying tribute to him, was the Terāi. The two other toponym mentioned in this account, have hitherto defied elucidation, probably because they have been both spelt wrongly. Ibn Baṭūṭa's Memoirs were written, not by himself, but dictated orally in 1356 A. C., more than ten years after he had left this country, to an African amanuensis who was entirely ignorant of Indian geography. He was, at the time, in possession of no notes or memoranda, as all his books, papers and belongings had been totally lost in the two ship-wrecks which he had suffered on the west coast near Calicut. "He relied," Mr. Gibb remarks, "entirely on his memory and his memory was liable to slips and confusions. He sometimes transposes the order of the towns in his itinerary." (*loc. cit.* 12). For instance, he places Dhār before Ujjain, instead of after it, and Ajodhan after Abohar, instead of before it. (*Ibid.* 361, 363). Elsewhere, Mr. Gibb states that "the unfamiliarity of the names also often leads to strange perversions, especially as Ibn Baṭūṭa attempts to reproduce them from memory after a lapse of twenty years". (*Ibid.* 358). Thus, he confuses Kaylukari, a small port near Rāmnād, on the Coromandel coast, with a place somewere in China and transports it to the

China Seas (*Ibid.* 366) and mixes up Narwar near Gwalior with Parwān near Kābul. In the circumstances, I venture to suggest that 'Warangal' is a perversion, by transposition of the consonants, either of گرهول, Garhwal or of دولگر, Dewalgarh, the old capital of Garhwāl in the fourteenth century. Ibn Baṭūṭa has, in fact, "rendered a strange name by one more familiar". (*Ib.* 33). So, *Jīdīa* may be a miswriting of جندیه 'Jandia' or چندیه 'Chandia,' *i.e.* Chandīpur, which is even now a well-known place in Garhwāl. It is also called Chandi and is mentioned as 'Chandi' in the *Shāhjahān Nāma* of 'Ināyatulla. It is there said to be a dependency of Srīnagar (the capital of Garhwāl), 'and to lie outside the Dūn of Kilāghar'. (E. D. VII. 107). Cunningham assures us that Chandpur or Chandīpur was the old capital of Garhwāl before the foundation of Shrīnagar. (A. G. I. 356; see also U. P. Gazetteer, XXXVI (Garhwāl), pp. 155-6). See also my notes on III. 241, last line and 464, l. 7. Chandīpur is shown in Constable, 25 C b.

III. 617, *l.* **4 from foot.** *Only three chiefs escaped—the Commander Nakbia, Badru-d-dīn Malik Daulat Shāh and a third whose name I have forgotten.*

'Nakbia' is the Nikpai نیکپی *Sar-i-dawāt-dar* (Chief Inkstand-bearer, *i.e.* Secretary or Record-Keeper) of Barani. (454, l. 6 f. f.). نیکپی in Persian means 'of auspicious footsteps', but this man may have been a Mongol, as Nakpai was the name of one of the Chaghtāi Khāns of Turkestān. This Malik Badru-d-dīn Daulatshāh was the son of Malik Fakhru-d-dīn Daulatshāh and is mentioned by Barani as *Ākhurbak*, Master of the Stables, under Sultān Firūz. (527, l. 4 from foot). His father Fakhru-d-dīn was one of the great nobles of Ghiyāṣu-d-dīn and Muḥammad Tughlaq. (*Ibid.* 424, l. 6; 454, l. 11).

III. 619, *l.* **6.** *Amir Hushanj, when he heard this rumour, fled to an infidel prince named Burabrah who dwelt in lofty mountains between Daulatābād and Kūkan Tanah.*

This Malik Hushanj cannot be traced in Barani, but his rebellion on hearing a false report of Muḥammad Tughlaq's death is mentioned in the *Tārīkh-i-Mubārakshāhi* (Text, 106, l. 8) and it is still another point of contact between Ibn Baṭūṭa and Yaḥyā bin Aḥmad. Ibn Baṭūṭa informs us that Malik Hushanj was the son of Kamālu-d-dīn Gurg and was governor of Hānsi when he himself arrived in India in 1334. (III. 143). The district to which he fled after the fizzling out of his revolt is explicitly stated to have been near Ṭhānā, in Konkan. It was, I suggest, the small state of Jawhār. The petty prince also, with whom he sought an asylum and who delivered him up to the tender mercies of Muḥammad, can be identified with a considerable approach to certainty, although I am not aware of any one having attempted to do so. The clue is found in the Imperial Gazetteer. We read there, that "upto 1294 A. C., Jawhār, which lies partly in the north-eastern and partly in the north-western part of Thānā district, was held by a Vārli chief. The first Koli chief, *Paupera*, also known as Jayabā, obtained a footing in Jawhār, by a device similar to that of Dido. Jayabā

was succeeded by his son Nīmsāh, on whom the Sultān of Dehli (Muḥammad Tughlaq) conferred the title of Rājā. So important was the event in the history of Jawhār, that June 5, 1343 A. C., the day on which the title was received, has been made the beginning of a new era which is still used in public documents." (XIV. 87-88). These facts, which are extracted from the local annals of the State, show that the *Burabrah* of the African globe-trotter can be no other than the Koli *Pauperah* who first founded the dynasty still ruling in Jawhār. It was his son, Nīmsāh, who was recognised in 1343 by Muḥammad, perhaps as a reward for the loyalty which his father had displayed a few years earlier, in handing over the rebel who had taken sanctuary with him.

III. 620, *l.* **5.** *And before him* [*Sultān Muḥammad*], *was carried the* Ghāshiya *or saddle-cloth.*

However unsatisfactory Ibn Baṭūṭa may be when he "writes at second-hand or repeats what he had heard," he is accurate in describing what he had himself seen. Shams-i-Sirāj mentions the غاشیهٔ بارہ "saddle-covering of a horse" among the 21 *Sikkas* or Insignia of Royalty which could be borne only by the Sultān. (Text, 108, l. 3). Among the Seljūqs and Mamlūks also, the royal *Ghāshiya*—covering for a saddle—was carried before the ruler in public processions and was one of the royal insignia. (Houtsma, E. I., II. 142, *s. v.* Ghāshiya).

VOL. IV. FIRŪZ TUGHLAQ TO MUḤAMMAD SŪR.

IV. 4, *l.* 1. *History of the Kings.....as the events are related in the* Zafarnāma *and the* Tārīkh-i-Hazrat Saltānat Sh'uāri.

'Ḥaẓrat Salṭanat Sh'uāri' is not a personal name, but an encomiastic epithet of Sultan Shāhrukh. Its literal meaning is 'having the characteristics of a Sultan, or the qualities of a person fit for Imperial sway'. This *Tārīkh-i-Haẓrat Salṭanat Sh'uāri* was one of the three works which Ḥāfiẓ-i-Abrū is known to have written. The first of them was a Geographical treatise or Description of the World, written between 817-823 H., in which a great deal of historical matter also was incorporated. The second was a General History of the World, *dedicated to Sultan Shāhrukh* and coming down to A. H. 820. The third a was another General or Universal History entitled *Zubdatu-t-Tawārīkh*, the compilation of which was begun in 826 H. and completed in 830. It carried the narrative upto 829 H. The *Tārīkh-i-Haẓrat Salṭanat-Sh'uāri* or *Tārīkh-i-Shāhrukhi* is the second of these three works and the first Edition of the *Zubdatu-t-Tawārīkh* or *Tārīkh-i-Bāisonghori*. The only portions which Ḥāfiẓ-i-Abrū himself wrote in both these works are the Continuation of Rashīdu-d-dīn's History from 703 H. to the accession of Timūr and that of Niẓāmu-d-dīn Shami's *Ẓafarnāma* from 806 to 819 H. or 829 H. (Barthold in Houtsma, E. I., II. 213; Turkestan, Tr. 55-56). All the rest is an example of the wholesale plagiarism which is only too common in Oriental Literature. The passages translated below are taken from a volume containing extracts copied from a Ms. of a portion of the *Zubdatu-t-Tawārīkh* which belonged to Mr. J. Bardoe Elliot. (Rieu, Persian Catalogue, 183, 421-4, 991; Supplement, p. 16).

Ḥāfiẓ-i-Abrū's works are referred to more than once in the *Āīn*, (Tr. II. 36; III. 1, 212, 326), but Abul Faẓl had a very poor opinion of them. He even states that he and Banākati "have indulged in vain imaginings and recorded stories that have no foundation in fact". (*loc. cit.* III. 11). Judging from Dowson's extracts, in which the Biyāh is said to "fall into the sea in the country of Kambāya" and the Jumna to join "the Indian Sea near Gujarāt" (p. 4 *infra*), the author may be said to have deserved these mordant remarks. It is due, however, to Ḥāfiẓ-i-Abrū to state that Dr. C. F. Oldham thinks that the passage about the Biyāh is taken from some ancient work and refers to the time when the Sutlej and the Biyāh jointly flowed to the Rann of Kachh, and the united stream was known as the Biyāh. (J. R. A. S. 1893, p. 72).

Ḥāfiẓ-i-Abrū's *laqab* is given by Elliot and others as Nūru-d-dīn, but Dr. Barthold points out that this is a mistake due to a statement of Abdur-Razzāq's and that it was really Shihābu-d-dīn. (Turkestan, Tr. 55; Houtsma, E. I., II. 213).

IV. 7, *l.* 3 from foot. *In the year 755 H., the Sultān marched..... against Lakhnauti.*

Recte, 754, as in the T. M. (B. I. Text, 124, l. 12). Firūz really left Dehli on the 10th of Shawwāl 754 and returned on 12th Sh'abān 755 H. (Barani, *T. F.* 537, 596; Ṭ. A. 114, 115; F. I. 146, l. 4). The chronology of the *Tārīkh-i-Mubārakshāhi* is not infrequently at fault, in regard to the reign of Firūz Tughlaq. The dates of several events differ from those given by the contemporary historian Shams and some found in Dowson's extracts are, moreover, not always identical with those given by Niẓāmu-d-dīn and F., although the last two authors have copied their accounts almost word for word from Yaḥyā.

IV. 7, last line. *When he [Sultan Firūz] reached Kūrakhūr.*

The name is wrong. The correct reading is 'Gorakhpur', as in the B. I. Text of Barani, 587, l. 13, as well as in the Ṭ. A. (114), F. (I. 146). and the T. M. (B. I. Text, 124, last line). The person who is called Rājā of Gorakhpur here is probably identical with Shams-i-Sirāj's Rājā of Champāran. See my note on III. 294, l. 12.

IV. 8, last line. *There [at Harbī-khīr], he built a fortified place which he called Fīrūzābād.*

Barani speaks of this Fīrūzābād as a town near Bhaṭner. (566, l. 10). It is distinguished as 'Firūzābād-i-Hārnīkhera' by Shams (E. D. III. 354) and is identical with the 'Fort of Firūz' of the *Ẓafarnāma* and *Malfūẓāt*. (E. D. III. 427, 491. q. v. my note). The village of Hārnīkhera still exists and lies about twelve miles west of Sirsā. This 'Harbī-Khīr', F.'s 'Sar Khetra', Briggs' 'Pery Kehra', Raverty's 'Bīrī Khera' (Mihrān, 269 note) and Dowson's 'Harī Khīrā' are all copyist's perversions or conjectural emendations which are of no value. What Shams calls 'Larās' (E. D. III. 298-9) is turned into 'Arāsan' by the T. M. (126, l. 1), 'Rās' by B. I. (I. 245=Tr. 327) and 'Abāsīn' or 'Absīn' by F. I. (I. 149, l. 17).

IV. 9, *l.* 20. *He was waited upon Malik Shaikhzāda Bustāmi who had left the country by royal command.*

He had been really banished from the country. He had been a partisan of the Khwāja-i-Jahān Aḥmad Ayāz and had taken a prominent part in the abortive attempt to set up a real or putative son of Muḥammad Tughlaq on the throne, as a rival to Firūz. (Barani, 543, l. 21; 545, l. 8). Barani says that he was the داماد خواهرین سلطان (488, l. 1) and F. understands this to mean that he had married Muḥammad Tughlaq's sister's daughter or niece (I. 138, l. 6 f. f.), but according to the Ṭ. A. (105, l. 3), he was the husband of the Sultan's own sister. Sir W. Haig has followed the Ṭ. A. (C. H. I. III. 165). The word داماد is equivocally used in Persian for 'son-in-law' as well as 'brother-in-law', as the son-in-law of the father is the brother-in-law of the son. Gardezi speaks of Abul 'Abbās Māmūn Khwārizmshāh, who was married to Maḥmūd of Ghazna's sister, as the Sultan's داماد (Z. A. 73, l. 14). Mr. Beveridge also has pointed out that the Persian 'dāmād' is, like the Turki 'izna', used both for 'son-in-law' and 'brother-in-law'. (A. N. Tr. I. Errata, p. xii). This Shaikhzāda may have been descended from the well-known saint Bāyazīd-i-Bisṭāmi

(known also as Ṭaifūr bin 'Isā), or from Jamālu-d-dīn Bisṭāmi, who had been Shaikhu-l-Islām in the reign of Nāsiru-d-dīn Maḥmūd and died in 657 A. H. (Ṭ. N. in E. D. II, 359). His personal name seems to have been Ḥisāmu-d-dīn and he had the title of 'Aẓam Malik or 'Aẓamu-l-Mulk. (T. M. 120, l. 10; 127, l. 18).

IV. 9, *l.* 6 from foot. *Sayyid Rāsūldār who had come with the envoys from Lakhnauti.*

'Rasūldār' is only the title or designation of his office. His real name was Sayyad 'Alāu-d-dīn. (Barani, 580, l. 3 f. f.). 'Rasūldār' signifies 'envoy, ambassador or officer in charge of envoys.' Baihaqi uses the word in the last sense. (353, l. 3; 360, l. 10). The Sayyad had been sent as the envoy of Firūz from Dehli to Bengal and came back to Delhi along with and in charge of the ambassadors from Lakhnauti.

IV. 10, *l.* 4 from foot. *When he reached Sīkra, he attacked it and the Rāi took to flight. There Shakar Khātūn, the daughter of Rāi Sadhan, with Adāyah, was taken prisoner.*

The spelling of the place-name is uncertain and there are several variants, 'Sankra', 'Sangra', 'Satghara', 'Sonkhera' and 'Sīkhra'. (Ṭ. A. 116, l. 10; B. I. 246=Tr. 329; Ẓ. W. 897, l. 20; T. M. 129, l. 5). I venture to suggest that the Rāi was the ruler of what is now known as Sarangarh State. It is situated between the Bilāspur and Sambalpur States on the west and east, while the Mahānadi divides it from the Rāigarh State and the Zamindary of Chandanpur-Padampur on the north. Sarangarh town lies thirty-two miles north-west of Sambalpur. (I. G. XXII. 17). Constable, 32 C a. Lat. 21°-36′ N., Long. 83°-7′ E. Stirling mentions the Rājā of Sarangarh as one of the Feudatory Chiefs of the *Ṣūba* of Orissā who had a *Manṣab* of 500 horse, and owned 31 Zemīndāris, containing 51 forts. (Account of Orissa, 65). Dowson's translation of the passage is not quite correct. 'Adāyah' is not a proper name, as he makes it, but is بادایه, *i.e.* 'with a *dāya*' or 'nurse' and this is how the word has been understood by Ḥājji Dabīr. (Ẓ. W. 897, l. 20). The young girl was taken prisoner *with her* '*nurse*,' بادایه بدست آمد. (T. M. Text 129, l. 6). The name Shakar Khātūn, is evidently assigned to her by anticipation. It must have been given to her *after* conversion to Islam. See my Note on Vol. III. 312, l. 5 f. f.

IV. 11, *l.* 9. *Rāi Bīr Bhāndeo sent some persons to sue for peace.*

A series of contemporary inscriptions which have been discovered in Orissa leave no doubt that this Rājā was Vīra Bhānu Devā III, who ruled in Kaṭak [Cuttack] from Shaka 1274-5 to 1300-1, or 1352-3 to 1378-9 A. C. (M. M. Chakravarti, 'On the Gangā Kings of Orissa', J. A. S. B. 1903, pp. 134, 136; Rākhaldās Banerjea, History of Orissa, I. 282-3).

IV. 11, *l.* 13. *The Sultān fell back and hunted in Padmāvati.*

The T. M. reads "Padmāvati and Baramtalāvli" (129, last line), and B. has "Padmāvati and Paramtalāv" (I. 247. Tr. 329), but 'Param' looks like a duplication and misreading of 'Padma' and 'Paramtalāv' may be

a perversion of 'Padma*sthala*'. The jungle of Padmāvati must have been somewhere near 'Padma Kshetra,' the old Hindu name of Konārak, the Black Pagoda, which is situated twenty miles north-east of Puri (Jagannāth). There is a famous temple of the Sun there, which is said to have been founded originally by Krishna's son, Samba, who is believed to have been cured of his leprosy by the god, Sūrya. (Stirling, Account of Orissa, p. 143; Nundo Lāl Dey, Classical Dictionary of Ancient and Mediaeval India, *s. v.* Padmakshetra). There is a *pargana* called Padampur, even now in Cuttack district. Puri is 47 miles south of Cuttack. Khurda is 25 miles south-west of Cuttack or 30 miles north-west of Puri and Konārak [Padma Kshetra] is about 20 miles north-east of Puri. As the Sultan is stated to have pursued the Rājā for one day's march only and then retreated and hunted the elephants in the neighbourhood, the forest must have been at no great distance from Banārasī (Cuttack). It may be noted that Fīrūz is said, by Shams, to have gone on to Jagannāth, which lies *south* west of Konārak, *after* the elephant hunt.

IV. 11, *l.* 17. *There was in the vicinity of Bardār a hill of earth through the midst of which a large river flowed and fell into the Satladar (Sutlej). This river was called Sarsuti.*

Var, Barwār. (T. M. 130, l. 9). Parwar, (F. I. 147, l. 10 f. f.). Can بروار be meant for روپار Rūpār? "The Sutlej issues from the Siwālik hills into the plains at Rūpār and the head-works of the Sirhind canal are at Rūpār". (I. G. XXIII. 18). Thornton also states that at Rūpār, the Sutlej breaks "through the low sand-stone range of Jhejwān". (p. 952). Perhaps, this range is "the hill of earth" mentioned in the passage. The Sarsuti "rises in Sirmūr, and.....divides into two branches, the more easterly being called Chitang, the more westerly, the Sarsuti, and during great floods, unites with the Mārkanda, which is sometimes described as one of its offsets". The Mārkanda runs near Shāhābād south of Ambālā and Ranking thinks that the Salīmah of this author is the Mārkanda, (B. I. 330 *note*), but the two names bear no phonetic resemblance. سليمه is, *perhaps*, a misreading or miswriting of سانبه Sānba or the Sonba. The Salīma is said to have flowed "on the hither side of the mountain" and this fits in with the river Sonb or Sonba.

IV. 12, *l.* 10 from foot. *In 773 H., Zafar Khān died in Gujarāt.*

The chronology is conflicting and not easy to fix. The Ṭ. A. (117, l. 15) gives 773 and so also B. (I. 250=Tr. I. 333) and Ḥājji Dabīr (898, l. 8), but F. (I. 148, l. 9) puts the event into 775 H. (June 1373-4 A. C.). F. is followed in the C. H. I., where the date is 1373 A. C. (p. 182). The appointment of Dāmghāni as governor of Gujarāt is placed by Yaḥyā (p. 13, *infra*), as well as Niẓāmu-d-dīn (117, l. 17) and F. (I. 148, l. 11) into 778 H., but Shams dates his revolt in 782 H. (497, l. 4 f. f.). Sir W. Haig does not specify any year, but puts the rebellion before 1377 A. C. that is, 779 A. H. (C. H. I. 182). A *possible* explanation of the discrepancy,

may be that the revolt or its suppression took place some time after the appointment. It is stated by all the authorities to have been the result of his inability to fulfil his engagements. The feoffees who rose against him did so, probably, after he had been some time in office and when they found his exactions intolerable.

IV. 12, *l.* **8 from foot.** *Prince Fath Khān died at Kanthūr.*

A slight change in the diacritical points will turn this into Kithor, a well-known town in the Mawāna *taḥṣīl* of Mīrat district, 19 miles north-east of Mīrat town. (I. G. XVII. 235). Constable, 27 C a.

IV. 13, *l.* **7 from foot.** *The fief of Oudh.....was placed under Malik Hisāmu-l-Mulk and Hisāmu-d-dīn Nawā.*

As only one man must have been appointed as governor, the conjunction is redundant and should be deleted. It is not in the B. I. Text. (133, l. 5). The name of the feoffee is given as Ḥisāmu-l-Mulk only by F. also. (I. 148, l. 8 f. f.). Malik Nawā was governor of Multān under Muḥammad Tughlaq (Barani, 482, l. 14) and Malik Ḥisāmu-d-dīn-i-Nawā is mentioned as one of the three great Amīrs employed as commanders of divisions by Fīrūz Shāh in his Bengal campaigns. (Shams, *T. F.* 115, 116, 117, 151=E. D. III. 295, 296, 308).

This Ḥisāmu-l-Mulk, the fiefholder of Oudh, may have been either Ḥisāmu-d-dīn-i-Nawā himself or his son. He appears to have died during the life time of Fīrūz and his son Saifu-d-dīn is said to have been appointed in his stead as governor of Oudh. (T. M. 134, l. 8). His sons are again mentioned as having joined Sultan Muḥammad Shāh Tughlaq. (*Ibid*, 146, last line; Ṭ. A. 122, l. 5 f. f.).

IV. 14, *l.* **29.** *He built a fortress at Beoli, seven kos from Badāun.*

The Ṭ. A. (118, l. 10) reads the name as 'Bisauli' and so also F. (I. 149, l. 8). Ḥājji Dabīr has 'Siūli' (899, l. 1) and B. 'Babūli'. (I. 252=Tr. I. 335). Sir W. Haig thinks it must be the Fīrūzpur-Iklehri of the Indian Atlas, which lies about *three miles* from Budāun. (C. H. I. 183 Note). But this emplacement can hardly be correct, as B. corroborates, from personal knowledge, the statement of the T. M. as to the distance having been not *three miles* only, but *seven Kos, i.e.* about *fourteen miles*. He adds that he had seen the place and that it was, in his time, entirely ruined, though the old bricks and foundations still remained. (I. 252=Tr. I. 336). Such testimony is not easily invalidated and militates with decisive force against the proposed identification. 'Iklehri,' besides, bears very little phonetic resemblance to 'Beoli' or 'Bisauli'. It cannot be Bisauli, which is 23 miles north-west of Budāun. (I. G. VIII. 247). Mr. H. R. Nevill suggests that it is *Beoli*, a village of *pargana* Satāsi, which is an old site and nearer to the alleged seven *kos* from Budāun than Bisauli. (U. P. Gazetteer, XV. 137). On l. 5, the Sultan is said to have entered the hills of *Sahāranpur*, after passing through Ambālā and Shāhābād, but the B. I. Text of the T. M. (134, l. 14) reads *Sāntūr*, and this is undoubtedly correct, as 'Santourgarh' was the capital of Sirmūr

at this time. (See my Note on Vol. II. 355, l. 6 f. f. *ante*).

IV. 16, *l.* 2. *Khān-i-Jahān sought refuge with Kokā Chauhān at Mahāri.*

The addition of three dots to the second letter will restore the name to مچاری Machāri, *i. e.* Macheri, an old village 23 miles south of the town of Alwar. (I.G. XVI. 224). The Khānzādas of Mewāt are said by Mr. Crooke (Tribes and Castes, III. 233), to be converted Jādon Rajputs. Sultan Firūz Tughlaq is stated to have converted and given to one of their ancestors, who was named Lakhkhan Pāl, the title of Nāhar Khān and to another named Sumitra Pāl, the dignity of Bahādur Khān. The descendants of these two men have come to be called Khānzādas. (I. G. Art. Gurgāon, XII. 401). Macheri may be derived from *Matsyapuri*, 'City of *Matsya*', the old name of the country of King Virāta of the *Mahābhārata*.

IV. 17, *l.* 1 from foot. *Amīr Husain Ahmad Iqbāl.....who had separated from the party of the prince [Tughlaq Shāh] was made prisoner.....and beheaded.*

The Ṭ. A. (119, l. 7 f. f.) says, که از مخصوصان محمد شاه بود and so also B. (I. 255=Tr. I. 338). "Who was one of the special favourites of Muḥammad Shāh". F. says he had joined or united himself with the party of Muḥammad Shah. که بسلطان ناصرالدین محمد شاه اتفاق کرده بود (I. 150, l. 11). The B. I. Text reads که از جمع شاهزاده علیحده افتاده بود (140, l. 3).

IV. 18, *l.* 3. *Orders were also sent.....to seize 'Ali Khan.*

The B. I. Text reads عالی خان (140, l. 7), but عالی خان must be a mistake for غالب خان Ghālib Khān, by which name he is called at 23, 28 and 32 *infra*. The Ṭ. A. (119, l. 7 f. f.) and F. (I. 150, l. 13) read 'Ghālib Khān' here, and so also the B. I. Text of the T. M. everywhere else.

IV. 18, *l.* 5 from foot. [*Sultān Firūz died*] *after a reign of thirty-seven years and nine months.*

The Ṭ. A., B. and F. agree in making it 38 years and some months. As Firūz ascended the throne on the 24th Muḥarram 752 and died on 18th Ramaẓān 790 H., he reigned really for thirty-eight (lunar) years, seven months and twenty-four days. Dowson's Ms. may have wrongly read هفت for هشت. The B. I. Text has سی و هشت (141, l. 11), but the British Museum copy reads سی و هفت (*Ibid*, footnote).

IV. 18, Footnote. *He [Firūz Shāh] was ninety years of age.*

This is another averment which is demonstrably erroneous. B. (I. 253 =Tr. I. 336) and F. (I. 150, l. 14) go one better and assert that he was *more than ninety*, at the time of his death. But the contemporary chronicler, Shams, states that Firūz was born in 707 H. (1307-8 A. C.) and was 45 at the time of his own accession, (E. D. III. 275), fourteen at the accession of Ghiyāṣu-d-dīn and eighteen at that of Muḥammad Tughlaq. (*Ibid*. 274). He must, therefore, have been in his 84th lunar year at the time of his death in Ramaẓān 790 H. or September 1388 A. C. He really lived for only about eighty-one solar years. Elphinstone (p. 411) and many

other writers have been misled by F. In the C. H. I. III. 184, his age is put down as eighty-three years, but the years must be lunar, not solar.

IV. 19, *l.* 12. *Sultan Amīr Shāh of Samāna.*

The name has been dislocated and muddled in the translation. The B. I. Text reads 'Sultān Shāh, Amīr of Samāna'. (142, l. 8). He is the Malik Sultān Shāh Khushdil, who was afterwards murdered by the Amīrs of Samāna. (p. 20 *post*). He is called 'Malik Sultān Shāh' at p. 18 *ante*.

IV. 19, *l.* 15 from foot. *Prince Muḥammad Khān retired to the top of the mountains by hostile roads.*

The phrase in the text is راهای مخالف (142, l. 11), and is synonymous with راهای نا مسلوك, *q. v.* M. U. I. 726, l. 2. It signifies, not 'hostile roads', which is neither idiomatic nor intelligible, but roads other than and different to those ordinarily traversed, devious, unused, unfrequented routes or tracks. Literally, مخالف means 'contrary or opposite', *i. e.* reverse of or contrary to the customary, routes. Gardezi uses the expression and says that when Maḥmūd Ghaznavi invaded Multān in 396 H., he marched by the راه مخالف, because he thought that Dāūd, its Qarmaṭian ruler, would be on his guard, if he marched along the راه راست, 'the direct, straight or ordinary route'. (Z. A. 67, l. 7 f. f.). See also the Ṭ. A. (0, l. 6). راههای مخالف is used for "unfrequented roads" by Shams-i-Sirāj also. (*T. F.* 139, l. 12).

IV. 19, *l.* 9 from foot. *The royal forces followed to the confines of Gwāliyar in pursuit.*

This is now called Gūler or Goler, a village situated on the left bank of the Bāṇ Gangā, about twenty miles to the south-west of Kāngra. The name is, however, applied to the whole tract round the village, which lies in Lat. 32° N. and Long. 75°-15′ E. and forms a principality of that name. The Musalman writers spell the name always as 'Gwāliyar', *e. g.* Abul Faẓl (*Āīn.* Tr. II. 319) and there is some justification for this spelling as Uttama, the author of a Sanskrit chronicle of the Gūleria kings, which was written in 1762 V. S. (1715 A. C.), calls it both "Gwāliyar", and "Gūler". He asserts that the place was so called because a cowherd or "Gwāla" pointed out to Harīchand, who founded the state, about 1405 A. C., a spot where he had seen a tiger and a goat drinking water together. Harīchand consequently shifted his residence there and called it Gwāliyar. (Dr. Hirānand Shāstri, 'The Gūleria Chiefs of Kāngra', in the J. P. H. S. 1912, pp. 138-139; Arch. Survey Rep. V. 151; I. G. XII. 310). Harīpur in Kāngra district is shown in Constable, 25 B a.

IV. 20, *l.* 19. [*Malik*] *Rukn Janda was made Wazīr.*

رکن جنده in the Ṭ. A. (122, ll. 4 and 6) but چند in B. (I. 258; I. 342). Thomas also calls him Rukn Chand. (C.P.K.D. 301). The clue to an explanation is obtained from Shams. 'Janda' or 'Jand' seems to be an abbreviated or familiar form of 'Junaidi' or Junaid. We know that this Rukn-i-Janda was the son of Ḥisāmu-d-dīn Junaid or Junaidi, who had been *Mustaufi* and *Majm'ūdār* in the reign of Fīrūz. (Shams, 94, l. 5; 460, l. 2; 467, l. 6). Ruknu-d-dīn, the son of Khwāja Junaidi, also called Khwāja Junaid (469,

l. 18; 470, l. 19) is explicitly mentioned by Shams as having succeeded his father in the office of *Mustaufi*. (482, l. 2). The Junaidi family had supplied many great officials to the Dehli Sultans, since the days of Niẓāmu-l-Mulk Junaidi, who had been the prime minister of Ībak and Īltutmish. His son Ẓīāu-l-Mulk Junaidi was murdered along with other Tājik officials by the mutinous Turki nobles in 634 H. (Ṭ. N. in E. D. II. 322, 325, 331) 'Azīzu-d-dīn Muḥammad Junaidi, who was Chief Judge of Gwālior from 630 H. to 635 H., is also mentioned. (*Ibid*, 327, 335). 'Ainu-l-Mulk Niẓām Junaid was made Vazīr in 651 H. (*Ib*. 352).

IV. 21, *l.* 1. *The length of the reign of Sultān Tughlik Shāh was six months and eighteen days.*

As he was killed on the 21st of Ṣafar 791 H., this implies that the date of his accession is taken by the author to have been the 4th of Sh'abān 790 H. But F. (I. 151, last line) says that he reigned for *five* months and some days. He must have reckoned from 18th Ramaẓān 790 H., the day of the death of Sultan Firūz. The Ṭ. A. gives him a reign of 6 months and 18 days (122, l. 2), reckoning, not from the day of the actual demise of Firūz, but from that on which he was placed on the throne with the consent and during the lifetime of his grandfather. B. makes it 5 months and 18 days. (I. 258=Tr. 342).

IV. 22, *l.* 7. *And Rāi Sarvar and other rāis and rānās .....joined the Sultān [Muḥammad].*

Dowson notes that the Ms. he has used has سیر 'Sabīr', but that he has followed F. who calls him 'Sarvar' here. (I. 152, l. 18). The Ṭ. A. has شیر (123, l. 4 f. f.) and Ḥajji Dabīr سنبر 'Sanbar'. (902, l. 2). 'Sarwar', 'Shīr' and 'Sanbar' are all impossible names for a Hindu and the correct form is سمیر 'Sumer'. See my note on 26, l. 3 *post*. F. himself spells the name as سنبر Sanbar at I. 159, l. 3 f. f. and سمیر 'Sumer' at 160, l. 10. See also Dowson's note on p. 50 *post*. Sumer, Samarsinha and Sumersinha are still common names. Sumerpur is the name of a town in Jodhpur (P. O. G.) and of another in Hamīrpur district, U. P. (Th. 928).

IV. 22, *l.* 16. *Abu Bakr Shāh.....encountered him at the village of Kundali.*

کندلی in the Ṭ. A. (122, last line) and F. (I. 152, l. 7 f. f.) is, probably, Kandhla. It was a *Maḥāl* in *Sarkār* Dehli, *Ṣūba* Dehli. (*Āīn*, Tr. II. 287). Kandhla is now a station on the Dehli-Sahāranpur Light Railway, about 46 miles north-east of Dehli. The place is called Khondli in the C. H. I. III. 190, but its situation is not indicated.

IV. 23, *l.* 8. *The two forces drew up in battle array at the village of Basīna near Pānīpat.*

Recte, Pasīna, a village still existing about six miles to the south of Pānīpat, as the Post Master of Pānīpat informs me.

IV. 24, *l.* 9. *Mubashir Hājib-i-Sultāni ... turned against Abū Bakr.*

Dowson notes that he has adopted 'Ḥājib', the explanatory gloss or conjectural reading of F. (I. 153, l. 5), but that the sobriquet is given as

'Jab' in his Ms. of the T. M., 'Chap' by B. (I. 261=Tr. 344) and 'Ḥab' in the Ṭ. A. (123, l. 18). It is جب in the B. I. Text of the T. M. also. (149, l. 10; 150, l. 3). We have here, perhaps, another instance of the practice of abbreviating or contracting familiar titles or sobriquets. 'Jab' or 'Chap' seems to be an abbreviation of *Ḥājib*, just as 'Janda' is of '*Junaid*'. This may also explain why Malik Aḥmad, the sister's son of Sultan Jalālu-d-dīn Khalji, was called 'Aḥmad Chap'. We know from Barani that he also was Nāib-i-Amīr-i-*Ḥājib*. (249, l. 16). The fact that both these men were *Ḥājibs* and that both had this unusual sobriquet of 'Chap' may be a mere coincidence, but it is nevertheless worth noting. Another arresting point of similarity between the two cases is that the epithet of Aḥmad also is spelt 'Chap' by Barani (246, 249) and 'Ḥab' or 'Jab' in the Ṭ. A. (64, l. 5).

IV. 24, *l.* 13. *So he [Abu Bakr Shāh] left Dehli, accompanied by ..... Malik Shāhīn, Malik Bahri and Safdar Khān Sultāni, and proceeded to the Kūtila of Bahādur Nahir.*

Sic in the B. I. Text (149, l. 13) also, but according to the Ṭ. A. (123, l. 20), F. (I. 153, l. 3) and B. (I. 261=Tr. 344), these nobles did not accompany Abu Bakr but were left behind at Dehli by that prince to look after his interests in the capital in his absence. The Text reads دهلی را گذاشته, but the compilers have در دهلی گذاشته.

Dowson says in a footnote that Kūtila "seems to be used here as a common noun and not a proper name." But this must be an error. Kotla is mentioned as the *name* of a fortified town in Tijāra in the *Āīn*. (Tr. II. 193). On page 53 *infra*, Dowson himself speaks of it as "the fortress of Kūtila belonging to Bahādur Nāhir". B. also especially states that Abū Bakr fled to the "*Kotla-i-Mewāt*", *i. e.* the (place called) Kotla, which was in Mewāt. (I. 261=Tr. 344 and 345). Dowson's inconsistency and error are evinced by the fact that the Kūtila mentioned on this page and on page 25, l. 5, are both registered as place-names by himself in the Geographical Index (Vol. VIII, p. xxvi). Tīmūr is said to have sent envoys to the 'Shahr-i-Kūtila', 'City of Kūtila of Bahādur Nāhar' in the *Ẓafarnāma* of Yazdi (E. D. III. 505), as well as in the *Malfūẓāt-i-Tīmūri*. (*Ib.* 449). This Kotla lies about eight miles south of Nūh in Gurgāon district. (Elliot, Races, II. 100). Nūh is shown in Constable, 27 C a.

IV. 25, *l.* 12. *They had reached the town of Mahindwāri.*

This is probably identical with 'Hindwāri' in Mewāt in which Sultan Firūz is said by Shams to have erected one of his palaces. (E.D. III. 354). The Khānzādas of Mewāt are known to have been converted by him. (I. G. XII. 401). The palace of 'Hindwāri' is again mentioned at page 67 *infra* and seems from the context there, to have been situated in Mewāt. 'Mahindwāri' is, probably, Mandāwar, as both the place-names are vernacular forms of the Sanskrit 'Mahendrapuri' or 'Mahendrawāra'— 'Town of Mahendra'. Mandāwar is now in Alwar and lies about 40 miles

south-west of Kotla. It is shown in Constable, Pl. 27 C b.

IV. 25, *l.* 7 from foot. *And arriving at Kūtila, he encamped on the banks of the Dahand.*

Here 'Dahand' is not, as the definite article prefixed to it would imply, the proper name of a river, for there is none such near Kūtila. The word is the Hindi 'Dhāṇḍ', and it is employed here in the general sense of 'lake', or 'large pool of water'. Abul Faẓl explicitly states of this Kūtila or 'Kotla' in the *Sarkār* of Tijāra, that it had a brick fort on a hill, on which there was a lake four *Kos* in length. (*Āīn*, Tr. II. 193). The lake or 'Dhāṇḍ' still exists and extends nearly three miles by two and a half. It lies partly in Nūh and partly in Gurgāon, where the two tracts join at the foot of the Alwar hills. *Vide* Powlett, Gazetteer of Gurgāon, p. 7.

IV. 25, last line. *There [at Etāwa], the Sultān was waited upon by Nar Sing.*

Dowson says that his "Ms. and the Ṭ. A. [124, l. 18] agree in reading it 'Bar Sing', which is an improbable name, that F. has 'Nar Sing', which is perhaps right, though 'Harsingh' is possible." But really it is neither 'Nar Sing' nor 'Har Sing', but Bīr بیر (Vīra) Sing. He was Vīra Sinha, the Tomar chief who had made himself master of Gwālior, soon after the devastating invasion of Tīmūr. See 39 *post. Vide* also Crooke, T. C. IV. 413. Cunninghām, Arch. Surv. Reports. II. 381 *et seq.*

IV. 26, *l.* 3. *Nar Singh above mentioned, and Sarvādharan and Bīr Bahān, broke out in rebellion.*

Here again, the correct name is 'Bīr Sing'. There can be little doubt also that Dowson's Ms. of the *Tār. Mub.* is right in making two names out of this 'Sarvādharan'. He says that it reads "*Sabīr wa Adharan*," two names, saying "*Sabīr the accursed and Adharan*". 'Sabir' must be, as I have pointed out, سبر 'Sumer' and 'Adharan' must be "Uddharan", two Hindu chiefs whose names occur elsewhere also in the Chronicles.

In his chapter on the manner in which Sultan Firūz used to sit in State, when he held a Court, Shams states that *Rāi Sabīr* (سبر) and *Rāwat Adharan* (ادهرن) were also permitted to attend and sit behind Ẓafar Khān Junior, not on a carpet, but on the bare ground. (Text, 281, l. 8). Ḥājji Dabīr states that in 779 A. H., Sultan Firūz Tughlaq had to march in person against the *Rai Sābīr and Adharan* who had rebelled in Etāwa and were, after a battle, compelled to submit. (898, l. 16). The T. M. (134, l. 1) and Ṭ. A. (117, l. 1 f.f.) also mention this expedition and add that the wives and children of *Rai Sabīr and Adharan* were all carried away to Dehli and forced to reside there. See also F. (I. 148, l. 6 f. f.) and B. (I. 251=Tr. I. 334) who repeat this. There can be little doubt that they are the Rāi Sabīr and Rāwat Adharan, whom Shams saw sitting humbly on the bare floor, behind the other Musalman nobles in the Darbār Hall. The prefix 'Rāwat' indicates that this Uddharan was the younger brother or son [of Vīra Sinha?] or a chief of the second class.

In this connection, it may be worth mentioning that local tradition has preserved the name of *Sumer Sāh*, who is said to have founded the Chauhān house of Partābner, which lies six miles west of Etāwah. The Rājās of Mainpuri claim him as their ancestor and he is said to have built the fort at Etāwah, because when bathing in the Jumna, he saw a goat and a wolf drinking water in one and the same place. (Mr. Drake Brockman, in the U. P. Gazetteer, Ed. 1908, Vol. XI. (Etāwah), pp. 129, 206, 220). The name 'Bīrbahān' also may be identified with that of 'Rāmbīrbhān', which occurs in the dynastic list of the Rājās of Mainpuri. (*Ibid.* p. 129 Note. See also N. W. P. Gazetteer, Ed. 1876, Vol. IV, p. 370).

IV. 26, *l.* **11.** *Sarvādharan attacked the town of Balāram.*

Dowson's Ms., as well as the B. I. Text, (152, l. 11), B. (I. 262=Tr. I. 346) and F. (I. 153, l. 6 f. f.) agree in reading "Balārām". I venture to say that it is right. The Ṭ. A. makes it 'Bilgrām', and this is rejected in the C. H. I. on the ground that "the Hindus were attempting to establish themselves in the Doāb, and it is difficult to see why they should have crossed the Ganges and attacked Bilgrām." (III. 192 *note*). But Balārām (or Bilrām) is entirely different from Bilgrām and *lies in the Duāb, not outside of it.* It was a *Maḥāl* in *Sarkār* Kol, *Ṣūba* Āgra, in the days of Akbar. (*Āīn*, Tr. II. 186). It is now in the Kāsganj *taḥṣīl* of Etāh district, U. P. (I. G. XV. 69), and is shown in Constable, Pl. 27 D b. It appears to have been a place of note and is mentioned more than once in the *Ṭabaqāt-i-Nāṣiri*, (Text 226, l. 6 = E. D. II, 358) in juxtaposition with Kol and Gwālior; see also 265, l. 4 f.f.; 278, l. 7. A Malik Nāṣiru-d-dīn Balārāmi is also mentioned. (*Ib.* 189, l. 4 f. f.=E. D. II. 339). Shaikh Burhān Balārāmi is referred to by Barani. (516, l. 7). Bilgrām is in another district altogether, that of Hardoi. The emendation 'Tālgrām' which is advocated in the C. H. I. is devoid of Ms. authority and seems uncalled for.

On l. 13, the B. I. Text also reads *Bīyāh*. The Ṭ. A. Lithograph has آبِ سیاہ "The Black River", *i. e.* the Kālinadi. (124, l. 4 f. f.). If Dowson's Ms. of the Ṭ. A. read "Etāwah", it must be a copyist's error. It is suggested that the Sengar is the river meant here, as it is said by tradition, to have been at one time known as 'Besind' or 'Biyāh". (N. W. Provinces' Gazetteer, (Ed. 1876). Vol. IV (Etāwa), p. 371; U. P. Gazetteer, Ed. 1908, Vol. XI. 129 note). The آبِ سیاہ or 'Black River' is again mentioned by the author at 48 *infra*. Tāju-l-Mulk is there said to have marched from Chandwār, "along the Black River and chastised the infidels of Etāwa." See also 64 *infra* note, where Ibrāhīm Shāh is said to have advanced along the banks of the Black Water to Burhānābād in the district of Etāwa. Dowson says that it is the Kālinadi and the *Tārīkh-i-Dāūdi* calls it the *Āb-i-Siyāh* or *Kālīnāi*. (444 *infra*).

IV. 26, *l.* **27.** *But an infidel named Jājū, his brother's son, a bad fellow with a spite against him, gave false evidence and Islām Khān was condemned to death.*

Sic in the T. M. (Text, 153, l. 4), but the Ṭ. A. reads it thus:

جاجو نام هندوی و برادرزادهٔ او که اعدای او بودند بدروغ در معرکه گواهی دادند
125, l. 2. "But a Hindu named Jājū *and* his brother's son who were his foes gave false evidence against him." F. (I. 153, l. 3 f. f.) has almost the same words, which shows that their copies of the T. M. must have read a "*wāv*" between جاجو and برادر زاده As the noun and the verb are both in the plural, it would seem that there *were two witnesses and not one.* The evidence of a single witness to a fact or accusation is, in Muḥammadan Criminal Law, invalid. The chief witness was the Hindu and as his statement was corroborated, as the law required, by Islām Khān's own nephew, it was held sufficient for the conviction and capital punishment of the accused. The testimony of a Hindu is, in Muslim law, subject to certain limitations and is not valid against a Muslim, unless it is corroborated by that of a follower of the Prophet. The well-known saying قاضی بدو گواه راضی "The Qāẓi is satisfied with the evidence of any two witnesses", (*q. v.* Roebuck, Persian and Hindūstāni Proverbs, I. 316), refers to this principle of the Criminal Jurisprudence of Islam.

IV. 27, *l.* 12. *But Rai Sar (vādharan) escaped, and entered Etāwa.*

The addition in brackets is an unauthorized interpolation. The B. I. Text (154, l. 4) and the T. A. (125, l. 7) both state that Rāi Sabīr only escaped and this must be correct. Adharan (of whom we do not hear any thing after this) was murdered and disposed of for ever, along with the other chiefs mentioned, *viz.* Jīt Singh Rāṭhor, Bīr Bahān [or Rāmbīr-bhān] of Bhanūgānw [Bhūingāon near Mainpuri] and Abhay Chand of Chandū, [*Recte*, Chandwār near Firūzābād]. F. (I. 153, l. 7 f. f.) has turned 'Bhanūgānw' into 'Bhansor' and he is followed in the C. H. I. (III. 192), but no such place is known. Rāi Sīr or Sabīr [*Recte*, Sumer] who escaped lived upto 824 H. (p. 53 *post*). Bīr Sinha Tomar, who afterwards seized Gwālior was another of the confederate chiefs saved, because he had been carried off by Islām Khān to Dehli before this perfidious massacre.

IV. 29, *l.* 6. *Kahūra-Kanīl.*

کهور کنیل is an error for کهور کنپل, *i. e.* Khor-Kampil, both of which place-names are mentioned correctly and in association with each other again at 47 *infra*. Kampil lies 26 miles north-west of Fatehgarh, Lat. 27°-37′ N., Long. 79°-21′ E. (Th.). Khor is three miles from Shamsābād, which lies 12 miles north-east of Farrukhābād in Lat. 27°-32′ N., Long. 79°-3′ E. (Th.). Their proximity to each other is thus manifest.

IV. 29, *l.* 21. [*Sarang Khān*] *crossed the Satladar (Sutlej) near the town of Tirhārah, and the Biyāh near Duhāli.*

This is Tihāra in Lūdhiyāna district, Punjab. Lat. 30°-57′ N., Long. 75°-25′ E. The name is said to be derived from *ti*, third and *hāra*, share, *Tihāra* being the low land by the river which paid *one-third* of the produce as revenue to the State, while the *Chauhāra* tract paid only a quarter. (W. H. Tolbort in J. A. S. B. XXXVIII, (1869), p. 88). Tihāra was a *Mahāl* in *Sarkār* Sirhind, *Ṣūba* Panjab, and had a brick fort in Akbar's days. (*Ā'īn*, Tr. II, 295). It is locally identified with the Vairāta

of the *Mahābhārata*, but many other places make the same claim and the old site has been now washed away by the Sutlej. (I.G. XVI. 200).

IV. 37, *l.* 16. *Shams Khān who was at the town of Nūh o Batal.*

Dowson notes that the second name is written as 'Patal' in Budāuni. The correct form is neither 'Batal' nor 'Patal', but 'Tappal'. Nūh is now in Gurgāon district. Tappal is a *pargana* in Khair, the northern *taḥṣīl* of 'Alīgarh district. In Akbar's times, Nūh and Tappal were both in the *Sarkār* of Koil, *Sūba* Agra. (*Āīn*, Tr. II, 186). Both places are marked in Constable, Pl. 27, C a. Nūh is 40 miles south-west of Dehli and Tappal 31 miles west by south of 'Alīgarh (Thornton). Nūh is in Lat. 28°-7′ N., Long. 77°-4′ E., Tappal in Lat. 28°-2′ N., Long. 77°-39′ E.

IV. 37, *l.* 1 from foot. *He encountered Rāi Sīr and other infidels with a numerous army [at Pattiāli].*

سنير (Sanīr) in F. (I. 159, l. 3 f. f.). B. has سپر (Sapar) at I. 288, 289=Tr. 380, 381. The right reading must, again, be سمير Sumer (Sinha). See Note on 22, l. 7 and 26, l. 3 *supra*. He is said here and also on 39 last line, to have been pursued to and to have taken shelter in Etāwa, because he was the Chauhān Rājā Sumer Sāh of Etāwa and his name is preserved in the dynastic lists of the Chauhāns. In the C. H. I., he is called Rājā Sarwar (205, 207, 209) or Sarwar Singh (210, 212), but the latter is an impossible name for a Hindu chief of the fifteenth century.

IV. 38, *l.* 17. *A battle was fought [near Ajodhan] on the 9th Rajab, on the banks of the Dahanda.*

Sic in the B. I. Text, (I. 170, 13). Raverty reads وهنده. Wahanda, and supposes it to be the Hakra. (Mihrān, 275). But 'Dahand' or 'Dhāṇḍ', means 'lake, river-bed, stream'. The Sutlej flowed at this time between Abūhar and Ajodhan, about 16 miles from the former and double that distance from the latter. Abul Fazl notes that the Sutlej bears several names *in different parts of its course* and is called "Harhari, *Dand* [Dahanda] and Nūrni". (*Āīn*, Tr. II. 326). This 'Dand' or 'Dahanda' is the specific name of a stream, which, leaving the main channel of the Sutlej to the east of Ajodhan, flows south-west and joins it again about 35 miles lower down". (Jarrett's Note, *Ibid*). Ajodhan is shown in Rennell's Map of 1782 A. C. as lying upon "an island surrounded by the Sutlej to the north, and a tributary stream which left the main river to the eastward of Ajodhan, and flowing south-west joined it again some 35 miles lower down". (Ranking's Note in B. I. Tr. 362-3). According to the writer of the article on the Sutlej in the I. G. also, the Sutlej and the Beās flowed together up to about 1593 A.C. in the same channel under different names, as "Macchuwah, Hariāri, *Dand*, Nūrni, Nīli and Gharah." (XXIII, 179). Khizr Khān is said at p. 40 *infra*, to have defeated Iqbāl Khān, five years later on the banks of this same *Dahanda* near Ajūdhan.

IV. 38, *l.* 18. *Taghi Khān fled to the town of Asahūhar.*

The B. I. Text has آسهوهر 'Bahūhar'. (170, l. 15.) The T. A. reads 'Bahūdar' (130, l. 1) and B. has 'Bahūhar' or 'Bhūhar'. (I. 273=Tr. 360).

The place meant is Abūhar. It was on the road to Multān and Ibn Baṭūṭa passed through it on his journey from Multān to Dehli. (Gibb, 190). Constable, Pl. 24, E b.

IV. 39, *l.* **4.** [*At Kanauj*], *he expelled Malikzāda Harbūi.*

'Shāhzāda Harbūi' in the Ṭ. A. (130, l. 11), and هربوی 'Harīwi' in the B. I. Text (171, l. 8), but B. calls him Shāhzāda Fatḥ Khān *Harwi*. (I. 273 =361). 'Harbūi' is an error for 'Harivi' or 'Harīwi', *i. e.* of 'Herāt'. See also 307 *infra* and E. D. V. 78, where another Amīr named Fatḥ Khān *Harwi* is mentioned as having commanded the army of Sultan Maḥmūd of Jaunpur and invaded Dehli at the head of 30000 horse and 39 elephants. Barani speaks of Herāt as هرو (T. F. 538, l. 2).

IV. 39, *l.* **10.** *Ikbāl Khān marched against Gwālior which.....had been wrested from the hands of the Musalmāns.....by the accursed Narsingh. When Narsingh died, his son, Bīram Deo succeeded him in the possession.*

He is called 'Bar Singh' in the B. I. Text. (171, l. 4 f. f.) and 'Harsingh' by B. (I. 274=Tr. 360) ', here also, but the real name is 'Bīr Sing', *i. e.* (Vīra Sinha). Bīram Deo [Vīrama Deva] was not his son but his grandson [or nephew ?]. Vīrama's father, Uddharan Deva, does not appear to have reigned, probably because he died during the lifetime of Vīra Sinha. Sir Wolseley Haig speaks of Vīra Sinha as 'Harsingh' and Vīram as 'Bhairon'. (C. H. I. 202 and 533), while Briggs and Dowson turn the latter into 'Brahma Deo'. These conjectural emendations are all proved to be wrong from the dynastic list of the Tomar rulers of Gwālior, which has been recovered from epigraphical records existing at Rhotās and Narwar. (J. A. S. B. VIII. 693; XXXI, 404; Cunningham, Arch. Surv. Reports, II. 324). A pillar on which the names of the Tomar Rājās are inscribed still stands outside the fort of Narwar. (I. G. XVIII, 397; Duff, C. I. 306). As this dynastic list will have to be frequently referred to in these Notes, I give it below : (1) Vīra Simha. (2) Uddharanadeva, son [or brother?] of 1. (3) Vīrama, son of 2. (4) Gaṇapatideva, son of 3. (5) Durgarendradeva, [Dungar] son of 4. (6) Kirtīsimha, son of 5. (7) Kalyāṇamalla, son of 6. (8) Māna Sāhi, son of 7. (9) Vikrama Sāhi, son of 8. (10) Rāma Sāhi, son of 9. (11) Shalivāhana, son of 10. Several other inscriptions of these princes have been also found. There are three of Vīrama Deva (1408-1410 A. C.), six of Dungar Sinha (1440-1453), five of Kirtī Sinha (1468-1473) and two of Mān Sinha (1495-1500). (Cunningham, Arch. Surv. Reports, II. 396).

IV. 39, last line. *Rāi Sarwar, the Rāi of Gwālior, the Rāi of Jālhār, ...were shut up in Etāwa.*

F. (I. 160, l. 10) reads the names as رای سمرو رای کوالیارو رای جاله See also *Ibid*, I. 162, l. 3 f. f. and 163, l. 13, where he is again called سمر (Samer or Sumer). His name is again written on p. 50, l. 7 *infra*, as "Sarwar" by Dowson, who cannot understand why "he is still called '*Sabīr*' in his Ms. of the T. M. and why Firishta, who before spoke of him

as Sarwar "here names him *Sambīr*'. On page 52 *infra*, l. 23, Yaḥyā is made to say that Khiẓr Khān "marched against Etāwa and besieged Rāi Sarwar" and Dowson again remarks, "still 'Sabīr' in the Ms. and 'Sarū' in the T. A." The B. I. Text of the T.M. has *Sabīr* here also. (172, l. 1 f. f.).

IV. 40, *l.* 2 from foot. *His head was cut off and sent to Fathpūr.*

This Fatḥpur lies about twenty miles north-east of Kahror. It is shown in Constable's Atlas, Pl. 24, E c. Lat. 29°-40′ N., Long. 72°-10′ E.

IV. 41, *l.* 22. *The fief of Kanauj was then given to Ikhtiyār Khān, grandson of Malik Yār Khān Kampīla.*

'Malik *Daulat* Yār Kampīla' in the B. I. Text (175, l. 1 f. f.), and so also in the Ṭ. A. (131, l. 9 f.f.) and B. (I. 275=I. 363.) The sobriquet indicates that Daulat Yār was in some way connected with Kampīl in the Duāb. He may be the Malik Daulat Yār who had been given the title of Daulat Khān and made *'Imādu-l Mulk* and *'Āriẓ* in the year of Maḥmūd Shāh Tughlaq's accession. (See T. M. Text, 156, l. 15=28 *ante* and Ṭ. A. 126, l. 1). Malik Daulatyār is said to have been Ḥākim of Qanauj. (Ṭ. A. 122, l. 4 f. f.). Kampīl is 60 miles N. W. of Qanauj.

IV. 44, *l.* 9. *Khiẓr Khān plundered the towns of Tajārah, Sarath and Kharol.*

Tijāra lies about 30 miles north-east of Alwar city. (I. G. XXIII, 358). Bābur says that Ḥasan Khān Mewāti and his forefathers had their seat in Tijāra, but left it andt ook to residing in Fort Alwar, when he (Bābur) took Lāhore and Debālpur in 930 H. (B. N. Tr. 578). It is shown in Constable's Atlas, Pl. 27, C b. 'Sarath' (سرت in the B. I. Text, 179, l. 12) is 'Sarahta', four miles east of Tijāra, under the border hills. "It is famous in the history of the Khānzādas, who are said to have come thence to Tijāra in the time of Teja Pāl—the first reputed Rājā of Tijāra." (Powlett, Gazetteer of Alwar, p. 134; Crooke, T. C. III. 234). 'Kharol' is 'Gahrol', a ruined town "which was formerly occupied by the Khānzādas and is situated at the foot of the path which leads up to Kotila, (Bahādur Nāhar's stronghold), and thence on to Indor" or Andwar of p. 75 *infra*. (Powlett, *Ibid.* 134-5). The conjunction after 'Iklīm Khān' (l. 8) seems to require deletion. Iqlīm Khān was, most probably, the son of Bahādur Nāhar. (cf. 41 *ante*, and 45 *post*). Bahādur seems to have died before this time.

IV. 44, *l.* 13 from foot. *He [Maḥmūd Shāh] was seized with illness in Rajab (815 H.) and died. He reigned..... twenty years and two months.*

The other authorities agree, as Dowson observes, in putting his demise into *Ẓī-l q'ad*. The Ṭ. A. (133, l. 1) and F. (I. 165, l. 15) state that Maḥmūd went out for *Shikār* to Katehr in Rajab 815 H., was seized with illness *on the return journey* to Dehli *in Ẓi-l-q'ad* and died soon afterwards. Yaḥyā states that he went to Katehr in the first Jumādi and returned and died in Rajab.

The Ṭ. A., F., B. and even the C. H. I. (III. p. 204) mechanically repeat

the assertion of Yaḥyā about this Sultān's reign having lasted for *twenty* years, but it cannot be correct, if Maḥmūd came to the throne in Jumādi I. 796 and died in Rajab or Ẕī-l-q'ad 815 H., as they themselves assert.

According to the C. H. I. (III. p. 192), Sikandar Shāh died on 8th March 1394 and Maḥmūd in February 1413 (p. 204), and yet Sir Wolseley states that he died after "a reign of *twenty years*". February 1413 synchronised with Ẕī-l-q'ad 815 H. and 8th March 1394 with 5th Jumādi I. 796 H. The fact is that Maḥmūd reigned only for 19 *lunar* years and 6 months, or about 18 *solar* years and 11 months, even if he died in Ẕī-l-q'ad and not in Rajab, 815 H.

IV. 44, last line. *Sultān Ibrāhīm [of Jaunpur] was besieging Kādir Khān, son of Sultān Mahmūd Khān in Kālpi.*

This '*Sultān* Mahmūd Khān' was not the Sultān of Dehli, but (Naṣīru-d-dīn) Maḥmūd Khān, son of the Malikzāda Firūz, son of Malik Tāju-d-dīn Turk, (*q. v.* p. 19 *ante*), who is said to have held the *Shiqq* (division) of Mahoba and Kālpi, at p. 37 *ante*. The history of this Maḥmūd Khān and of his descendants who ruled for nearly half a century as independent princes in Kālpi is of some numismatic interest and has been elucidated in connection with their exceedingly rare coins by the present writer in a paper on the "Unassigned Coins of Jalāl Shāh Sultāni" in the Numismatic Supplement, No. XLII to the J. A. S. B. (1930), Art. 289.

IV. 45, footnote 2. *Firishta adds that for several years, he [Khiẓr Khān] sent appropriate tribute to Shāhrukh.*

Firishta (I. 162, l. 10) has not cited any authority but this particular statement appears to be correct and is borne out by the contemporary historian and traveller, 'Abdur Razzāq. He assures us that Khiẓr Khān sent an embassy to acknowledge the suzerainty of Shāhrukh, as the son and successor of Tīmūr. The original passage is quoted from the *Maṭla'u-s-Sa'adain* by M. Quatremère in an article in the *Notices et Extraits des Manuscrits*, XIV. 196. We learn also from the T. M. that Malik Sikandar Tuḥfa—the general and minister of Mubārakshāh—"paid to Shaikh 'Ali, [the deputy of Sultān Mas'ūd Mirzā, the ruler of Kābul], the money which he was accustomed to pay him annually and sent him away", (*i. e.* induced him to quit Lāhore) in 834 A. H. (Text, 218, l. 6 = 70 *infra*). This ingenuous allusion or unconscious admission indicates that the Sayyids did annually pay some sort of blackmail, subsidy or tribute upto, at least, 834 H. to the successor of Tīmūr. So far F. is right but when he and the Ṭ. A. (134, l. 1) assert that Khiẓr Khān coined money also in the name of Tīmūr, they are in error and the statement is a gratuitous conjecture or amplification, for which there is no warrant. Modern numismatic research has conclusively proved it to be a myth. (Thomas, C. P. K. D. 328-9). Khiẓr Khān never struck money in the name of Tīmūr. What he really did, was to stamp posthumous coins in the names of Firūz Shāh and his descendants; but the dates were altered so as to indicate the actual

years in which they were uttered under his authority. Several such issues in the name of Sultān Fīrūz ranging from 818 to 830 H. are known. Others of Muḥammad Shāh (818 and 825 H.) and Maḥmūd Shāh (816 and 83- H.) are also in our Museums. (C. P. K. D. 326; Wright, C. M. S. D. 186, 201, 214). Khiẓr Khān's son Mubārak Shāh first issued money in his own name only in 832 H. and coins of all years between 832 and 837 H. have been found. (Wright, *Ibid*, 231-3).

IV. 47, *l.* 8 from foot. *He chastised the infidels of Khor and Kambīl and passing through the town of Sakīna, he proceeded to Bādham.*

The addition of a single dot to the fourth letter will restore the third name. 'Sakīna' is a misreading of 'Saket' in Etāh. Saket lies on the direct route between Kampīl and Rāpri, 12 miles south-east of Etāh and 24 N. W. of Mainpuri. Constable 27 D b. The Ṭ. A. Lithograph states that he went to 'Maham' by way of the town of Saket (134, l. 11), but Niẓāmu-d-dīn's copyist B. has 'Pādham' (I. 286=Tr. 377), which seems to be correct. 'Pādham' is the name of a very old village in Mainpuri district, where coins of the Satraps of Mathura (*Circa* 100 A. C.) and other ruling dynasties have been found. (Smith, I. M. C., I. 191; Arch. Surv. Rep. XI. 25, 38). It is situated on the highroad to Etāh, near the Arind river, 23 miles distant from Mainpuri and 18 from Shikohābād in Lat. 27°-20′ N., Long. 78°-40′ E. (Gazetteer of the United Provinces, (Ed. 1908), Vol. X. (Mainpuri), pp. 83, 146, 245-6).

IV. 49, *l.* 10. *Khizr Khān proceeded to Bayāna, where Shams Khān Auhadi (amīr of Bayāna) also paid money and tribute.*

So also in the B. I. Text, (186, l. 15) and the Ṭ. A. (134, l. 3 f. f.), but Shams Khān had been put to death in 803 H. more than fifteen years before this date by Iqbāl Khān. (p. 38 *ante*). The Ṭ. A. (129, l. 3 f. f.), F. (I. 160, l. 1) and B. (I. 273=Tr. 360) themselves state that Shams Khān had been slain by the perfidious Mallu. Sir Wolseley Haig has not escaped the error. (See C. H. I. III. 207 and 201). On the immediately preceding page (48), this author himself says that when Khiẓr Khān entered the country of Bayāna, *Malik Karīmu-l-Mulk, brother of Shams Khān*, gave him a grand reception. B. (I. 286=Tr. 378) and F. (I. 162, l. 19) say that it was Karīmu-l-Mulk who paid the tribute in this year also, and they must be right.

IV. 49, *l.* 16. *Tughān.....who had besieged Malik Kamāl Badhan, representative of Khānzāda Mu'azzam, in the fort of Sirhind, went off to the mountains.*

The "Khānzadā-i-Mu'azzam" was really the son of Khiẓr Khān himself, *i. e.* Prince Mubārak Khān, who succeeded him as Mubārakshāh. Cf. *ante*. 48, where Yaḥyā states that Malik Sadhu Nādira had been sent to Sirhind as the representative of Prince Mubārak Khān. Kamāl Khān was appointed to that office after the murder of Malik Sadhu. See also B. (I. 286=Tr. 378) and F. (I. 162, l. 14).

IV. 50, *l.* 14. *He crossed the Ganges at the ford of Bijlāna.*

Sic in the Ṭ. A. (135, l. 6) and B. (I. 287=Tr. 379), but there is no such place. 'Bījlāna' is a miswriting of '*Pach*lāna'. Pachlāna is mentioned in the *Āīn* as a *Sarkār* in Kol, *Ṣūba* Āgra. (Tr. II. 186). Elliot points out that the "Ganges is not crossed here at the present day, as the river has changed its bed". (Races, II. 97). Pachlāna lies now on the Buḍh Ganga, "the Old Ganges", and is in Kāsganj *taḥṣīl*, Etāh district. (I.G. XV. 69). Yaḥyā says (l. 26) that Khiẓr Khān crossed the Ganges near Patiāli, and Tāju-l-Mulk near Sargdwāri. (48, l. 22). But Elliot observes that the Ganges cannot now be forded either at Patiāli or Sargdwāri. (Races, II. 30). Patiāli also lies on the bed of the *Old* Ganges.

IV. 51, *l.* **11.** *In the mountains of Bājwāra, dependent upon Jālandhar.*

The B. I. Text (189, l. 7), Ṭ. A. (I. 135, l. 10 f.f.) and B. (I. 288=Tr. 380) all read 'Bājwāra', but F. (I. 163, l. 3) makes it 'Māchiwāra'. Māchiwāra lies on the Sutlej about 25 miles south of Ludhiāna. It is a very old town and said to be mentioned in the *Mahābhārata*. 'Bājwāra' is further north in the district of Hoshiārpur. Bājwāra seems to be correct. Jath (l. 5 f.f.) may be 'Chath' or 'Chahat' or 'Chut' which was a *Maḥāl* in the *Sarkār* of Sirhind and lay on the Ghaggar. (*Āīn*, Tr. II. 296).

IV. 52, *l.* **13 from foot.** [*Tāju-l-Mulk*] *destroyed the village of Dehli, the strongest place in the possession of the infidels. From thence he marched against Etāwa.*

This 'Dehli' must be Deoli-Jākhan near Etāwa. Deoli lies between the Sarsū and the Sangar rivers. (Elliot, Races, II. 86). It is one of the places in the United Provinces where the Chauhāns are still found in great strength. (*Ibid*, I. 13, 64). Jākhan is mentioned by Bābur as a *pargana* in Rāpri. It lies about 18 miles north-west of Etāwa amongst the ravines of the Jumna. (B. N. Tr. 644 and note; see also Crooke, T. C. I. 121 and my note on II. 362, l. 2 f. f.). Deoli is the 'Duhlee' of Thornton who says that it is in Lat. 27°-2′ N., Long. 78°-52′, about 20 miles north-west of Etāwa, which is in Lat. 26°-46′, Long. 79°-2′ E. It is the chief seat of the Bais Thākurs who have been always noted for turbulence. Gangā Singh of 'Dihūli' was in rebellion in the Mutiny of 1857 also. It is now in the Barnahal *pargana* of Mainpuri district, while Jākhan is in Etāwah District. (U. P. Gazetteer. Vol. X. (Mainpuri), pp. 94, 151, 204).

IV. 54, *l.* **14.** *Sultān 'Ali, king of Kashmīr, led his army into the country of Tatta.*

This obviously incredible statement is found also in the Ṭ. A. (136, l. 5 f. f.), F. (I. 163, l. 21) and B. (I. 289=Tr. 381). No king of Kashmīr is known to have invaded Lower Sind and 'Tatta' must be wrong. One suggestion is that it is an error for Tattakūti, a mountain pass in Kashmīr and Sultān 'Ali is supposed to have been defeated there by Jasrath Khokhar about 823 A. H. According to the chronicles of Kashmīr, 'Ali Shāh went on a distant journey or a pilgrimage, leaving his brother Shāhi Khān as regent. He soon repented of his folly and to retrieve his

error, returned with an army provided by his father-in-law, the Rājā of Jammū, and expelled Shāhi Khān, who took refuge with Jasrath Khokhar. Jasrath then invaded the country and suddenly attacked 'Alī Shāh's army, when it had been exhausted by a forced march, in one of the mountain passes. 'Ali Shāh was killed or captured in the battle and Shāhi Khān ascended the throne under the title of Sultān Zainu-l-'Ābidīn. (Ṭ. A. 600; F. II. 341-2). In the C. H. I. (III, p. 280), this is said to have occurred in the Tattakūti Pass. But as Yaḥyā and his copyists explicitly state that Sultān 'Ali was defeated when *he was returning from an invasion of Thatta*, it is just possible that 'Thatta' is an error for تبت Tibet, *i. e.* Balti or Little Tibet. Shāhi Khān, who succeeded him as Sultān Zainu-l-'Ābidīn is actually credited with the subjugation of Little Tibet. (Ṭ. A. 601, l. 5; F. II. 342, l. 13). Their father Sikandar the *But Shikan* is also said to have conquered, *i. e.* invaded and raided that country. (Ṭ. A. 599, l. 12; F. II. 340, l. 10).

IV. 54, *l.* 7 from foot. [*Zīrak Khān*] *pitched his camp three Kos from the town* [*Jālandhar*] *on the banks of the Beni.*

The name is written 'Pani' at 73 *infra*. The Ṭ. A. has 'Main.' (137, l. 2 and 143, l. 9). The stream meant is the Dhauli or Sufīd, *i. e.* White or Eastern *Baīn*, which "rises near Garhshankar and after a course through that *taḥṣīl*, turns to the north and meanders along the Jullunder border". (I. G. XIII. 192 and XIV. 222). There is another river of the same name, the Kāli (Black) or Western Baīn with which it should not be confused.

IV. 56, *l.* 13. *Jasrath then went over the Jānhvā and proceeded to Tekhar which was his strongest place.*

There is a most perplexing plethora of variants, 'Talhar' (B. I. 290=Tr. 383), 'Tahankar' and 'Tahakar' (Ṭ. A. 136, 143), 'Bīsal' (F. I. 164, l. 7) and Mss. of the T. M. have both 'Tilhar' and 'Tekhar'. The mountains or hills of 'Telhar' are again mentioned by Yaḥyā on 73, 74 *post*. The only clue given by the chronicler to its identification is that it was in the hilly country on the other side of the Chināb and also the Jhelum (57, 73 *infra*) and that it was *the strongest place held* by this Khokhar chief. Now this is just what Bābur says of *Parhala*, the stronghold of Hāti Gakkhar (*Tūzuk-i-Bāburi*, 235 *post*) and it is *just possible* that پرہ is a miswriting of پرہ Palhara, *i. e.* Parhala, the copyists having transposed the dots. The metathesis of 'r' and 'l' and the interchange of the two sounds is very common. 'Parhala' is now in Rāwalpindi district and lies about twelve miles east of Rāwalpindi town. Dangali, another old capital of the Gakkhars, is situated about 40 miles east of Rāwalpindi. Parhala continued to be the capital and stronghold of the Gakkhars and when Sultan Ādam Gakkhar captured and surrendered Kāmrān, the latter was brought into Humāyūn's presence at Parhala. (Ṭ. A. in E. D. V. 234-5). Edward Terry states that the principal cities of the Kakares [Gakkhars] are Dekali [Dangali] and *Parhola*. (Voyage to East India, p. 88). De Laet calls it *Parhola*. (Tr. Hoyland, p. 12). The difficulty is that the 'Khokhars' are

not the same as the 'Gakkhars,' but Jasrath was, most probably, a *Gakkhar*. Rankine suggests that 'Telhar' is Talwāra, a village on the right bank of the Chināb, just opposite the town of Riāsi. Lat. 33°-6′ N., Long. 74°-52′ E. (B. Tr. I. 384 note).

IV. 57, *l.* 5. *He pitched his camp near the tomb of Shaikh Hasan Zanjāni.*

زنجانی in the B. I. Text (198, l. 2), F. (I. 164, l. 10) and B. (I. 290=Tr. 383), but ریحانی in the Ṭ. A. (137, l. 20). Zanjāni is right. Abul Faẓl says that Shaikh Ḥusain Zanjāni was a "man of extensive erudition and that Khwāja M'uinu-d-dīn Chishti attended his lectures at Lāhor, where his tomb is and which is visited by many to the gain of their eternal welfare". (*Āīn*, Tr. III. 362). Zanjān or Zinjān is the most northern town of the Jibāl, on the borders of Āẕarbāijān, 50 miles north-west of Abhar near Qazvīn. (Jarrett, *Āīn*, Tr. III. 33 and 362 notes).

IV. 57, *l.* 6 from foot. *Sikandar Tuhfa now arrived at the ford of Būhi.*

بوهی in the B. I. Text (199, l. 7); بوهی B. (I. 291=Tr. 383); بوهی (Ṭ. A. 137, l. 2) but لوهی in F. (I. 164, l. 12). Boh or Bopūr is about twenty-three miles above Machiwāra and about two miles west of Harīki Paṭṭan.....It lies close to the old right or west bank of the Biyāh. (Raverty, Miḥrān, 278 and 395 note). It is the Baupur of old maps and the junction of the Biyāh and the Sutlej takes place near it on the southern boundary of Kapurthala State. (*Āīn*, Tr. II, 310 and 326 and Notes). Harīki Pattan is in Lat. 31°-11′ N., Long. 75°-4′ E. (Th.). (A. G. I. 222). It *may* be the 'Pohi' which is mentioned on l. 9, p. 77 *infra*. F.'s 'Lūhi' is a quite different place.

IV. 58, *l.* 9 from foot. *From thence, the Sultān crossed the Ganges and attacked the country of the Rāhtors.*

So also F. (I. 164, l. 19). But the Ṭ. A. has ولایت راتبه و مهوبه تاخت (138, l. 11), "raided the district of Rāth and Mahoba", while B. says that he attacked "the country of the Panwārs, which is in the neighbourhood of Khor or Shamsābād". (I. 201=Tr. 384). B.'s پنواران must be a truncated perversion of هتو ران [را]. And راتبه و مهوبه of the Ṭ. A. must be another factitious emendation of راتهوران. The Sultān is said to have gone on from Katehr to the country of the Rāṭhors and then to have left a strong detachment to suppress any fresh outbreak or recrudescence of their turbulence at Kampīl. Now Kampīl and Khor are coupled together by this author on p. 47 *ante* also. Kampīl was then and is even now occupied by a large number or Rāṭhors. (I. G. XIII. 328). Khor also is known to have been founded by a Rāṭhor descended from Jayachand of Qanauj, about the beginning of the 13th century. Īltutmish expelled the Rāṭhors in 1228 A. C., but they returned to Khor and afterwards took Shamsābād also, which lies about three miles from Khor. (I. G. XXII. 229).

IV. 59, *l.* 24. *Shaikh 'Ali, lieutenant of the prince, the son of Sar-'atmash.*

Sūyūrghtimish Mirzā was the fourth son of Sultan Shāhrukh, the son of Tīmūr, and had been appointed Viceroy of Kābul and Zābul by his father. He died during Shāhrukh's life-time in 830 H. and was succeeded in the viceroyalty by Mas'ūd Mirzā, 'the Prince' whose name was not known to Yaḥyā. Shaikh 'Ali Beg was the son of Dānishmandcha, a descendant of Chaghatāi, the son of Chingiz. He was the Nāib or Deputy-governor of the province of Kābul under Sūyūrghtimish Mirzā and, after his death, on behalf of his son, Mas'ūd Mirzā Kābuli. (*Bāburnāma*, Tr. 382=E. D. IV. 233; Raverty, Mihrān, 366-7 *Note*). The name is transliterated as 'Sūyūrghatmish' (B. N. Tr. 382), 'Sūrghatmush' (Browne, Tr. *T'ārīkh-i-Guzīda*, II. 134) and 'Saiyūrgh-timish', (Mihrān, *loc. cit.*).

IV. 61, *l.* 14. *The Mewāttis.. .....took refuge in [the mountains of] Jahra, which was their great stronghold.*

The right reading is not easy to fix. It is perhaps the same name that occurs at p. 27 *ante*, where Bahādur Nāhar is said to have fled and hidden in 'Jhar', جهر کوه (T. M. 154, l. 13), when the fortress of Kūtila in which he had taken refuge became untenable. F.'s reading here (I. 154, l. 3) is پنجهر (Panjahra), which may indicate that the locality referred to in both places is نجهر. Tijāra is described by Bābur asthe original seat of the Mewāti and it is well-known for the strength of the hills surrounding it. (Powlett, Gazetteer of Alwar, 132; B. N. Tr. 578). جهر can be easily mistaken for نجهر in Persian writing. On l. 9, the Ganges is said to have been crossed at *Gang*, but this is, probably, an error for *Kanpil* کنپل (Text, 203, l. 16).

IV. 61, *l.* 5 from foot. *They took up a position in the mountains of Andwar.*

The "*Wāv*" should be pronounced as a vowel. 'Indūr' is mentioned in the *Āīn* as one of the *mahāls* in *Sarkār* Tijāra. Its fort which was situated on a high hill is also mentioned. (Tr. II. 192). "It is now a ruined town in Alwar State and lies about ten miles east of Tijāra. The fort is still occupied by a Rajput garrison." (Powlett, *l. c.* 134-5). Elliot says that it lies on the western brow of the Mewāt hills between Nūh and Kotila, which latter is eight miles south of Nūh. (Races. II. 100 and 88). 'Jallū' and 'Kaddū' are contumelious forms of 'Jalāl' and 'Qādir'. Jallū is called Jalāl Khān at 66, 67 *infra*.

IV. 63, *l.* 11 from foot. *The forces of Ibrāhīm Sharki have attacked the town of Bhūkānū.*

بهوکانور or بهون کانون in the B. I. Text. (207, l. 6). F. (I. 165, l. 5 f. f.) and the Ṭ. A. (140, l. 9) read بهو کانو. Budāuni's spelling is بهونکانون (I. 292 =Tr. 386), which shows that the place meant is 'Bhuingāon,' now in Mainpuri district, about ten miles north-east of Mainpuri town, at the junction of the Āgra and Grand Trunk Roads. Bīrbahān Muqaddam (chief) of Bhanūgānw is mentioned by this author at page 29 *ante*. Rāi Partāb is said to have been ruler of Bhūngāon in the reign of Buhlūl Lodi. (Ṭ. A. 153, l. 14). It is shown as Bhongāon in Constable, 28 A b.

The Chauhāns have been for centuries in great strength in Mainpuri and Etāwa. Birbahān, (Vīra Bhānu) and Rāi Partāb [Rudra] both belonged to this tribe and it is on record that the *pargana* of Bhuingāon was given as *jāgir* to Rājā Jagman Chauhān in the 49th year of Akbar's reign. (A. N. *Takmīla* or Continuation, III. 832=Tr. 1247). Mainpuri town was founded by Jagannāth, ninth in descent from this Partāb [Rudra], and the present Rājā of Mainpuri claims descent from Jagannāth. (I. G. XIII. 40-1).

IV. 63, *l.* 9 from foot. *Mubārak Shāh.....attacked the village of Haroli, one of the well-known places of Mawās. From thence he proceeded to Atroli.*

The Ṭ. A. puts it thus: موضع هرتولی که از مشاهیر مواس بود تاخت (140, l. 10) and F. (I. 165, l. 4 f.f.), copies the words. Atrauli was a *Mahāl* in *Sarkar* Kol ['Alīgarh], *Ṣūba* Āgra, in the days of Akbar. (*Āīn*, Tr. II. 186). It is in Lat. 28°-2′ N., Long. 78°-18′ E., and lies sixteen miles north-east of 'Alīgarh. (Hunter. Imp. Gaz. I. 180). Constable, Pl. 27 a. Haroli or Jaroli is Thornton's Jurowlee, a village on the route from 'Alīgarh to Murādābād, 28 miles north-east of the former. Lat. 28°-17′ N., Long. 78°-17′ E. The language here used shows that "Mawās" was a place and not a person. Yaḥyā writes elsewhere that in the reign of Muḥammad Tughlaq, people left their homes and their cattle and crept into the *Mawāsāt* and places in the interior. (Text, 112, l. 14). See my note on Vol. II. 355, l. 7 f. f.

IV. 64, *l.* 14. *There he [Sharqi] crossed the Jumna to Gudrang and marching on, he encamped at the river of Katehr.*

This 'Gudrang' is a puzzle. Perhaps we should read گذرکه. Barani uses the word. (T. F. 231, l. 22). The Sultan crossed the Jumna at the گذرگه, Ford or Ferry. On p. 65, l. 4, Sharqi is again said to have retreated towards the Jumna and crossed from Gudrang to Rāpri, but here again, گذرگه may be the right reading. But another elucidation is that it may be گذر نرنگ, 'the ford of Narang.' It is stated in the Mainpuri Gazetteer that at *Narangi*, the Jumna contracts to a width of about 150 feet only in the cold weather and there is a bridge also in the place. (U. P. Gazetteer. X. 248-9). Narangi Ghāt lies three miles from Batesar, which lies on the other side of the river. It is very near Rāpri and 'Gudrang' may be a miswriting of گذر نرنگ 'the ford of Narang'. The Ṭ. A. (140, l. 15) and F. (I. 165, last line) say nothing about 'Gudrang' and merely state that Sharqi crossed the Jumna *near Rāpri* and went to Bayāna. F. calls the river کنتهیر (Kanthīr) and so also Ḥājji Dabīr (916, l. 3), but the right reading must be گنبهیر *Gambhīr*. Bayāna lies "close to the left bank of the Gambhīr". (I. G. VII. 137).

IV. 64, *l.* 5 from foot. *Malik Jaman.*

The name is spelt 'Chaman' in the B. I. Text (209, l. 1), Ṭ. A. (140, l. 6 f.f.) and also F. (166, l. 4) and this must be the correct reading. He is again called 'Jaman' on p. 84 *post*, but the true orthography 'Chaman'

is found at page 82. See note on 81, l. 3 f. f. *infra.* "Chaman" means 'garden,' 'pleasaunce' and Chamanlāl, Chamanrāi are well-known Hindu names. Miyān Chaman is not unusual as a name among Muḥammadans even now. Two Gujarāt nobles named 'Chaman' are mentioned by Ḥājji Dabīr. (Ẓ. W. 100, 480).

IV. 68, *l.* 11 from foot. *Sent Yūsuf Sarūb and Rāi Hansū Bhatti.*

'Sarūb' seems to be an error for 'Sarwar'. On page 71 *infra,* he is called Malik Yūsuf-i-Sarwaru-l-Mulk, which indicates that 'Sarwar' and not 'Sarūb' is the true reading. Yūsuf was the son of Sarwaru-l-Mulk. B. also reads Yūsuf-i-Sarwar, (I. 294=Tr. 388) and Yūsuf-i-Sarwaru-l-Mulk. (296, 297 = 390, 391). See also 76 *infra.* But the form سروپ occurs repeatedly in the best Manuscript of the T. M. (183, l. 14; 225, l. 3; 226, l. 8), and it is possible that he was a Hindu convert whose original name was *Swarup* and he is styled Malik *Sarūp* Sarwaru-l-Mulk at *Ibid.* 226, l. 12.

Rāi 'Hansū' is called 'Hīmū' at 40 *ante.* If 'Hansū' is the real name, it may be a short form of 'Hansrāj'. He was the son of Khulchain or Dulchain Bhaṭṭi. The name is again written 'Hansū' at 71 *infra.* B. also calls him 'Hansū'. (I. 294=Tr. 388).

IV. 69, *l.* 15. *Pūlād had said to himself.*

What the Text says is و پیش از این پولاد مذکور می گفت (216, l. 5). F.'s words are فولاد غلام پیغام داد (I. 167, l. 1). "The slave Fulād sent a message", which must be correct, as his object was to make his demands and conditions known to the Sultān, through 'Imādu-l-Mulk. He could have gained nothing by *saying what he wanted only to himself.* Mubārak Shāh then sent a message to Fūlād with 'Imādu-l-Mulk. (B. I. 294=Tr. I. 388).

IV. 70, *l.* 14. *Passing through Jālandhar, he went to Lāhore. There Malik Sikandar paid him the money which he paid to him annually and sent him away. From thence, Shaikh 'Ali proceeded to Talwāra.*

This paragraph has been translated by Dowson from the abstract or summary in the Ṭ. A., as his own Ms. had lost a page here. But the original text in the *T. M.* is much fuller and may be rendered thus:

"He then crossed the Sutlej near Tirhāra, made the inhabitants of the tract from Jālandhar to *Jāran and Manjahūr* his captives and returned along the banks of the Biyāh. He then crossed the Biyāh in the month of Rajab and marched towards Lāhore. There Maliku-sh-Sharq Sikandar, its Amīr, offered him the customary annual tribute and turned him back. Thence, passing through Kasūr, he encamped at Talwārah opposite Dipālpur, the renowned city." (Text, 215, l. 3).

Here *Manjahūr* is most probably an error for مچهور or مجهور, Machhūr or Machhīwar, *i. e.* Machhiwāra on the Sutlej, about 22 miles east of Ludhiāna. 'Jāran and Manjhūr' are mentioned by Amīr Khusrau as well as Barani, in connection with one of the Mughal invasions and this reference to them by Yaḥyā is of interest, as it is helpful in the solution of a difficult question. See my note on III. 71, l. 9.

IV. 70, *l.* 21. *Shaikh 'Ali crossed the Rāvi at Khatībpur.*

But خوطپور (Text. 219, l. 1), and خوطپور Khūṭpūr also in B. (I. 295=Tr. 389). It is the 'Khaṭpur' of the *Ā'īn*. It was the chief place of one of the northernmost *maḥāls* of the Multān *Ṣūba* and in the Bāri (Biyah-Rāvi) Duāb. (Tr. II. 329-30). [Sir] Edward Maclagan says that 'Khatpūr' is now an insignificant village, a few miles west of Sarāi Sidhū, through which the Rāvi now runs. It is known as Khatpur-Sandhā from the Jat tribe of Sandhās. (Abul Faẓl's Account of the Multān *Sarkār* in J. A. S. B. LXX, (1901), p. 5). Sarāi Sidhu is shown in Constable, Pl. 24, E b.

IV. 70, *l.* 7 from foot. *And laying all waste along the banks of the Jhilam, which is well-known as the Jināb (Chinab), advanced towards Multān.*

"Such is", notes Dowson, "the extraordinary statement of the text and Firishta copies it." Raverty remarks that there is nothing 'extraordinary' or erroneous in the statement. Yaḥyā means the *united* Jhelam and Chināb, which is rightly called Chināb below its confluence with the Jhelam and after their union. (Mihrān of Sind, 367 Note). The I. G. also explicitly states that the two rivers after their union "flow under the name of the Chenāb." (XI. 189).

IV. 70, *l.* 29. *Sultan Shāh met his enemy unexpectedly and was killed.*

The Ṭ. A. (142, l. 7 f. f.) and B. (I. 295=I. 389) also say شهادت یافت, but F. (I, 167, l. 19) has شکست یافت. He says Sultān Shāh Lodi was defeated, not killed, though many of his men lost their lives, and others saved themselves only by flight. As there was a *lacuna* here in Dowson's Manuscript of the T. M., he has translated this passage also, as it is reproduced in the Ṭ.A. The discrepancy is due to F. having read شکست instead of شهادت. In the B. I. Text of the T. M., Sulaimān [variant Sultan] Shāh Lody is explicitly said to have been killed. او را نیز قضائی رسید شهادت یافت (219, l. 6). Sultān Shāh Lodi had the title of Islām Khān (p. 64 *supra*) but at pp. 71, 75 and 77 *infra*, (Text. 220, 221, 226, 229), this author repeatedly speaks of Islām Khān or Islām Khān Lodi having been subsequently sent, on different military expeditions. If this is correct, this Islām Khān Lodi must be another person on whom the title had been conferred after the death of Sultān Shāh. Sir W. Haig says Islām Khān was killed. (C.H. I. III. 217).

IV. 71, *l.* 1. *The Shaikh ['Ali] occupied Khairābād near Multān.*

So in the Ṭ. A. (142, l. 6 f.f.), and F. (I. 167, l. 11 f. f.), but it is called 'Khusrūābād' in the B. I. Text, (219, l. 3 f.f.) and this is the reading in B. also. (I. 295, Tr. I. 389). As neither 'Khairābād' and 'Khusrūābād' can be traced in modern maps, it may be worth noting that Ibn Baṭūṭa tells us in the narrative of his journey from Sind to Dehli, that on the way from Uech to Multān, he crossed the river of *Khusrūābād* at a distance of ten miles (by which he probably means *Kos*), from the latter. (Defrémery, III. 117). F. puts 'Khairābād' at three *Manzils* or stages [*farsakhs ?*] from Multān.

IV. 74, *l.* **5.** *Shaikh 'Ali retreated towards Bārtot.*

So also in Ḥājji Dabīr, (917, l. 21), but 'Mārtot' in the Ṭ. A. (143, l. 8 f. f.). The place meant, may, perhaps, be Mārot or Marwat, now a *taḥṣīl* in Bannū district, N. W. F. Province. It contains the town of Lakki (I. G. XVII. 213). Constable, 24 D a. Lakki-Marwat is now a Railway station, 37 miles south-east of Bannū.

IV. 75, *l.* **10.** *The Sultān marched towards the mountains of Mewāt and arrived at the town of Tāorū.*

Tāorū was a *Maḥāl* in the *Sarkār* of Rewāri, *Ṣūba* Āgra, and the *pargana* town had a brick fort. (*Āīn*, Tr. II. 293). It is now a *pargana* in Nūh *taḥṣīl*, Gurgāon district, Punjab, and is shown in Constable, Pl. 27 C a. It is situated about twenty miles east of Rewāri on a high plateau which is separated from the low-lying tract round Nūh by a low range of hills. (I. G. XIX. 231).

IV. 76, *l.* **4.** *Shaikh 'Ali marching quickly from Shor.....and after making prisoners many of the men of Sāhaniwāl,..... went on to Lāhore.*

This Sāhaniwāl *may be* Sāhīwāl, the old name of the modern town of Montgomery which was founded in 1865 and lies between the Rāvi and the Sutlej. (I. G. XVII. 419).

IV. 78, *l.* **16.** *The sons of Kāngu and Kajwi Khatri.*

"Kajū" in the B. I. Text (232, l. 10) and the Ṭ. A. (145, l. 7). The real names of these miscreants were, *probably*, كانگو and گجر, Gāngū and Gujar. 'Kajwi' or 'Kajū' must be due to the 're' having been misread a 'wāv.' 'Gujar' is a very common personal name among Hindus in these parts and has been adopted also by Musalmans. It was borne, for instance, by a son of Quṭbu-d-dīn Muḥammad Khān Ātka in the reign of Akbar, (Blochmann, *Āīn*, Tr. I. 468) and also by the Commander-in-Chief of the army of Dāūd Kararāni. (*Ibid*, 399; *Tārīkh-i-Dāūdi*, 511-512 *infra*). See also my note on Vol. III. 359, l. 5.

IV. 79, *l.* **11 from foot.** *On Friday, the 9th Rajab 837 H. (19th January 1434), the Sultān reached Mubārakābād.*

The week-day works out correctly. The Julian correspondence was Friday, 19th *February*, 1434 A. C. (not 19th January 1434, as is stated above by Dowson). 19th January 1434 A. C. was a Tuesday.

IV. 80, *l.* **5.** *He [Mubārakshāh] reigned thirteen years, three months and sixteen days.*

So also in the Ṭ. A. (145, l. 17), B. (I. 299, Tr. 394), and F. (I. 169, l. 14 f. f.), but the arithmetic is demonstrably faulty. Mubārak ascended the throne, as Yaḥyā (53 *ante*) and all these authors themselves aver, on 19th Jumādi I. 824 H. He was assassinated on 9th Rajab 837 H. He reigned, therefore, for thirteen years (lunar), one month and twenty days.

IV. 81, *l.* **3 from foot.** *Ahār Miyān holder of Badāun.*

Read 'Miyān *Chaman*, holder of Budāun,' as at 82 *infra*. The name of

the individual has been inadvertently omitted. See B. (I. 301= Tr. 396), and Ṭ. A. (146, l. 9). The name is wrongly spelt as *Jīman* at 64 *ante* and 84, l. 5 *infra*. Malik Allāhdād Kālā [not Kākā] was *Amīr of* Sambhal *and* Ahār. He was the uncle of Sultān Buhlūl Lody. 'Ahār Mīyān' is a misprint.

IV. 82, *l.* **6 from foot.** *He crossed* [*the Ganges*] *at the ford of Kīcha.*

The words in brackets are an unauthorized interpolation and are also misleading. On p. 41 *ante*, and also a few lines higher up on this very page, Kīcha is described as a *ford on the Jumna*. (l. 8). No place could be a ford on two rivers at the same time, unless it was situated at the point of their junction. In Niʿamutulla, the name is spelt as 'Kanjh', but he also makes it a ferry on the Jumna. (E. D. V. 87). B. repeatedly states that Kīcha was a ford on the Jumna and at no great distance from Dehli. (I. 276, 301 and 309=Tr. 364, 396 and 406).

IV. 86, *l.* **14.** *At length, in the year 849 H., Sultān Muhammad Shāh died after a reign of ten years and some months.*

Dowson says in a footnote that the Ṭ. A. gives 844 H., B. 847 H., F. 849 H. and that the correct date is the last. These discrepancies in the manuscripts are due to the bewildering similarity between اربع, سبع and تسع in the Semitic script. For another example, see my note on III. 590, l. 15. The numismatic evidence is clearly in favour of 849 H. Muḥammad Shāh's billon and copper coins of every year from 837 to 849 are known. (Num. Supp. No. XXXV to J. A. S. B. 1921, Art. 223). Thomas (C. P. K. D. 336 note) was in favour of 847 H., but coins discovered after he wrote prove that 847 is two years too early. See also Mr. Nelson Wright's C. M. S. D., pp. 236, 241. Mubāraksh̄āh really reigned for *twelve* years.

IV. 87, *l.* **13.** *He made one of his wife's brothers governor of the capital and to the other he gave the title of Amīr.*

Dowson has translated this from the Ṭ. A., but the lithographed text of that work (148, l. 7 f. f.), B. (I. 305=Tr. 401) and F. (I. 172, l. 15) all concur in stating that the other brother-in-law was made *Amīr-i-Kūi*, Prefect of the Streets, Police Chief, lit. Superintendent of the Highways. There was an officer called *Amīr-i Kūi* in Aḥmadābād also under the Gujarāt Sultāns. (*Mirāt-i-Sikandari*, Text, 79, l. 2; Tr. Bayley, 166; Tr. Faẓlulla, 44). The phrase is there explained as 'Kotwāl' or 'Police Magistrate.' B. (I. 305) follows, as usual, the Ṭ. A. and Ranking renders 'Mīr-i-Kūi' as 'Superintendent of the Roads'. (Tr. I. 401). Ḥājji Dabīr states that one of them was made Amīr or Governor of the City and the other of the Environs [حواد]. (Ẓ. W. 920, l. 24).

IV. 89, *l.* **2.** *Maṭlʿau-s-Sʿadain.*

This enigmatic and fanciful title, signifying 'The Rising of the Two Auspicious Luminaries' is derived from the fact that the work chronicles the events "from the date of the birth of the last great Mongol ruler of Persia to the year [1469 A. C.=873 H.] of the death of his namesake, the great grandson of Taimūr." Both of them bore the name, Abū Sʿaīd, and they are the two *Sʿadain* alluded to. 'Abdur Razzāq notes also the

curious coincidence that the last great Mongol ruler of Persia died in the very year in which "Taimūr, the founder of the next great Tātār empire" was born, *viz.* 1336 A.C. (Browne, L.H.P. III. 429-30). The full title, however, is مطلع السعدين و المجمع البحرين. It was chosen, *perhaps*, because the words form a chronogram for 865, the year in which the work was first taken in hand. (40+9+30+70+1+30+60+70+4+10+50+6+1+30+40+3+40+70+1+30+2+8+200+10+50=865 H.). Dr. Rieu states that "in the body of the work 872 and 875 H." are incidentally mentioned. (I. 182). One of the copies in the Bodleian has a subscription stating that "the first volume was completed in 871" (Ethé, Catalogue, I. 91), while the second is said to have been finished in 880 H. (Rieu, I. 182). There can be little doubt that the composition of this voluminous work was spread over several years and it is not improbable that it was begun several years earlier in 865 H., the year indicated by the chronogrammatical title.

IV. 91, *l.* 9 from foot. *It* [*'Abdur Razzāq's account of Tīmūr's invasion of India*] *proves to be a reproduction of Tīmūr's own narrative.*

Dowson had pinned his faith on the authenticity of the *Malfūẓāt-i-Tīmūri*, and he advances this as an argument in support of that view. But the assertion is decisively negatived by what 'Abdur Razzāq himself tells us in regard to the source of his summary of the world-conqueror's career. He makes no reference whatever to any Autobiography composed by the "Great Tartarian", and in two passages, which have been cited by Rieu, explicitly declares that he has derived all the facts of Tīmūr's history from the *Ẓafarnāma* of *Niẓāmu-d-dīn-i-Shāmi*, "and speaks of him as his chief authority for that period." (Persian Catalogue, I. 172; see also Muqtadir, Bānkipur Catalogue; VI. *s.n.*).

In the Preface to this Volume, Dowson remarks that 'Abdur Razzāq "relates his own travels in the grand style, but the portions relating to Tīmūr's invasion are written in a plain, unpretending narrative remarkable by the contrast". (p. vi *ante*). But this plainness is really due not to his having copied the narrative, as Dowson imagined, from the *Malfūẓāt*, but to his having transferred to his own pages the simple and comparatively bald account of Niẓām-i-Shāmi, the whole of which had been incorporated by Ḥāfiẓ-i-Abrū also in the *Tārīkh-i-Shāhrukhi* or first edition of the *Zubdatu-t-tawārīkh*. (Barthold, *l. c.* 54 Note).

At the same time, it is due to Dowson to note that he was not greatly to blame for this error. It is clear from his own statements that he had never seen a complete copy of the *Maṭlʿau-s-Sʿadain*. He possessed only "some extracts from the first volume", which were among Sir Henry Elliot's papers. He admits that he had never had any opportunity of reading "Abdur Razzāq's own account of his authorities". (Preface, p. vi *ante*; Appendix, 562 *post*). We now know that 'Abdur Razzāq used neither the *Malfūẓāt*, nor the work of Yazdi, and that his real source was the earlier chronicle of Niẓām-i-Shāmi, but this knowledge is derived

only from Rieu's Catalogue which was published after Dowson's death.

IV. 95, *l.* **21**. *I had an interview with the Amīr.....who was on his return from plundering the province of Banpūr.*

Recte, Bampur. It is now in what is called Persian Baluchistān. Lat. 27°-19′ N., Long. 60′-15′ E. It is shown in the Every Man's Library Atlas of Asia, Pl. 45, and also in the Map prefixed to Holdich's Indian Borderland. But there is another town called Bam (and also Bampur), south of Kermān, and it may be the place meant. It is in Lat. 29°-4′ N., Long. 58°-20′ E. Khurdādbih says that it is at eight parasangs' distance from Narmāshīr, *i.e.* the town of Kermān. (Goeje's Ed. Text, 196, l. 6; Tr. 153).

IV. 96, *l.* **9**. [*People bring commodities to Hormuz from*] *the coasts of Arabia as far as Áden, Jiddah and Jambo* (?).

This 'Jambo' is 'Yanbū', which is the port or gateway of Medina, as Jedda is that of Mecca. The name is sometimes written ينبوع Al-Yanb'ū, with the Arabic article prefixed, and this accounts for the form 'Eliobom', which occurs in Barbosa's Travels and for 'Liumbo' which is used in the Commentaries of Albuquerque. (IV. 35). Ludovico Varthema calls it 'Yembo'. (Badger's Trans. 24). It is a place of great antiquity and is mentioned by Ptolemy who speaks of it as "Iambia, the part of Jathrippa," *i. e.* Yathrib, the old name of Medina. (Dames, Tr. Barbosa, I. 45 *note*). It lies a little west of Medīna in the littoral of the Ḥijāz. (Jarrett, *Āīn*, Tr. III. 57 Note. See also Houtsma, E. I., IV. 1158).

IV. 97, *l.* **1**. *The time favourable for proceeding to sea, viz. the beginning and middle of the monsoon,.....elapsed.*

Tavernier who made six voyages to Persia and India gives the following explanation:—" The months of November, December, January, February and March are the only months in the year in which one embarks at Hormuz for Surat and at Surat for Hormuz: with this difference, however, that one rarely leaves Surat later than the end of February, but for leaving Hormuz, one may wait till the end of March, or even till the 15th of April, because then the western wind which brings the rains to India begins to blow...When you wish to go from Hormuz to Surat in fourteen or fifteen days, you must embark in the month of March or the beginning of April, *because then you have the western wind astern all the way*". (Travels, Tr. Ball. I. 4). 'Abdur Razzāq arrived at Hormuz in the middle of Shawwāl 845 H., *i.e.* about the 26th of February 1442 A. C. As he was detained there for two months, *i.e.* upto the very end of April, about a fortnight later than the 15th—the latest eligible date for starting, according to Tavernier, or the favourable season had passed. The day on which he saw the New Moon of Muḥarram 846 H. was 12th May 1442.

IV. 97, *l.* **20**. *I went from Maskat to Kariāt.*

Karyāt or Curiat is on the north-east coast of Arabia between 'Rās al Ḥadd' and Masqaṭ. 'Rās al Ḥadd' is the Cape Rosalgat of European geographers and map-makers. It means 'Land's End', something like Cape 'Finisterre'. (Dames, Barbosa, Tr. I. 50 and 70 *Notes*; Miles, Coun-

tries and Tribes of the Persian Gulf, 484). Curiat lies about eight leagues from Qalhāt. (Danvers, History of the Portuguese in India, II. 531). Its importance lies in the fact that it stands at the mouth of a *Wādi*, by which access can be obtained to the country behind the mountains. (Dames, Barbosa, I. 70 *note*).

IV. 97, *l.* 7 from foot. *The moon of the Muharram of 846 H. ..... developed the beauty of her countenance.*

This statement and two other references to the observation by the author of the New Moon of Muḥarram in 847 and 848 H. (112 and 125 *infra*) indicate that 'Abdur Razzāq's dating is founded on the *Hilāli* or *Ruyyat* method of calculating the age of the Moon.

IV. 98, *l.* 1. *Having learnt that in the neighbourhood of Kalahāt, there was a place called Saur, I embarked on a vessel to go to that place.*

Marco Polo says that Calatu [Qalhāt] was "a noble city with a large and good haven." Dames states that "Saur and Qalhāt owed their importance to their position just north of Rās-al-Ḥadd, the first point in Arabia reached by vessels from India. They both lie on the southern coast of 'Omān, north-west of Rās-al-Ḥadd. Saur is the starting point of a well-marked route from the coast into the interior of 'Omān. Lat. 23° N., Long. 60° E. Idrīsi says that it was one of the oldest and richest towns of 'Omān, but its trade had suffered from the depredations of the pirate chiefs of Kīsh. (Tr. Jaubert, I. 152-3)". (Dames, *l. c.* I. 72 note). Ibn Baṭūta speaks of Saur as a town in a roadstead, from which Qalhāt, situated on the slope of a neighbouring hill, can be seen. (Gibb, 116; Defrémery, II. 229).

IV. 99, *l.* 11 from foot. *Shortly after, the King of Bengal having complained of the hostilities he was suffering from the King of Jaunpur, sought protection from the Court of [Shāhrukh].*

'Abdur Razzāq is referring to the invasions of Bengal by Sultān Ibrāhīm of Jaunpur (*R.* 1401-1441 A. C.). A Hindu Rājā of Bhaṭauria named Ganesh or Kāns is said to have subjugated the kingdom on account of the youth and incapacity of Sultān Shamsu-d-dīn and begun to oppress the Muslims. A Muḥammadan saint named Nūr or Quṭbu-l-'Ālam then invited Ibrāhīm Shāh of Jaunpur to come and succour his brethren in the Faith. Hostilities having continued for sometime, Ganesh agreed to a compromise and allowed his son Jaimal or Jadu to be converted to Islam and ascend the throne as Sultān Jalālu-d-dīn. Ibrāhīm was persuaded by the saint or thought it advisable to withdraw and peace was restored. (*Riyāẓu-s-Salāṭīn*, Tr. 113-7; F. II. 297, l. 12). Numismatic evidence has been recently forthcoming which bears out this account. There can be little doubt that the coins of Danujamardana, which exhibit the Shaka dates 1339 and 1340 (820 and 821 A. H.), were struck by Rājā Ganesh. (Bhattasāli, Coins of the Early Sultāns of Bengal, 109-116; Stapleton, Num. Sup. to the J.A.S.B. No. XLIII (1930), Art. 298, pp. 1-13). Some years afterwards,

i. e. in or about 834-5 H. (1431 A. C.), Sultan Ibrāhīm appears to have again invaded Bengal, when Shamsu-d-dīn Aḥmad, the son of Jalālu-d-dīn, was on the throne and it was Shamsu-d-dīn who preferred the complaint to Shāhrukh of which 'Abdur Razzāq speaks here. Shamsu-d-dīn is said to have reigned from 834 to 850 A. H. (1430-1446 A. C.). (*Riyāẓ*, Tr. 118 note).

IV. 100, *l.* 1 from foot *The blacks of this country go about with nearly naked bodies, wearing only.....langots.*

This is perhaps the earliest example of the use of this familiar vernacular word by a Persian writer. The scanty clothing and semi-nude condition of the poorer classes in India has been remarked by many travellers from foreign parts. Alberūni writes thus of the Hindus of his day: "They wear turbans for trousers. Those who want little dress are content to dress in a rag of two fingers' breadth which they bind on their loins with two cords". (I. 180). Ibn Baṭūṭa calls it "a scrap of stuff tied by a string round the waist". (E. D. III. 619). Bābur not only describes the 'rag', but calls it by its Indian name. "Peasants and people of low standing", he states, "go about naked. They tie on a thing called *lungūtā*, a decency clout which hangs two spans below the navel. From the tie of this pendant decency clout, another clout is passed between the thighs and made fast behind." (B. N. Tr. 519). Tavernier observes that "in India the peasants have for their sole garment a scrap of cloth to cover those parts which natural modesty requires to be concealed." (Travels, Tr. Ball, I. 391). Varthema (Tr. Badger. 113-4) and Nikitin (Major, India in the Fifteenth Century, Ch. III. 8-9, p. 9). had noted the fact long before Tavernier.

IV. 103, *l.* 3. *It is said that the King of Bījānagar has 300 seaports every one of which is equal to Kālīkot.*

A palpable exaggeration. But 'Abdur Razzāq is merely repeating the random gossip he had heard in Vijayanagar. Southern India has a very long coastline and is dotted with several ports. The Kingdom of Vijayanagar stretched far and wide and Devarāya II. is styled, not without justice, *Dakshiṇa Samudrādhipati*, Lord of the Southern Sea, in two contemporary inscriptions dated in Shaka 1362 and 1368=1440 and 1146 A. C. (Ind. Ant. LVII. 1928, pp. 78-79). But Calicut has possessed, for ages, the reputation of being one of the greatest, safest and wealthiest harbours in India or perhaps the world. Many of the so-called 'ports' on the coast were only roadsteads and it is impossible to accept the statement that every one of the 300 'seaports' was equal in safety, extent and prosperity to the world-famed haven of Calicut. India has many 'ports,' but very few really good *harbours*.

IV. 103, *l.* 25. *At the distance of three parasangs from Mangalūr, he saw a temple which has not its like on the earth. The whole is made of molten brass.*

This must be meant for the shrine at Kādiri, about two miles distant from Mangalore. It is still the chief seat of the 'Kānphāṭia' (split-eared)

Jogis, who are disciples and followers of Gorakhnāth. (Hobson Jobson, *s. v.* Jogi). The 17th century Italian traveller, Pietro della Valle, who visited it, has left a very long description of it. He states that the inner sanctuary, and in former times, the whole enclosure, was all covered with plates of brass, and he also describes a great brazen pillar and a huge brass candlestick of five branches. (Travels, Ed. E. Grey, 345-348). There is a more modern account in Eastwick's Handbook for India, Pt. I. Madras, 236.

IV. 103, *l.* 20. [*I*] *departed from Kālikot and passing by Bandāna..... arrived at.....Mangalūr.*

'Bandāna' is Bandarāina or Fandarāina, the modern Pandarāni or Pantalyāni, an old port on the coast of Malabār, which was situated a little north of Quilāndi and opposite to the Sacrifice Rock of modern maps. Lat. 11°-26′ N., Long. 75°-50′ E. Koilāndi or Quilāndi has now supplanted it. Ibn Baṭūṭa says that "the Chinese junks in his day used to pass the winter (*i. e.* the south-west monsoon season) at Fandarāina, as it afforded an unexceptionably safe shelter for shipping". (Defrémery, IV. 88). See also H. J. *s. v.* Pandarani. Quilāndi is shown in Constable, A a, 35. It lies about twenty miles north of Calicut.

IV. 104, *l.* 13. *I arrived at the city of Bidrūr, of which the houses were like palaces. In Bidrūr there is a temple so high that you can see it at a distance of several parasangs.*

Dowson's proposed identification with Bednore will not bear examination. Bednore, also called 'Bidarūr' or 'Bidaruhalli', *i. e.* 'Bamboo village', was not a place of any note in the days of 'Abdur Razzāq. Its importance dates only from about 1640 A. C., when it became the capital of the Kelādi Kings of Ikkeri. (I. G. XVIII, 296). There is also no ancient temple at Bednore answering in any way to this description. The reference seems really to be to Belūr and to the Chenna Kesava or some other great shrine at Belūr in Ḥassan district, Mysore. (*q. v.* I. G. XIII. 64). Dowson notes that Langles reads "Beylour" and Quatremère "Belour". Major also (India, Ch. I. p. 20) has "Belour" and there can be little doubt that 'Belūr' is the place intended.

IV. 105, *l.* 17. *Account of the city of Bījānagar and its seven surrounding fortifications.*

"Surrounding" does not express the author's meaning. The words used in the original Persian text are دور دور یکدیگر اند 'Abdur Razzāq means that "the fortifications or walls were comprised one within the other." Elsewhere, he states that the city had 'seven fortified walls one within the other.' (p. 106 *infra*). At p. 109 also, he observes that the elephant-stables were situated "between the first and second *enceinte* of the city". Nicolo Conti who paid a visit to Vijayanagar about 1420-1440 A. C. writes that the circumference of the city was sixty miles. (Major, India in the Fifteenth Century, II. p. 6). Some Hindu accounts and local traditions also reckon its superficial area as sixty-four square miles. 'Abdur Razzāq himself writes that the distance between the Northern gate of the

outer fortress and the Southern, and that also between the Eastern and the Western was two statute *parasangs*, that is, between seven and eight miles. (p. 107 *infra*). The existing remains at Hampi bear witness to the substantial correctness of his statements. "The ruins of the city", says Mr. Longhurst, "cover some nine square miles, but the fortifications and outposts included a far larger area.....The whole site is dotted with barren rocky hills and up the sides of these hills and along the low ground between them, *often in several lines, one behind the other, run the fortified enclosing walls of the old city*". (Hampi Ruins, pp. 1-3). Mr. Sewell estimates that the fortifications extend from south to north for about 12 miles and from west to east for about 10 miles. (A Forgotten Empire, 83, 88-90).

The ancient Hindu standard of town-planning seems to have required every first class capital city or metropolis to possess seven *concentric* fortified enclosures. Bishnūpur in Bānkūra district, the old capital of the kingdom of Karṇa Suvarṇa in the 8th century A. C., is said to have been surrounded by seven lines of fortifications. (I. G. VIII. 248). 'Utbi (E. D. II. p. 46) states that when Maḥmūd invaded Qanauj, he was able to take all the seven fortifications, *i. e.* walls round that populous town, in one day. Another example of this ancient architectural canon or ideal is found in the great temple of Srīrangam, which "consists of seven enclosures, one within the other." (I. G. XXIII. 103). Ginji or Jinji also is said to have had seven forts. (*Maāṣiru-l-Umāra*, II. 96). Kāmaṭāpur in Kūch Bihār is also stated to have been surrounded by several enclosures, one within the other. (I. G. XIV. 327). The underlying idea of seven enclosures is of very great antiquity. Nineveh had seven walls which are said to have symbolised the seven spheres of the Geocentric Planetary System.

IV. 105, *l.* 5 from foot. *The army consists of eleven lacs of men.*

These mammoth figures may appear incredible, but similar estimates are found in several other authors of repute. The Portuguese writer, Paes, estimates the strength of the Vijayanagar army at a million fighting men. (Sewell, F. E. 279). Nuniz states that an army of 7,03,000 infantry, 32,600 cavalry and 551 elephants was despatched by the King of Vijayanagar against Rāichūr. (*Ibid*, 147, 326-7). Conti declares that the Vijayanagar army consisted of a million and upwards. Firishta tells us that Deva Rāy I invaded the Rāichūr Duāb in 801 A. H. (1398 A. C.), with an army of 30,000 horse and 900,000 foot. (I. 309, l. 17). Another Vijayanagar king is said to have led an army of nearly a million infantry and gunners against Aḥmad Shāh Bahmani in 826 H.=1422 A. C. (*Ibid*. I. 320, l. 17).

Equally staggering figures are given by other travellers and historians for the numerical strength of the forces of their Musalmān adversaries, the Bahmanis. Nikitin notes that in 1442 A. C. the Sultān of Gulbarga, who attacked the Hindus, had in his train 900,000 foot, 190,000 horse and 575 elephants. (Major, III. 27-8; Sewell, *l. c.* 105). Waṣṣāf asserts that 'Alāu-d-dīn Khalji maintained an army of 475,000 men (E. D. III. 50) and Barani

tells us that Muḥammad Tughlaq raised a force of 370,000 horse for the invasion of Khurāsān. (*Ibid*, 241). Mr. Sewell gives it as his opinion that "there can be no reasonable doubt as to the large numbers, though they were not well-armed or well-trained or well-disciplined". (*Op. cit.* 150).

IV. 105, *l.* 10 from foot. *Whose kingdom extended from the borders of Sarandīp to those of Kulbarga and from Bengal to Malībār, a space of 1,000 parasangs.*

The Vijayanagar kingdom was extensive, but these figures are, undoubtedly, inflated. 1,000 *parasangs* would, at the lowest computation, be equal to 3,000 miles. 'Abdur Razzāq cannot intend to say that the *total area* was only 3,000 or 4,000 square miles. But if he means that either the length or the breadth of the kingdom was 3,000 miles, it is an incredible asseveration. The total length of the Indian sub-continent is about 1,900 miles and its breadth 1,500. Most of such predications of territorial extent in Persian and Arabic writers are unverified repetitions of random guesses or popular clap-trap of no scientific value. The Vijayanagar kingdom, even at the zenith of its greatness, comprised only that portion of the Indian peninsula which lies south of the river Krishna.

IV. 109, *l.* 1. *On the left of the palace there is the mint.*

The ruins of the building seen by 'Abdur Razzāq appear to be still extant at Hampi. "On the south-west of the king's audience hall," says Mr. Longhurst, "is a large walled enclosure which is generally said to represent the ruins of the Royal Mint.....and this conjecture is probably correct." (Hampi Ruins, 70).

IV. 109, *l.* 7. *Of pure silver, they make a coin equal to a sixth of a fanam, which they call tār.*

'Abdur Razzāq's account of the Vijayanagar Coinage is not very correct. He speaks of the *Varāha* as weighing about one *miṣqāl, i. e.* about 72 grs., but the real weight of the specimens in our collections is nearer 50 than 72. No gold *fanams* of any of the Kings of the First Dynasty of Vijayanagar have been found. Nor has a single *silver* coin of Devarāya or any of his predecessors been discovered. (Hultzsch in Ind. Ant. XX. (1891), p. 301; Sir Walter Elliot, Coins of Southern India, 97-99 and Note).

Again, 'Abdur Razzāq says that the *tār* was one-sixth of a *fanam*, but Pyrard de Laval (Voyage, Tr. A. Gray, I. 344, 412), Claude Dellon (Voyages, Ed. 1711, p. 233), Fryer (New Account of East India and Persia, Ed. Crooke, I. 149) and several other authorities are unanimous in making sixteen *tārs* or *tārés* go to the *fanam*. It is possible that 'sixth' is an error for 'sixteenth'. (Dames, Tr. Barbosa, II. 52-53, Note). Sir Walter Elliot states that the *tārés* in his cabinet weighed only about 1.7 grs. each. (Coins of Southern India, 1885, p. 57).

IV. 109, *l.* 10 from foot. *Opposite the minister's office are the elephant sheds.*

Visitors to Hampi are still shown by the local cicerones the ruins of a structure which is locally known as the Elephant-stables. "It is

a long oblong building just opposite the Zenāna Enclosure (Queens' Palace), containing eleven roomy stalls or rooms with lofty domed roofs ... ..Unfortunately, there is nothing but local tradition in favour of the attribution and the absence of any iron rings or bars embedded in the floors or walls for the purpose of chaining the animals" appears to largely invalidate the traditional identification. (Longhurst, *op. cit.* 86). A plate showing the massive range of these buildings is given by Mr. Sewell, who quotes 'Abdur Razzāq's description, but does not express any doubts as to its having been the *Hāthi Khāna.* (F. E. 94).

IV. 109, last line. *The palace elephants are fed on Kīchū [Kīchri]..... Balls of about two mans each.....are placed by the keepers in the mouths of the animals.*

The Indian *Man* has varied so greatly from place to place and even from time to time in the same place, that it is not always easy to say what it stands for. But there can be little doubt that the *Man* mentioned here could not have been equivalent to 40 or 28 or even 25 *avoirdupois* lbs. No *Mahāwat* or keeper could have lifted and thrust into the mouth of even the most docile tusker a ball of buttered *Khichri* of even half the weight. Elsewhere, 'Abdur Razzāq informs us that while he was at Vijayanagar, he was daily supplied with five *Mans* of rice, one *Man* of butter and one *Man* of sugar. (113 *infra*). As he does not appear to have had a large retinue, and does not refer to any followers, this *Man* also must have denoted some unit of low ponderary value. As 'Abdur Razzāq came from Shirāz, his *Man* must be the Tabrīzī which is equivalent to about 6¾ lbs. (Lockyer, An Account of the Trade in India, 1711, p. 230 *apud* Yule, H. J. *s. v.* Maund). We have here perhaps the earliest example of the occurrence of the Hindi word *Khichri* in a Persian writer. Jauhar calls it by the hybrid name *Dāl-Khushka.* (Stewart's Tr. Reprint. 108).

IV. 110, *l.* 9 from foot. *They tell the following story of an elephant that fled from his bondage, etc.*

This traveller's tale extolling the sagacity and wariness of elephants who have been trapped and afterwards escaped from captivity is found also in at least two European authors of later date. "These people [the elephant hunters in Mysore] told us," writes Tavernier, "an astonishing thing which is wonderful, if one can only believe it. It is that if elephants have once been caught and have escaped, if driven into the woods, are always on their guard and tear off a large branch of a tree with their trunks, with which they go along, sounding everywhere before putting down their feet, to see if there are any holes, so as not to be caught a second time. It was this which made the hunters despair of being able to recapture the three elephants which had escaped from them." (Travels, Tr. Ball, I. 274-5). Manucci tells the same tale, but perhaps he got it, like several others of his yarns, at second hand from the Frenchman. (Storia, III. 78). Abul Faẓl also relates two anecdotes of the cunning devices employed by some of these pachyderms for securing the release of their

captured young ones. (*Āīn*, Tr. I. 123). Mas'ūdi repeats a curious story of the pudicity and humanity of an elephant belonging to the King of Mansūra. (Sprenger, I. 387). The well-known story of the elephant and the tailor also seems to be of Indian origin. It is found in the *Jawāmi'au-l-Ḥikāyāt* of 'Awfi, who says that he had heard it from a friend who had practised the physician's art in Nahrwāla. (Niẓāmu-d-dīn, J. Ḥ. p. 253).

IV. 110, last line. *One of the keepers mounted a tree under which the elephant was likely to go..... and threw himself down on the back of the animal.*

This extremely hazardous trick or method of mastering these huge beasts is mentioned by Shams-i-Siraj in his account of Firūz Shāh Tughlaq's elephant-hunt in Jājnagar. (T. F. Text, 169=E. D. III. 314). The Emperor Jahāngīr also has left it on record that his intrepid father Akbar had often controlled and tamed in this way "*Mast* elephants, which had, in their fits of rage, killed even their keepers. He would place himself on a wall or tree near which a mad elephant was passing and throw himself on its back and thus, by mere mounting, bring it under control and tame it. This was repeatedly seen." (T. J. Tr. I. 38; Text, 18, l. 3).

IV. 111, *l.* 9 from foot. *The policemen's pay is derived from the proceeds of the brothels.*

This was one of the most notable features of the "Ancient Hindu Polity" and is distinctly mentioned in all the Sanskrit works on *Rājniti*. (Kauṭilya, *Arthashāstra*, Bk. II. xxvii; Tr. Shāstri, 153-5). It is referred to by Alberūni also (India, Tr. Sachau, II. 157), and Waṣṣāf. (E.D. III. 33). The old *Soolāi Bazār* or 'Dancing Girls' Street' of Vijayanagar is still pointed out at Hampi to visitors by the guides. (Longhurst, 110). Tavernier (Tr. Ball, I. 157-8), and Thevenot (Travels, Tr. 1687, Part III. 97) have left graphic descriptions of the system of licensed prostitution which was maintained for revenue purposes by the Quṭb Shāhi Sultans of Golkonda.

IV. 112, *l.* 3 from foot. *Interview with the King of Bijānagar.*

The King whom 'Abdur Razzāq saw was Devarāya II, the son of Vijayarāi or Bukka, and the greatest emperor of the First Dynasty. He reigned for about twenty-five years from Shaka 1342 to 1368 (1420 to 1446 A.C.). His greatest minister and general was Lakkanna *Daṇḍanāyaka*, who conquered Ceylon and invaded Gulbarga. 'Abdur Razzāq states that Devarāya encouraged Arab merchants to bring good horses and paid handsomely for them. This is borne out by a contemporary inscription from which it appears that Devarāya had a cavalry force of ten thousand Muslims, mounted on Turkish horses, and he seems even to have erected a mosque for them in Hampi. (Ind. Ant. 1928, pp. 77-81).

IV. 114, *l.* 14 from foot. *Delicacy forbids me to expatiate on its invigorating and aphrodisiac virtues.*

This statement about the *aphrodisiac* properties of the humble betel-leaf may sound strange in modern ears but it is affirmed as an undoubted pharmacological fact by several of the old Arab travellers,

e.g. Masʿūdi, (*Prairies*, II. 84) and Alberūni. (Tr. II. 152). Ibn Baṭūṭa also states that it sweetens the breath, helps the digestion,.....elevates the spirits and *stimulates to venery*. (Tr. Lee, 59). Sir T. Roe assures us that "it accords rheume, cools the head and strengthens the teeth, and is all their phisicke". (Journal, Ed. Foster, I. 19).

IV. 116, last line and footnote. *The person who had brought the invitation of coagulated milk was also put to death.*

The words in the text are کسی که دعوتِ جغرات آورده بود. Dowson understands the phrase to indicate that "it was customary among the Hindus of Vijayanagar to send coagulated milk with the invitation." But the words used by 'Abdur Razzāq do not lend themselves to any such inference or implication and the expression دعوتِ جغرات is nothing more than a Persian idiom, a *façon de parler*, originating in the usages of the Tātār conquerors of that country. Curdled milk was the staple food of those nomads and when a Tātār or Mongol was "invited to dinner," he was invited to a feast of 'Jaghrāt' or curdled milk. Just as the Englishman 'on hospitable thoughts intent' asks a friend to come over some day and 'cut mutton' with him, the Mongol giving an entertainment spoke of it as a friendly summons "to drink a bowl of Jaghrāt." In the Court ceremonial of the Uzbeg princes, Dr. Barthold tells us, "the drinking of *Qumis* (soured milk) was treated as an important affair; it is described minutely, how it has to be poured from skins, how the cups are to be taken, who are to take the first cups, who the other cups, etc." (Houtsma, E. I. s. v. II. 1116). An invitation to drink this *Qumis* or *Jaghrāt*, "soured milk", was, in fact, an invitation to a banquet. Mr. Major translates the sentence thus: "The man who had brought the letters of invitation was put to the last degree of torture". (I. 35). In this connection, it may be worth while to note that the contemporary author of the *Intikhāb-i-Jahāngīr Shāhi*, (E. D. VI. 449) says that the Emperor "used to give feasts every Friday to about one thousand destitute Muhammadans and that he always ordered curds to be given to them while they were eating their dinner." Compare also the old English word 'junkets' and the secondary or derivative use of 'junketting' in the sense of 'entertainment, picnic, feasting'.

There is no reference to this assassination plot in the inscriptions of the Vijayanagar dynasty, but the Portuguese Fernão Nuniz tells a story which bears a striking resemblance to it in many particulars. Only, he relates it, not of Deva Rāya II, but of his son and successor. "A nephew whom he had brought up in his house like a son" invited the king and all the principal nobles to his wedding-feast, had all the ministers and captains murdered just in the same way, in separate rooms by assassins, whose task was made easy because "it is the custom there to place the food on the table and there is no one present except those who are going to eat." The conspirator then went to the king himself with a present, wounded him in several places with a poisoned dagger, but the king freed himself

at last from his assailant, despatched him with a sword and came out of the palace, holding his nephew's head in his hand. " Dreadful punishments were inflicted on the traitor's accomplices, but the king himself died of his wounds, six months later ". (Sewell, F. E. 303-4). Though some of the details here are different, it is, as Mr. Sewell says, substantially the same story and 'Abdur Razzāq's version may be even " the more reliable, because he was a contemporary witness." (*Ibid.* 72).

IV. 117, *l.* **7.** *The celebration of the Mahanāwi* [*at the full moon of Rajab*].

Alberūni thus describes this festival: " On the eighth of Ashvayuja, when the Moon stands in her 19th station, *Mūla*, begins the festival of the *Mahānavmi*, the wife of Mahādeva, when they offer the first fruits of sugar and all other things to her image, which is called Bhagwati. They also give much alms before it and kill kids ". (Tr. Sachau, II. 179-80). Nicolo Conti who visited Vijayanagar about 1420-40 A. C. speaks of the people celebrating certain feasts which correspond to the *Dīpāvali*, *Holi* and the *Dashahrā*. The last of these three is identical with the *Mahānavmi*. (Major, II. 28-9). Nuniz who wrote about 1530-1542 A. C. states that the *Mahānavmi* was celebrated in September, " when for nine days they make great feast " and he gives a long description of the ceremonies. (Sewell, F. E. 376-8). Paes also states that he witnessed it from 12th September in 1520, A. C. (*Ib.* 263). The *Ṭibba* or platform from which the kings watched the festival is still pointed out by the guides to visitors. It faces " the wonderful expanse of ground " of which 'Abdur Razzāq speaks on l. 5 f. f.

The Hijri date given by 'Abdur Razzāq for the celebration of the festival appears to be wrong. The 1st of Rajab 847 A. H. corresponded to 25th October 1443, while the 1st of Ashwina in that year synchronised with the 24th of September and 1st Kārtika was 24th October. If the festival described by him was the *Mahānavmi*, Rajab must be an error for the preceding month, Jumādi II. If the month was Rajab, the festival must be that of the *Dīwāli* or New Year. (See Sewell, *loc. cit.* 93).

IV. 117, *l.* **5 from foot.** *The full moon of Rajab* (*September, 1446*).

The Julian correspondence given by Dowson in the parenthesis is not correct. The Hijri year must have been 847. 'Abdur Razzāq tells us that he left Persia in 845 H. He was in Kirmān on the 18th of Rajab of that year (p. 95 *ante*), at Quriāt in Muḥarram 846 (p. 97), and in Kālikot from Jumādi II. to the middle of Ẕī-l-ḥijja (p. 102). He reached Vijayanagar at the close of Ẕī-ḥijja, 846 (p. 105). He was there on the 1st of Muḥarram 847 (1st May, 1443 A. C.). The first day of Rajab 847 H. corresponded to 25th October, 1443 A. C. and the full moon of Rajab must have been therefore observed on or about the 6th of November, 1443, not in September 1446 A. C. In this connection, attention may be drawn to Dowson's note on p. 122 *infra*, where it is said that the expedition to Gulbarga, which is described a few lines lower down, is recorded by Firishta in the ann als of 847 A. H. (Briggs, Tr. II. 403). Later on, Dowson

himself states that Ramaẓān 847 corresponded to January 1444 and 1st Muḥarram 848 to April [20th] 1444. (pp. 124 and 125 *infra*).

IV. 122, *l.* **4.** *The King had appointed as a temporary substitute of the Brahman Danāik a person named Hambah Nūrir, who considered himself equal to the Wazīr.*

Major (*loc. cit.* I. p. 41) reads 'Nimeh-pezīr' which is not a whit less cryptic or unintelligible than 'Hambah Nūrīr'. I suggest that what is intended is the Malayālam *Nambyadiri* or *Nambiyattiri*, which means "a general or prince". (Logan, Malabar, I. 121). 'Abdur Razzāq speaks as if it was the personal name of the *Danāik's* deputy. It was in reality, only the designation of his office, a general epithet or title. It may be as well to say that this word is entirely distinct from *Nambūdiri* or *Nambūri*, a Malabar Brahmin. (Hobson Jobson, *s. v.* Nambeadarim and Nambooree). 'Danāik' is the Canarese form of the Sanskrit *Daṇḍanāyaka.*

IV. 123, *l.* **3.** *Fath Khān, one of the descendants of Sultān Firozshāh ... ...also sent a Deputy.*

This Fatḥ Khān must be the person mentioned by the author of the *Tārīkh-i-Mubārakshāhi* (Text, 208, l. 16; 220, l. 11=E. D. IV. 64 and 71) as the Khān-i-ʿAẓam Fatḥ Khān, son of Sultān Muẓaffar [the First] of Gujarāt. He was not 'a descendant' of Fīrūzshāh Tughlaq himself, but of one of that Sultān's nobles. The error is excusable in a casual sojourner like 'Abdur Razzāq. The original title of Sultān Muẓaffar I was Ẓafarkhān, and he was the son of Wajihu-l-Mulk, who is said to have been originally a Hindu named Sahāran or Sadhāran, whose sister had, under romantic circumstances, become a wife of Fīrūz. (*Mīrāt-i-Sikandari*, Bombay Lithograph, 1831, p. 7, l. 5; Bayley's Tr. p. 67; Tr. Faẓlulla, 1-3).

IV. 124, *l.* **17.** *We arrived on the 1st Ramazān (January 1444).*

The Julian correspondence is not quite correct. It was 23rd December 1443 A. C.

IV. 124, l. 5 from foot. [*From Mangalūr*], *I went to the port of Hanūr.*

The *wāv* is a consonant and the name should be read as 'Hanawar', *i.e.* 'Onawar' in Canara. It is called 'Honore' or 'Onore' in old maps and in Forbes' Oriental Memoirs. (2nd Ed. II. 455 *et seq.*). It is the 'Ḥinaur' of Ibn Baṭūṭa, who says that "all the Musalman women of the town had the Qur'ān by heart and that it contained 23 schools for boys and 13 for girls, such a thing as he had seen nowhere else in his travels." (Tr. Lee, 165-166; Defrémery, IV. 64-67). It is Rashīdu-d-dīn's (E. D. I. 72) *Hawāriūn*, which can be read as *Hanāwīr* if the letters are transposed.

IV. 124, last line. *I consulted the book of presages compiled by Imām Jʿafar Sādik.*

'Abdur Razzāq is referring to the *'Ilm-i-Jafr*, a cabalistical mode of divination which is in great favour with the Shi'as, as it is supposed by them to have been studied and perfected, if not invented, by their great Imām, Jʿafar-i-Ṣādiq. Tippu Sultān's Library contained a large quarto

written in the *Naskhi* character, entitled جفر جامع, about which Stewart says that the cabalistical tables and diagrams in it are supposed to have been originally constructed by 'Ali and are believed to prognosticate all important events in the history of the world and especially of Islam. (Catalogue of Tippoo Sultan's Library, p. 104. See also Macdonald's art. on *Djafr* in Houtsma, E. I., I. 994-5). Budāuni speaks of a Sayyid Mīrak Ispahāni having attempted to give a demonstration of his skill in this art by foretelling the defeat and death of Dāūd Kararāni in 983 A. H. In a caustic note on the subject, he cites with approval the poet Jāmī's satirical verses on this pseudo-science and gives it as his own opinion that it is naught else than forgery and fabrication and that 'any one who has a little thinking power can invent the like of it.' (II. 177=Lowe. Tr. 180; see also Ṭ. A. Text. 317, l. 10; E. D. V. 376). Elsewhere, Budāuni mentions another professor of this system of sortilege, named Khwājā Maulānā Shirāzi. (Text, II. 287). Lowe (Tr. II. 295) has not understood the meaning correctly, as he describes this person as 'the heretic of *Jafrdān*', as if 'Jafrdān' was the name of the place he came from or belonged to. It really signifies "the heretic who was proficient in the art of *Jafr*."

IV. 126, *l.* 1. *The vessel after leaving Maskat, arrived at the port of Khūrfakān.*

Khūr-i-fakān was on the open sea, south of Cape Mussendom (Musandam) and not very far from it. It was a thriving town, until Albuquerque sacked and burnt it in 1507 A.C. The name is derived from the Arabic خور, an estuary or creek. It is shown in the Map appended to the second volume of Lord Curzon's Persia. (Dames, Tr. of Barbosa, I. 72-73 Note). Ibn Baṭūṭa says Khor Fakān, Qariyāt and Sohār are all towns of 'Omān. (Defrémery, II. 229).

IV. 135, *l.* **12 from foot.** *Amīr Kāzī, Nūh bin Mansūr.*

'Amīr Kāzi' is wrong. The right reading is Amīr رضی 'Raẓi' or 'Riẓā'. It was the after-death title of Amīr Nūḥ *bin* Manṣūr-i-Sāmāni, who came to the throne in 365 H. (*Rauẓat, Jild*, IV. 29, l. 9; Gardezi, Z. A. 48, 58). He is called Mīr Raẓi (or Riẓā) in a *Qasīda* of 'Unṣuri. (Lucknow Lith. of 1922 A. C., p. 55, couplet 3). 'Utbi calls him Riẓā Nūḥ ibn Manṣūr. (Tr. Reynolds, 44, 128). The after-death titles of the Sāmāni Amīrs are meticulously recorded by the historians. Mīrkhwānd says that Aḥmad bin Ismā'īl was styled 'Sultān-i-Shahīd', Naṣr bin Aḥmad 'Amīr-i-Sa'īd', Manṣūr bin Nūḥ, 'Amīr-i-Sadīd'. (*Rauẓat*, IV. 16, 17, 21; see also Gardezi, Z. A. 22, 25, 47, 48, 58; Raverty, Ṭ. N. Tr. 33, 40, 44; Alberūni, *Āthāru-l-Bāqiya*, Tr. Sachau, 131).

IV. 135, *l.* **6 from foot.** *Sultān Maḥmūd departed from this perishable world.....on Thursday, the 23rd of Rabī'u-l-ākhir, A. H. 421, in the sixty-third year of his age.*

There is some discrepancy among the later compilers about the date, but 23rd Rabī' II *Ḥisābi* or 22nd *Ruyyat* must be correct, as it is in accord

not only with the statements of Alberūni (Tr. Sachau, II. 2 and 358), Baihaqi (Text, 11-12), and Gardezi (Text, 92, l. 11) but also the inscription on Maḥmūd's sarcophagus at Ghazni. (J. A. S. B. XII. 76-7). Raverty gives (T. N. Tr. 87 note) *14th* Rab'ī II. 421 H., on the authority of the *Mujmil-i-Faṣīḥi* and this is followed in the C. H. I. (III. 26), but it must be wrong. Faṣīḥ's chronology is, as Dr. Barthold has pointed out, often faulty. (Turkestan, 251 Note). The Julian equivalent of 23rd Rab'ī II, 421 H., was Thursday, 30th April, 1030 A. C. Sir W. Haig gives 21st April 1030, but it cannot be correct as it was a Tuesday. Faṣīḥ's and Raverty's 14th Rab'ī II cannot be right as the 14th was not a Thursday, but a Tuesday.

IV. 136, *l.* **3.** *It was a great blemish in his character that he was exceedingly covetous.*

E. G. Browne points out (L. H. P. II. 119) that these animadversions on Maḥmūd's greed for gold and the story of the unjustly accused citizen of Nīshāpur have been copied by Mirkhwānd from Ibnu-l-Athīr. Browne himself goes so far as to say that Maḥmūd was not a patron of poets at all, but "a great kidnapper of literary men like Avicenna, Alberūni, Firdausi and others, whom he treated in the end scurvily enough." But this judgment or rather denunciation is unduly severe.

IV. 137, *l.* **17.** *In the spring, he [Mas'ūd] assembled a very large army and marched towards Khurāsān for the purpose of expelling the Saljūkis.*

What Mirkhwānd really says is that Mas'ūd *intended to assemble,* in Hindustān, a large army in the ensuing spring and then march towards Khurāsān for the purpose of exterminating the Seljūqs, who had defeated him in the preceding year. It was not an accomplished fact, but only a part of a project or plan of operations. He never assembled the army and never marched again to Khurāsān. Cf. Baihaqi in E. D. II. 149-50, 152. It may be as well to cite Mīrkhwānd's own words:

بنیتِ آنکه در آن حدود قشلاق کند و موسم بهار سپاهی بیش از شمار ترتیب داده

(*Rauẓat, Jild,* IV. 53).

IV. 141, *l.* **6.** *It [the Khulāṣatu-l-Akhbār] was written by Mirkhond's son, Khondamīr.*

Dr. Rieu has conclusively shown (Cat. of Pers. Mss. I. 96, III. 1079) that Khwāndamīr was neither the son nor the nephew of Mīrkhwānd, but the son of his daughter. Khwāndamīr himself explicitly says so in the *Ḥabību-s-Siyar,* (Bom. Lith. *Jild,* III. *Juzv* 3, 171, 178, 198) and the same statement is made by Sām Mirzā in the *Tuḥfah-i-Sāmi,* and by Amīn Rāzi in the *Haft Iqlīm.* See also Muqtadir, Bānkīpur Catalogue, VI. 25.

IV. 142, *l.* **28.** *He [Khwāndamīr] resided at Basht, a village in Georgia.*

Rieu points out that Basht is not in Georgia, but in 'Gharjistān'. (*op. cit.* I. 96; Supplement, 19. See also Houtsma, E. I., II. 899). 'Gharjistān' and 'Gurjistān' are often confused together. Gharjistān lies on the upper course of the Murghāb in the vicinity of Ghūr. Gurjistān is east of the Caspian. Even Raverty confounds the two toponyms

(Ṭ. N. Tr. Index, p. 189). Khwāndamīr died in 942 H. not 941, as Elliot says (143 *infra*). B. I. 343; Tr. 450; H. Beveridge in Houtsma, II. 399.

IV. 148, *l.* **2.** *Dastūru-l-Wuzrā.*

The date of composition is not mentioned in Elliot's bibliographical notice. It is 915 H. and the title itself is a chronogram. (4+60+400+6+200+1+30 6+7+200+1=915). (Rieu, *loc. cit.* I. 335; Muqtadir, VI. 26). Elliot observes that there is a later work on the same subject entitled *Irshādu-l-Wuzarā*, but 'Awfi says that Sultān Ibrāhīm Ghaznavi wrote for the guidance of his own ministers, a *Dastūru-l-Wuzarā* and he cites it as the source of one of his anecdotes. (Niẓamu-d-dīn, J. H. 67-8, 224). Khwāndamīr had written before this, the *Maāṣiru-l-Mulūk*, a similar work on the institutions, foundations and wise sayings of Kings. It is mentioned a few lines lower down and there is a copy of it in the British Museum. (Rieu, Supplement, p. 18). Shams-i-Siraj also in his *Tārīkh-i-Fīrūz-shāhi* quotes a passage from a *Dastūru-l-Wuzarā.* (Text, 283, last line).

IV. 151, *l.* **7.** *He [Aḥmad bin Ḥasan Maimandi] died in 444 A. H.*

The Bombay Lithograph of the *Rauẓat* (IV. 52) gives the date as 424 H. which is correct. See also *infra* 196 and F. (I. 38, l. 18) where he is said to have died in 424 H. Baihaqi gives the exact date as 25th Muḥarram 424 H. (Text, 454, l. 9). The Ṭ. A. (11, l. 4 f. f.) and Budāuni (I. 22=I. 35), following Gardezi (98, last line), give 423 H. In any case, 444 is undoubtedly wrong and due most probably to a typographical error. As Mas'ūd came to the throne only about the middle of 421 H., Aḥmad was not his Vazīr 'for a long period', but only for a little more than two years.

IV. 152, *l.* **19.** *Abū-l Husain Akbali.*

The copyist has dropped one of the two dots of the third letter of the *nisba.* The correct reading of the sobriquet is *'Uqaili* as in Baihaqi. (E. D. II. 74). 'Uqail is explicitly stated by that contemporary chronicler to have been the name of Abu-l-Ḥusain's grandfather. (183, l. 4 f. f.). 'Uqail was the name of the ancestor of Muḥammad bin Qāsim—the conqueror of Sind. (Bilāduri in E. D. I. 119 and *Chachnāma* in *Ibid*, 157; Ranking, Tr. B. I. 11 note). The anecdote itself is related by Baihaqi in much greater detail, though with some variations. (Text, 453).

IV. 161, *l.* **9.** *[Subuktigīn] ordered that he [Abul Fatḥ Busti] should be appointed professor of the "belles-lettres".*

فرمود که منصب انشا باشد (*Ḥabību-s-Siyar*, Bombay Lith. II. 4, p. 18). "He issued orders for appointing him Head of the Department of Correspondence." The 'Diwān-i-Inshā' seems to have been another name for the 'Diwān-i-Risālat' of Baihaqi. (Text, 122; see also E. D. II. 512). The chief duty of the head was to write the Sultān's letters to foreign princes, provincial governors and other great officials. He also deciphered all secret or confidential reports and submitted them to the Sultān. (Barthold, Turkestan, 230; Nāẓim, M. G. 141).

IV. 163, *l.* **15 and foot note.** *Subuktigīn declared Ismā'īl, who was born of the daughter of Alptigīn, his successor.*

The lithographed text of the *Ḥabību-s-Siyar* has نبیرهٔ دختر الپگین (Vol. II. Pt. iv., p. 19). Dowson suggests that we should read زایده instead of نبیره as Subuktigīn had married Alptigīn's daughter and not his grand-daughter. I would propose a less violent emendation and read نبیره دختری or نبیرهٔ دخترین *i. e.* grandson on the daughter's side. The phrase is used in this sense in the Persian translation of the *Bāburnāma*, (Bombay Lith. 204, l. 14) and also in the *Maāṣiru-l-Umarā*. (III. 241, l. 9). Richardson says نواده دخترینه means a daughter's son and نواده پسرینه 'a son's son'. The historian Ziāu-d-dīn Barani says of himself that he was the نبسه دخترین 'son of the daughter' of Sayyid Jalālu-d-dīn of Kīthal. (T. F. 350, l. 2). The *Tārīkh-i-Guzīda* explicitly states that Ism'aīl was born of the daughter of Alptigīn که از دختر الپتگین بود (Text, 393, l. 14) and that Subuktigīn had married Alptigīn's daughter. (*Ibid*, l. 12).

IV. 167, *l.* 11. *His [Maḥmūd's] age was sixty-three years and he reigned thirty-one.*

This is copied from Ḥamdulla's *Tārīkh-i-Guzīda*. (401, l. 13). If Subuktigīn died in Sh'abān 387 H., and Maḥmūd in Rab'ī II, 421 H., as Khwāndamīr himself says, there must be some error in the computation. The Ṭ. A. and F. assert that Maḥmūd reigned for thirty-five years, which is also inaccurate. Dowson makes the *Ṭabaqāt-i-Nāṣiri* say that he died after a reign of thirty-six years. (E. D. 270; Text, p. 11, l. 14). But Raverty points out that the reading in the best manuscripts is 'thirty-three'. (Tr. 88). As some time must have elapsed before Maḥmūd was able to defeat and dethrone Ism'aīl, the length of his reign must have been about thirty-three lunar years. 'Thirty-one', 'thirty-five' and 'thirty-six' are all miscalculations.

There are three opinions about the date of Maḥmūd's birth. Minhāj gives *Thursday*, 10th Muḥarram 361 H. (Ṭ. N. Text, 9, l. 2; Raverty's Tr. 76; E. D. II. 269) in the 7th year of the rule of Bilkātigīn. But Ḥamdulla, Mīrkhwānd, Khwāndamīr, Firishta and others say the year was 357 or 360 H., with the same date and month and week day. The Sultān's age at his death is stated to have been 60 or 63 accordingly. As calculation shows that 10th Muḥarram 361 H. 2nd November 971 A. C. *was a Thursday*, the former date is presumably correct. 10th Muḥarram 357 H.=16th December 967 was a Monday. 10th Muḥarram 360 H.=13th November 970 A. C. was a Sunday.

IV. 169, *l.* 5. *Tāhir bin Rust, and other Amīrs of Sīstān.*

"Rust" is evidently wrong. The reading in the Bombay Lithograph is 'Zainab' (II. Pt. iv., p. 21, l. 2) and this is found also in Reynolds' translation of Jurbādhaqāni. (p. 285). Dr. Nāẓim, following 'Utbi (Dehli Lith. 194, l. 3 f. f.), calls him 'Yazīd' (M. G. 68), but رست and زینب bear a close superficial resemblance to each other in the Semitic script, if the diacritical points are carelessly marked or transposed and زینب seems to be the correct lection. رست can hardly be mistaken as یزید in Persian writing.

IV. 170, *l.* 4. *In the Rauzatu-s-Safā it is written.*

But Mīrkhwānd has borrowed the entire passage, which his grandson quotes, almost word for word from the *Tarjuma-i-Yamīni* or the Persian paraphrase of 'Utbi's History made by Jurbādhaqāni. A comparison of Reynolds' translation of the latter (pp. 315-6) with Elliot's version will prove this beyond a shadow of doubt.

IV. 171, *l.* 14. *Īlak Khān then craved help from the King of Khutān Kadr Khān.*

The title of this potentate is somewhat uncertain. 'Utbi, Gardezi (Z. A. 82, l. 13) and Baihaqi (E. D. II. 92) all write Qadr Khān, but Mustaufi speaks of him as Qaidū Khān. (*Tār. Guzīda*, 396, l. 2 f. f.). Dr. Barthold says that the correct pronunciation is 'Qadīr Khān' and that it signifies in Turki 'most despotic among kings'. (Turkestan, 273 note). The Khān's Musalman name appears to have been Yūsuf.

IV. 173, last line. *The wealth obtained [from Bhīmnagar] consisted of 70,700 mans of gold and silver utensils.*

The Bombay Lithograph of the Ḥ. S. has هفتاد هزار درهم و هفتصد هزار من آلات زرین و سیمین (II. Pt. iv. 22), "Seventy thousand dirhams and seven hundred thousand *Mans* of gold and silver vessels."

'Utbi says: 'The stamped coin amounted to *seventy thousand thousand* royal dirhams and the gold and silver ingots amounted to seven hundred thousand four hundred *mans* in weight". (E. D. II. 35). F. has "seven hundred thousand *dināars* of gold and seven hundred *mans* of gold and silver". (I. 27, l. 1). This shows how the original statement of 'Utbi has been mutilated and distorted by the copyists.

IV. 177, *l.* 1. *After the death of Abu 'Ali, his brother Māmūn bin Māmūn succeeded.*

The correct name of this ruler was Abul 'Abbās *ibn* Māmūn. (Baihaqi, Text, 837, 838; Ṭ. A. 7, l. 8; F. I. 29, l. 1). Māmūn *bin* Muḥammad *bin* 'Ali conquered Khwārizm about 385 H. and was succeeded, on his assassination in 387 H., by his son Abul Ḥasan 'Ali, who reigned upto 399-400 H. He was followed by his brother Abul 'Abbās *bin* Māmūn, who was murdered on Wednesday, middle of Shawwāl 407 H., 18th March 1017 A. C., at the age of thirty-two. (Baihaqi, 848, l. 5). He married Maḥmūd's sister Kah Kalji, who had been the wife of his brother Abul Ḥasan 'Ali also. (Barthold, Turkestan, 147, 269, 275; M. G. 56-7).

IV. 177, *l.* 14. *The general of the army of Khwārizm, Bināltigīn.*

He is called 'Alptigīn' by Gardezi, (74, l. 5), Baihaqi (847, 851), Ḥamdulla Mustaufi (T. G. 400), Niẓāmu-d-dīn Aḥmad (Ṭ. A. 7, l. 15) and F. (I. 29, l. 6), which may be correct. The Bombay Lithograph of the *Habību-s Siyar* reads Nīyāltigīn which is also the form found in 'Utbi. (Lāhore Ed. 301). Dr. Barthold prefers Alptigīn. (Turkestan, 277). Bināltigīn [Yanāltigīn] is also found. There is some confusion in some of the later compilers about the dynasty ruling in Khwārizm at this time. The *Tārīkh-i-Guzīda* and the *Nusakh-i-Jahānārā* speak of it as Farighūnid, but the latter were rulers of Jūzjān or Jūzjānān, not of

Khwārizm. Raverty has followed them (Ṭ. N. Tr. 232 Note) and others have been similarly misled. (Houtsma, III. 224).

IV. 179, *l.* 12. *There were sapphires which weighed 600 dirhams.*

Khwāndamīr *does not say* that this was the aggregate weight of *several sapphires*. He explicitly states that there was *only one* '*blue ruby*' and that its weight was 400 *miṣqāls*: و برصنمی دیگر قطعهٔ یاقوت کبود بود بوزن چهار صد مثقال (*Ḥabību-s-Siyar*, II. Pt. iv. p. 23, l. 3 f. f.). Mīrkhwānd also says that there was only one یاقوت ازرق. Gardezi also speaks of only one یاقوت کحلی weighing 450 *miṣqāls* (p. 76) and 'Utbi agrees with him. (E. D. II. 45). Niẓāmu-d-dīn (Ṭ. A. 8, l. 2), Firishta (I. 29, l. 3 f. f.) and B. (I. 15; Tr. I. 25) all declare that there was but *one* stone and that it weighed 450 *miṣqāls*. It is open to any one to question the truth or correctness of the assertion itself, but there can be no doubt as to the reading, and there is no justification for altering and rationalising its meaning to fit in with some preconceived opinion. See my note on E. D. II. 45, l. 2.

The weight of the stone is here stated as 'six hundred *dirhams*', because Jurbādhaqāni, from whom Khwāndamīr is copying, speaks of the stone as "a sapphire (or hyacinth) in one solid piece, of azure water, weighing four hundred *miṣqāls*, each *miṣqāl* equivalent to one *dirham* and a half." (Reynolds, Tr. 456).

18th Sh'abān (l. 18) must be an error for 8th Sh'abān *q. v.* 'Utbi in E. D. II. 45.

IV. 190, *l.* 12 from foot. *They would recite three verses, to which it would be difficult to find a fourth etc.*

This story of the rhyming match between Firdausi and the poetical trio is found in Daulatshāh (Browne's Edit. p. 51) and almost all later *Taẕkiras*. But it is really more famous than true. In the first place, there is no trace of it in either of the two oldest extant biographies of the Iranian Homer—those of 'Awfi and Niẓāmi 'Arūẓi. In the second, it is founded, as Nöldeke has pointed out, on the *supposition* that there does not exist in the Persian language any fourth rhyme ending in 'shan', except 'Pashan'. This primary postulate or assumption is false, as 'Dashan' and 'Jashn' may be found in any Dictionary. (The Iranian National Epos, translated in the Journal of the Cama Oriental Institute, No. 6 (1925), p. 43). E. G. Browne also (L. H. P. II. 130) has discussed the question fully and rejects the anecdote as spurious.

IV. 191, *l.* 3 from foot. *He [Maimandi] repeated several verses out of the Shāhnāma etc.*

This story may be true as it rests on the respectable authority of Niẓāmi 'Arūẓi, who says that he heard it when he visited Nīshāpur in A. H. 514=1120 A. C. (*Chihār Maqāla*, Tr. Browne, 83). The verses repeated by the minister were:

اگر جز بکام من آید جواب من و گرز و میدان و افراسیاب

Nöldeke justly says that the "forceful vigour of the lines cannot be rendered by any translation." He observes that he has found the second

hemistich in the *Shāhnāma*, but the first line has not yet been traced in the great Epic. (*loc. cit.* 50).

IV. 192, *l.* **12.** *Afzalu-l-Anāmi Maulānā.....Jāmi has written these lines at the end of this story.*

Afẓalu-l-Anām is not a part of the name of Jāmi, but only a laudatory epithet signifying "most learned or excellent of men". Thus, the Arabian Prophet is often called *Khairu-l-Anām*, "the best of men", and also *Afẓalu-l-Mursalin*, "most excellent of the Prophets" by his followers.

IV. 193, *l.* **11.** *He [Sultān Muḥammad] arrived at* Nagīnābād, *which was in truth* Nakbatābād (*i. e. the abode of calamity*).

We have a word-play or *jeu de mot* here. There is a تصحیف or تجنیس مصحف between نگینا باد or نکبتا باد and نکبتا باد. The bodies of the letters of the words are identical; the difference lies only in the number or position of the *nuqṭas* or diacritical points.

IV. 194, *l.* **4.** *Hasnak had one day said that before Mas'ūd should become King, it would be right to make war.*

What Khwāndamīr writes is که هرگاه مسعود بادشاه شود حسنك را بردار باید کشید (Ḥ. S. Bombay Lith. II. Pt. iv. p. 29, l. 1).

"That when Mas'ūd became king, Ḥasnak would be (or should be) hanged on a gibbet". Cf. what Khwāndamīr says in the *Dastūru-l-Wuzarā*, according to Elliot's own translation on 153 *supra*. "He [Ḥasnak] expressed his apprehensions that when Sultan Mas'ūd ascended the throne, he would impale him". See also Baihaqi, who tells us that Ḥasnak once spoke to 'Abdūs thus: "Tell your lord (Prince Mas'ūd) that all I do is in obedience to my master's order. If hereafter the throne devolves upon him, he must cause Ḥasnak to be executed". (E. D. II. 90). Elliot's manuscript probably read جنگ instead of حسنك and برابر instead of بردار.

IV. 195, *l.* **11.** *He appointed Abu Suhail Hamadūni to the administration of Herāt.*

Here 'Herāt' is an error for "'Irāq." See Ḥ. S. Text, II. iv. p. 29, l. 13. Cf. also below, pp. 196-7, where Abu Suhail (*recte* Sahl) is spoken of as the Governor of 'Ré' (or Rai) and to have been driven out of it by 'Alāu-d-daula *bin* Kākūya. Rai is in 'Irāq. Herāt is certainly not, either in 'Irāq-i-'Arab (Lower Mesopotamia) or 'Irāq-i-'Ajam (Jibāl). The patronymic is, correctly, Abu Sahl (Baihaqi in E. D. II, 74), not 'Abu Suhail'. His 'Nisba' is sometimes spelt حدوی Ḥamdūi, as in Gardezi, who gives the full name as Khwāja Abu Sahl Aḥmad bin al Ḥasan al Ḥamdūi. (93, l. 14). 'Hamdū' [a short form of Aḥmad?] was, perhaps, the name of his ancestor.

IV. 197, *l.* **10.** *Tūztigīn's men had murdered and plundered the people.*

Sic in the Bombay Lith. of the Ḥ. S. II. iv. p. 29, last line, but it is a copyist's slip for 'Pūrtigīn'. Baihaqi (683, 696, 713=E. D. II. 146, 151), Gardezi (105, l. 4) and the Ṭ. A. (12, last line), all speak of him as Pūrtigīn. The error is evidently due to a transposition of the dots. Dr. Barthold takes the correct form to be 'Būri-tagin'. *Būri*, he says, signifies 'wolf'

in Turki. His full name was Tamghāch Khān, Abu Ibrāhīm bin Naṣr. (Turkestan, 300 Note).

IV. 193, *l.* 5 from foot. *Ahmad.....went to the fort and in the year A. H. 433 murdered that king* [*Mas'ūd*].

The year of Mas'ūd's death is given as 433 H. by Khwāndamīr, who seems to be following Ḥamdulla's *Tārīkh-i-Guzīda* (403, l. 5), where the event is put into the first Jumādi of that year and F. also has the same date. (I. 44, l. 3). But the authority of the contemporaneous chroniclers is clearly in favour of 432 H. Baihaqi states that Mas'ūd was taken captive at Mārigala and put to death before Sh'abān 432 H. (867, ll. 7-15). Gardezi declares that he was murdered on 11th Jumādi I. 432. (110, l. 4). Niẓāmu-d-din Aḥmad has followed Gardezi (Ṭ. A. 14, l. 10) and B. copies the Ṭ. A. (I. 29,=Tr. I. 44). The Ṭ. N. also gives 432. (Text, 15, l. 6; E. D. II. 271). It is not easy to decide, but 432 appears to be the more probable date. Baihaqi records that the Sultān left Ghazni on 7th or 8th Rab'ī I. 432 H. =15-16th November 1040 A. C. (E. D. II. 151-3). He must have reached Mārigala about the end of that month or the first week of Rab'ī II, as there are examples of the journey having been accomplished in about twenty days. There can be little doubt that he was a prisoner at Kīri in Rab'ī II. and as there is, in such cases, but one step from the prison to the grave and as Muḥammad's second reign is said to have lasted for only *four or five months*, (Ṭ. N. in E. D. II. 273), it is not unlikely that he was murdered on 11th Jumādi I. 432 H. (17th January, 1041 A. C.). Ibn-al-Athīr also states that Mas'ūd started from Ghazna in Rab'īu-l-awwal 432 H. (Ed. Bulāk, IX. 167, l. 15 f. f.; Tornberg, IX. 281-283). The slaves revolted on 13th Rab'īu-l-ākhīr=21st December 1040 (*Ibid.* 167, l. 11 f.f.) and Muḥammad was defeated by Maudūd on 3rd Sh'abān 432 H. [8th April 1041]. (*Ibid.* 168, l. 7 f. f; Tornberg. IX. 331-332). The winter had arrived, the roads were blocked and military operations were impossible. His enemies must have therefore thought it advisable to take occasion by the forelock and despatch him for ever before succour arrived. Dr. Barthold also gives January 1041 A. C. which corresponds to Jumādiu-l-awwal 432. (Turkestan, p. 303).

IV. 200, *l.* 6. *Maudūd died on 20th of Rajab 441 H.*

Khwāndamīr is following his grandfather's *Rauẓat*, which gives the 20th (Bombay Lith. *Jild*, IV. 52), but the Ṭ. A. (16, l. 4), F. (I. 46, l. 8 f. f.) and B. (I. 33=Tr. I. 49) agree in making it the 24th day of that month and it corresponds to 22nd December, 1049, which is adopted in the C. H. I. (III. p. 33).

IV. 202, *l.* 10. *'Abdu-r-Rashīd was the son of Mas'ūd, but according to the Guzīda.....he was the son of Mahmūd.*

He was not the son of Mas'ūd, but of Maḥmūd. The divergence of opinion in regard to the parentage of this Sultān which Khwāndamīr and others leave undecided can be settled on the authority of the contemporary historian, Gardezi, who speaks of him as سلطانِ معظم عزالدوله و زین الملة

سیف الله معز دین الله ابو منصور عبد الرشید بن یمین الدوله و امین الملته ابی القاسم محمود (Z. A. 61, l. 3 f. f.). See also *Ibid*, 111, l. 8, where he again states categorically that 'Abdu-r-Rashīd was the son of Maḥmūd himself. His book was entitled *Zainu-l-Akhbār*, because 'Abdu-r-Rashīd was styled '*Zainu*-l-Millat' and was his patron.

IV. 203, *l.* **16.** *When Jarjīr .....heard of the murder of 'Abdu-r-Rashīd.*

* This name appears in several forms. The Ṭ. A. has حرحر (16, l. 17). F. calls him کرخی or نوشتگین گرجی (I. 47, ll. 6 and 17). The *Tārīkh-i-Guzīda* speaks of him as نوشتگین شروانی (403, l. 4 f. f.). 'Jarjīr' or 'Jurjīr' may be the Arabicised form of the 'Gurji' of F. Ḥamdulla's 'Shirwāni' may indicate that his origin was from Shirwān. Shirwān and Gurgān (or Jurjān) are both east of the Caspian and adjacent to each other.

IV. 204, *l.* **16.** *Jākar Beg Saljūki .. ..sent his son Alp Arslān to encounter Farrukhzād.*

The correct form is 'Chaghar Beg', as in the *Tār. Guz.* (402, l. 13), and Lane Poole, (Muḥammadan Dynasties, 152). F. (I. 44, l. 3 f. f.) has 'J'afar Beg' and Elliot notes the variants 'Bajr' and 'Bajū' Beg, but they are all wrong. Similarly, 'J'afartigīn' at 171 *ante* is an error for 'Jaghartigīn' or 'Chaghartigīn'. This name 'Chaghar' was afterwards borne by the famous Balūch chieftain, Mīr Chākar (*Recte* Chaghar) Rind, *q. v.* 398 *post.* Several other Turki names also, *e. g.* Sinjar, Ghāzān, Zangi etc., are still found among the Balūch. (Dames, Baloch Race, 13). In Houtsma's E. I. also, (II. 909), the name is written as "Chaghri Beg."

IV. 205, *l.* **13.** *Sultān Ibrāhīm died in 492 H.... ..but other historians say he died in 481 H. But God knows all things.*

Elliot has noted the discrepant statements and errors of various compilers in regard to the duration and year of the termination of Ibrāhīm's reign. According to the *Tārīkh-i-Guzīda* (404, l. 14), Ibrāhīm died on 5th Shawwāl 492 H. (25th August 1099). This is the most probable date. As Baihaqi gives the date of his accession as 19th Ṣafar 451 H. (*vide* my note on II. 277, l. 5), the most tenable view must be that he reigned for about 42 lunar years. The Ṭ. A. (p. 17) and F. (I. 49) give both 481 H. and 492 H., without stating which of the two is correct, but at the same time, they aver that his son 'Alāu-d-diula reigned for *sixteen* years and died in 508 H., which proves that 492 H. must be right.

IV. 205, *l.* **4 from foot.** [*The poets*] *Abū-l-Farah and Arzaki.*

'Farah' (فرح) is an error for فرخ. He is correctly called 'Abu-l-Faraj' in the Ḥ. S. (II. iv. p. 32), as well as by B. (I. 37) and F. (I. 49, l. 14). His sobriquet is said by B. and others to have been 'Rūni', but Ḥamdulla calls him 'Zauzani'. (T. G. 815, l. 3 f. f.). 'Abdul Ḥamīd or 'Abdul Majīd *bin* 'Abdu-s-Ṣamad—the subject of his panegyrics—was the Vazīr of Sultān Ibrāhīm Ghaznavi. The situation of Rūn is also matter of controversy. B. asserts that it was a village near Lāhore (I. 37), but other authors locate

it near Nīshāpur. (Ranking, Tr. I. 54 note). He is styled Abu-l-Faraj Rūni in Houtsma (E. I. III. 1059) and described as a great master of the *Qaṣīda*. The name of the other poet mentioned on p. 206, l. 1, was not Arzaqi, but *Azraqi*. Many modern scholars deny that he was the author of the *Alfiya* or that he perpetrated such pornography. (Houtsma, E. I. I. 542). See also *Chihār Maqālā*, Text, 44, 170.

IV. 207, *l.* **15.** *Arslān Shāh.....sent his mother.....with 2000 dīnārs .....and proposed a reconciliation.*

دو هزار must be a scribe's error for دویست هزار *i. e.* 'two hundred thousand,' which is the reading in the lithographed text of the Ḥ. S. (II. iv. p. 33), as well as of the *Rauẓat*, (IV. 56) and F. (I. 49, l. 1 f. f.). The *dīnār* was a gold coin weighing about seventy grains and 2000 *dīnārs* would be too paltry a sum to be offered to or accepted as an indemnity by the rapacious Seljūq. Elliot himself states (208 *note*, *infra*) that Sinjar carried off all the treasures of Ghazni. He is even said, in the Seljūq histories, and also in Mīrkhwānd's encyclopaedic compilation, to have imposed upon Bahrām, as the condition of his restoration, a daily tribute of one thousand *dīnārs*. (*Rauẓat*, IV. 127; Browne, L. H. P. II. 297-8).

IV. 209, *l.* **17.** *Shaikh Sanāi Abul-Majīd bin Ādamu-l-Ghaznivi [the poet].*

Majīd مجید is one of the names of God and Abu-l-'Majīd cannot be correct. The poet's name was *'Abdu*-l-Majīd Majdūd bin Ādam. (Ḥ. S. II. iv. p. 35; F. I. 51, l. 8 f. f.; Browne, Daulatshāh, 95; Browne, L. H. P. II. 317). Ranking (B. Tr. I. 35 Note) gives the patronymic as Abu Muḥammad, but this must be due to a slip (محمد for مجید).

IV. 209, *l.* **24.** *Where a certain darwesh experienced in misfortunes was saying to his cupbearer, 'Fill a cup to the blindness of the contemptible Maḥmūd Subuktigīn'.*

یکی از مجذ وبان مشهور بلای خوار (Ḥ. S. II. iv. p. 33 last line). Rather, "a half-demented Santon, who was known as *Lāikhwār*, *i. e.* 'Drinker of the dregs of wine'." The story is to be found in the *Taẕkiratu-s-Shu'ara* of Daulatshāh, who speaks of its hero as "a madman who was called *Lāikhwār*, because he collected together in liquor shops the lees of wine and drank them off in the baths." دیوانهٔ بود که اورا لای خوار گفتندی که همواره در شرابخانها دُردِ شراب جمع کرده و در گلخنها تجرع نمودی (Ed. Browne, 95-6):

The man was what is called a مجذوبِ خراباتی "a tavern-haunting santon or inspired idiot, a lunatic or natural who was believed to have come under Divine influence". In Daulatshāh's version of the tale, the anachronism animadverted upon by Khwāndamīr is got rid of by associating the drunkard's diatribe with the name of Ibrāhīm Ghaznavi and not his ancestor, Maḥmūd. Browne discredits the whole anecdote and opines that it is not worthy of attention in connection with Sanāi's conversion to the higher life. (L. H. P. II. 317). In F.'s version of the story, the Sultān is Maḥmūd and not Ibrāhīm, but the *Majẕūb* is there also, invariably called

لای خوار (I. 51; ll. 7, 6, 5 f. f.). This word is synonymous with دُرد آشام 'Lees-drinker', which is so frequently found in Ḥāfiẓ, S'adi and other poets. The translator has wrongly read بلای خوار instead of لای خوار The initial ب is the preposition.

IV. 211, *l.* **3.** *He made a translation of a panegyric which had been written in honour of His Holiness and read the verses before the Prophet's holy sepulchre.*

According to the Bombay lithograph of the *Ḥabību-s-Siyar*, this poet, Ḥasan Ghaznavi, recited a *Tarjī'a* or *Tarjī'aband*, which he had composed in praise of the Prophet. ترجیعی در نعت آن حضرت گفته (II. iv, p. 34). Khwāndamīr does not speak of Sayyid Ḥasan having made a translation (ترجمه) of any poem, nor does the word, ترجمه occur in the oldest version of the anecdote, as it is related in the *Tārīkh-i-Guzīda* of Ḥamdulla Mustaufi, who avers that when the poet went on pilgrimage "he recited a *tarjī'a* in praise of His Holiness." بنعت آن حضرت ترجیعی گفته (Text, 817, l. 5 f.f.). A *Tarjī'a*, *Tarjī'aband* or 'Strophe-Poem' is "a peculiarly constructed form of verse which is made up of a number of couplets in the same metre, but having a different rhyme which recurs at regular intervals, but not for more than seven times in all". (Ranking, Tr. B. I. 62 and 196 Note. See also Browne, L. H. P. II. 39-40).

IV. 218, *l.* **6.** *The commentaries of Bābar.....were translated into Persian .....by 'Abdu-r-Raḥīm Khān Khānān.*

There is an older Persian version of the Memoirs also which was not known to Elliot or his editor, Dowson. It was begun in 994 A. H. by Mirzā Pāyanda Ḥasan Ghaznavī and continued by a Muḥammad Quli Mughal Ḥiṣāri. It is unfortunately not complete, but Mrs. Beveridge says that it is "careful, likeable and helpful by its small explanatory glosses". (*Bāburnāma*, Tr. Pref. xliii. See also Rieu, B. M. Catalogue, II. 799; Ethé, India Office Catalogue, No. 179; Sachau and Ethé, Bodleian Catalogue, No. 215 A). Mr. H. Beveridge denies that the Khān-i-Khānān 'Abdu-r-Raḥīm was the real author of the Persian translation of Bābur's Memoirs. (Asiatic Quarterly Review, 1900, pp. 114-123, 310-323). The author of the *Darbār-i-Akbarī* also ridicules the notion of this 'busy man of affairs' shouldering the drudgery inseparable from such a task. He is sure that it was performed under his guidance by some of the litterateurs who were in attendance upon him. (p. 642). Mr. Beveridge suggests that the version which passes under the name of 'Abdu-r-Raḥīm existed in Humāyūn's time (*loc. cit.* p. 124; A. N. Tr. I. Errata, p. xiii), but the conjecture is founded only on the colophon of a manuscript in the Mahārājā of Alwār's Library, the authenticity of which is exceedingly doubtful. Sir E. D. Ross does not appear to have been impressed by the weight of his reasoning and accepts the authorship of the Khān-i-Khānān. (C. H. I., IV. 20). M. Clement Huart also does not question it. (Houtsma, E. I., I. 548).

IV. 221, *l.* 18. *We come upon several countries in this range of mountains connected with Kashmīr, such as Pakhali and Shamang [which are now independent of Kashmīr].*

Mrs. Beveridge leaves this 'Shamang' unidentified. (B. N. 484). Perhaps, it is a mistranscription of پنشک 'Punshk' or پنتشك 'Puntshk' (Punch or Puntsch). The letters appear to have been jumbled by the copyists. Abul Faẓl tells us that Buliāsa (Peliasa of the maps) is the end of the country of Kashmīr and the beginning of the territory of *Mashtang*, which is the name of the country lying between the Kishangangā and the river of Pakhli, *i. e.* the Siran. He then gives the itinerary of Akbar's march from Buliāsa to Dudhiāl through Pakhli. (A. N. III. 559; Tr. 850). Mr. Beveridge notes that in the Mss. of the *Akbarnāma*, this name *Mashtang* is variously written as 'Shahbang', 'Shahsank', 'Pushang' etc. Buliāsa or Peliāsa is said to be six marches from modern Abbottābād, from which Dudhial is 25 miles distant towards the north-east. Constable, 24 D a. مشتنک can be easily misread as Shamang, Shahbank or Shahsank, Pantshank, or Puntshk.

IV. 230, *l.* 3 from foot. *When I reached Makām, several of my principal adherents advised me etc.*

Mrs. Beveridge takes 'Makām' as the name of a place, but as the maps do not show it, suggests that Bābur has given the name wrongly and we should read 'Mardān' and not "Makām". (B. N. Tr. 377 and Note). But the word مقام seems to be really used here (as in other passages on this page), by Bābur as a common noun in the sense of 'halting place', 'stage on a journey,' or 'the spot which had been chosen for staying in after a march.' The passage under discussion stands thus in the *Tūzuk-i-Bāburi* (Bombay Lithograph, p. 140, l. 9 f. f.): در وقت فرود آمدن مقام بعضی دولتخواهان بعرض رسانیدند. A few lines higher up on this very page, Bābur writes:— که بمقام آمده بما همراه شوند (140, l. 8); در میان- مقام فرود آمده شد (140, l. 9). And again, در آن منزل مقام کردیم (165, l. 16); در هر منزل دو دو سه سه روز مقام می آید (172, l. 1). See also 214, l. 6 f. f.; 215, l. 5 f. f.

Similar expressions occur very frequently in the *Tūzuk-i-Jahāngīri*, (170, ll. 2, 11, 27; 171, ll. 1, 6, 13; 173, ll. 15, 23), and even the English factor, William Finch, uses the Persian word: "The unseasonable thunder, wind and raine, with my disease, almost made an end of me, which made us make *Mukom*, on the third and fourth [February 1610]." (Early Travels in India, Ed. Foster, p. 138). Once more he says: "The twelfth [February 1610], we made *Mukom*." (*Ibid*, 142).

IV. 231, *l.* 8. *I myself set off for Sawāti, which they likewise call Kark-Khāna.*

The dots are misplaced. This is the Swābi of the I. G. Atlas, Pl. 33, C 2. It is now in Peshāwar district. It is the eastern-most *taḥṣīl* of the district and forms with the Mardān *taḥṣīl*, the Yūsufzai division. (I. G. XXIII. 183). The second name indicates that the rhinoceros was hunted

there.

IV. 231, *l.* 9 from foot. *Saiyid Kāsim, Ishak Āghā.....cut off their heads.*

'Aishik Āghā, literally means "Lord of the Gate." (B. N. Tr. 379). Morier says *Ishik-āgāssi* means "Master of the Ceremonies". (First Journey to Persia (1812), p. 108). Steingass states that اشیک اغاصی باشی signifies 'Chief Usher.'

IV. 232, *l.* 8. *Chaniūt had long been in the possession of the Turks.*

Dowson states in his note that this place cannot be found, but it is in almost all the maps. It is now in Jhang district and lies about 60 miles due south of Bhera. Lat. 31°-43′ N., Long. 73°-0′ E. Constable, Pl. 24 F b. Khūshāb is about 40 miles south-west of Bhera, Khushāb is now in Shāhpur district. (Constable, E a 24). Lat. 32°-18′ N., Long. 72°-22′ E. (I. G.) S'ad-u-lla Khān, the renowned minister of Shāh Jahān, was a native of Chaniūt.

IV. 234, *l.* 1 and footnote. *People were always saying [that ambassadors should be sent to Ibrāhīm Lody].*

Dowson objects "that there is not a word of this paragraph in the Chaghatāi", but it is in the Turki text, translated by Mrs. Beveridge. (B. N. Tr. 384). Pavet de Courteille has a sentence instead which is differently worded, but has the same meaning. (II. 62).

IV. 235, *l.* 5. *Their [the Gakkhars'] places of strength are situated on ravines and steep precipices.*

جای محکم ایشان آبکند و جره هاست (Pers. Tr. 145, l. 5). The word آبکند means 'river bed, pool of water, or hollow channel excavated by the rushing of a torrent.' جر signifies 'crack, cleft, fissure, particularly in the ground.' (Richardson and Steingass). Mrs. Beveridge translates the sentence thus: "Torrent beds and ravines are their strongholds." (B. N. Tr. 387). Dowson again speaks of 'precipices' on the following page (236, l. 18), but the word there also is جرها (T. B., Bombay Lith. 146, l. 7). Erskine says of the Gakkhar country that it is "rugged, mountainous and intersected by rugged ravines and dells which make it easily defensible" (H.B.H. II. 425) and Mr. Vincent Smith also speaks of the 'intricate ravines of the Salt Range'. (E. H. I. 77). We learn from the I. G. also that in the northern part of the Salt Range, the drainage is into small lakes, but southward, the streams flow through barren and stormy gorges and the country is cut up into tiny glens and ravines by a net work of ridges and connecting spurs." (XXI. 413). The small lakes and streams are the 'Ābkand' and the ravines are the 'Jarr' spoken of by the observant Emperor.

IV. 235, *l.* 6. *The name of Tātār's stronghold was Parhālah.*

It is now called Pharwāla and lies twelve miles east of Rāwalpindi. (Delmerick in J. A. S. B. 1871, p. 85 note). It stands "at the eastern entrance of a wild and rocky gorge at the spot where the Suhan river quits the hills." (B. N. Tr. 452 *Note*). See also my note on IV. 56, l. 13, *ante*.

IV. 237, *l.* 17. *Among them were Amīn Muḥammad Karāshi and Tar-*

khān Arghūn.

The names and sobriquets are dislocated here. 'Karāshi', *recte* Qarācha, was not the sobriquet of Amīn Muḥammad and 'Tarkhān Arghūn' cannot stand as the personal name of an individual. The true reading is "Amīn Muḥammad Tarkhān Arghūn and Qarācha". (B. N. Tr. 390; P. de Courteille. II. 72). The double sobriquet signifies that Amīn Muḥammad belonged to that branch of the Arghūn tribe which bore the specific designation of Tarkhān, on account of its descent from Shankal Beg Tarkhān, who was sixth in descent from Arghūn Khān. (*Āīn*, Tr. I. 361). See also Elliot's Note at I. 303. Amīn Muḥammad Tarkhān Arghūn is again mentioned in the B. N. Tr. 415. Qarācha's name also occurs frequently in the Memoirs. (B. N. Tr. 602, 638, 650, 659).

IV. 237, *l.* 10 from foot. *Hāti Gakkar slew Malik-hast's father.*

Malik Hast was the chief of the Janjūhas. Bābur explains that his real name was 'Asad', but "as Hindustānis sometimes drop a vowel, *e. g.* say 'Khabr' for 'Khabar' (news), they had said "Asd" for "Asad" and this went on to 'Hast'". (B. N. Tr. 380; T. B. 141, l. 19).

'Andarābah' (l. 22) is a miswriting of 'Adrānah', "a town or village in the Fatḥ Jang *taḥṣīl* of Rāwalpindi district". (Delmerick, J. A. S. B. 1871, p. 85 note). Mrs. Beveridge spells it wrongly as 'Andarāba' and she leaves it unidentified. The name is clearly written اندرابه in the T. B. 147, ll. 3 and 23, and there can be little doubt that it is the 'Adrānah' of our maps, though the Chaghatāi text and Pavet de Courteille also calls it 'Enderābeh'. (*Mémoires de Baber*. II. 73).

IV. 240, *l.* 3. [*We encamped*] *close by the hill of Jūd, below the hill of Bālināt Jogi on the banks of a river at the station of Bakiālān.*

پایانِ کوه بالناتهه جوگی درکنارِ رود جای بودن بکیالان آمده منزل کرده شد

(T. B. 165, l. 15). "We halted at the foot of the hill of Balnāth Jogi by the side of a stream, in a spot inhabited by *Bugyāls*" (near Nandna, *q. v.* E. D. II. 450). 'Bakiālān' is not the name of a place, but the plural of *Bugyāl*—the name of a Gakkhar clan. Jahāngīr states that these tribesmen who were kinsmen of the Gakkhars were settled in the district between Rhotās and Hatya, when he passed through this region on his march to Kābul. (*Tūzuk*, 47; Tr. I. 97=E. D. VI. 309).

IV. 244, *l.* 4. *Dilāwar Khān came on by way of Sultānpūr and Kochi.*

So also in the Persian translation (167, l. 16) and P. de Courteille (II. 144), but Mrs. Beveridge renders the Turki differently and says, "he went to his family [*Kūch*] in Sultānpūr" (B. N. Tr. 457) and this may be correct as it has not been possible to trace any place called 'Kochi'.

This Sultānpur which is said to have been founded by Tātār Khān Lody Yūsūf Khail, is the town of that name in Kapurthalā State. (Tolbort's Art. on the District of Ludhiānā in J. A. S. B. 1869, p. 89). Constable, 25 A b. It lies sixteen miles north of Kapurthalā town. (I. G.

XXIII. 138). Tātār Khān Yūsuf Khail was Daulat Khān Lodi's father.

IV. 245, *l.* 19. *We crossed the river Biyāh opposite to Kanwahīn.*

Kānw-wāhan was a *Maḥāl* in *Sarkār* Batāla in the Bāri Duāb. (*Āīn*, Tr. II. 110 and 369). The *pargana* town is about thirteen miles north-west of Dasūyah in Hoshiārpur district. *Wāhan* or *Wāh* signifies 'a canal or water-channel.' (Raverty, Mihrān, J. A. S. B. 1892, p. 372 *note*). Dasūya lies 25 miles north-west of Hoshiārpur town. (I. G. XI. 194). Kānwāhan lake is now included in Gurdāspur district, Punjab. (*Ibid*).

IV. 247, *l.* 9. *Marching thence and passing the small hill of Ābkand by Milwat, we reached Dūn.*

T. B. 169, l. 17. و از آنجا کوچ نموده از کوههای خرد و آبکند و از ملوت گذشته بدون آمدیم

"Having marched thence and crossed the low hills and torrent-beds near Malot, we entered the Dūn". Cf. P. de Courteille, II. 151. Dowson has understood "Ābkand" here as a place-name, but it is so often used as a common noun in the sense of 'river-bed, pool of water, water-hole', that there is no warrant for assigning to it any other meaning. The word is employed in this sense by Jahāngīr also in the *Tūzuk*. (Text, 154, l. 20; Tr. I. 315). See also the Note on p. 235 *ante*, where Dowson has given its English equivalent as "ravine". This 'Milwat' must be 'Malot' in Hoshiārpur district. Lat. 31°-50′ N., Long. 76°-0′ E. (I. G. XIII. 194). There is another place called Malot near Bhera in the Salt Range, Jhelum district, which lies about nine miles west of Katās. Lat. 32°-42′ N., Long. 72°-50′ E. (I. G. XVII. 95). The Dūn (dale or valley) which Bābur speaks of having entered must be the Jaswān Dūn.

IV. 247, *l.* 17. *To the north-east [of the Dūn], is a castle called Kūtila*

This *may be* Kotla, which is situated on a steep ridge about thirteen miles eastward of Nūrpur and twenty-two miles north-west of Kāngra. (Pandit Hirānand Shāstri's Art. on the Gūleria Chiefs of Kāngra in the Punjab Historical Society's Journal, 1912, p. 141). Kotla, Kāngra and Gwāliyar (Gūler) were all *Maḥals* in the Bāri Duāb *Sarkār* in the days of Akbar. (*Āīn*, Tr. II. 319; Cunningham, A. G. I. 136). Kinkūta (l. 5 f.f.) is the 'Gangot' which was in the Beth (or Bist) Jālandhar Duāb. (*Āīn*, Tr. II. 317).

IV. 248, *l.* 8. *The detachment advanced against Harūr, Kahlūr and the forts in that part of the country.*

The reading of the first name in the Persian Translation is 'Hindūr' (170, l. 13) and this may be correct. Hindūr and Kahlūr are two States which lie in close juxtaposition and are both shown in Constable's Atlas, Pl. 25 B b. Kahlūr is now generally known as Bilāspur. Hindūr (now called Nalagarh) is about thirty miles north of Rupār (in Ambālā), to which latter place Bābur says he marched from the Dūn Valley. But the Turki text and de Courteille (II. 154) also read 'Harūr' (B. N. Tr. 464), which may be an error for Harīpur, though Harīpur is further north near Kāngra.

IV. 248, *l.* 5 from foot. *I sent back a Sawādi Tinkatār along with him.*

Dowson says in the footnote that "the office of Tinkatār is not well ascertained." *Tunqitār*, according to Mrs. Beveridge, is a "word of many meanings in Turki and signifies "a guardian in war of a prince's tent, a night guard, a man who repeats a prayer aloud while a prince is mounting etc." (B. N. 464 Note). A man named Kichkīna Tunqitār is mentioned in the Memoirs as having been sent with orders to the Tramontane Begs. (B. N. Tr. 406). The name of 'Ulja Tamūr *Tunqitār*' occurs also in Yazdi's *Ẓafar-nāma*. (E. D. III. 518).

IV. 249, *l.* 1. *We halted on the banks of the stream of Banūr and Sanūr..... They call it the stream of Kagar. Chitar stands on its banks.*

Banūr lies about 15 miles north-east of Patiālā town and about the same distance south-east of Sirhind. Constable, 25 D b. Sanūr or Sanaur is four miles south-east of Patiālā. It is an old town and "in the time of Bābur, Malik Bahāu-d-dīn the Khokhar was the chief of Sanaur with 84 circumjacent villages, whence the pargana was known as *Chorāsi*". (I. G. XXII. 27). It is now one of the four *taḥṣīls* of the Karamgarh Niẓāmat of Patiālā State. (*Ib.* XV. 48). The Kagar is the Ghaggar or Gaggar. 'Chitar' may be 'Chhatr' or 'Jhat' which was the chief town of a *maḥal* in the *sarkār* of Sirhind and is said to have been on the Ghaggar in the *Āīn* (Tr. II. 296) or 'Chhapar', another town on the Ghaggar near Bannūr and Fatḥpur.

IV. 251, *l.* 5. *After reviewing it* [*the army*], *I performed the* Vīm.

Mrs. Beveridge reads this Turki word with a 'dāl' and writes 'Dīm', admitting at the same time, that the spelling varies in the Manuscripts. But however uncertain the orthography and orthoepy may be, the meaning is fairly clear, as the custom of using a whip for the approximate determination of the numerical strength of an army is well known and of respectable antiquity. Baihaqi says of Sultān Mas'ūd Ghaznavi that he held a review of his troops on 8th Sh'abān 426 H. and a count was taken by means of a whip. لشکری را بسر تازیانه بشمردند; 598, l. 7 f. f. It is also mentioned in the *Siyāsatnāma* of the great Seljūq minister Niẓāmu-l-Mulk. (Bombay Lith. I. 17, l. 7; Tr. Schefer, 22). "We do not exactly know how the count was made, but it has been conjectured that in the march past, the whip was held by the teller 'to keep his place' and "the troops were measured off as so many whip lengths". (B. N. Tr. 154 and 468 *notes*).

IV. 254, *l.* 11. *I stationed Wali Kizil.....to act as a Tulughmah.*

"Qizil" means 'Red'. The sobriquet having reference to a physical trait was given to this "Wali" probably to distinguish him from his namesakes. Another 'Wali' is styled 'Khazānchi' (Treasurer) and also "Qarāqūzī" 'Black-eyed'. (B. N. Tr. 566; see also *Ib.* 335, 472, 475). A third Wali 'Pārschi,' *i. e.* Wali, the Cheetah-keeper, is also mentioned. (*Ib.* 633). Mrs. Beveridge vocalises the Turki word as *Tūlghuma*. (B. N. 473).

IV. 256, *l.* 11. *Tāhir Tabari, the younger brother of Khalīfa..... cut off Ibrāhīm's head.*

Ṭāhir Tabri [or Tibri or Tīri] was not Khalīfa's brother, but his brother-in-law. (B. N. Tr. 475). P. de Courteille has *beau-frère*. (II. 170). See also page 267 *infra*, where he is correctly described in Dowson's own translation as the maternal uncle of Muḥibb-i-Ali, the son of Khalīfa, تغای محب علی (T. B. p. 206. *recte*, 208). What Dowson calls "the royal tank" (l. 28) is really the "Hauẓ-i-Khās" or 'Hauẓ-i-'Alāi,' the great reservoir constructed by 'Alāu-d-dīn Khalji in or about 1293 A. C. The Shamsi tank is the Hauẓ-i-Shamsi—the one excavated by Shamsu-d-dīn Īltutmish.

IV. 261, *l.* 5 from foot. *From the* mansion of hostility *which* [*Chauderi*] *had long been, I converted it into the* mansion of the faith.

The phrases used in the original text are دارالحرب and دارالاسلام (T. B. 179, last line). According to the *Ghiyāṣu-l-Lughāt*, 'Dāru-l-ḥarb' is any country belonging to infidels which has not been subdued by Islām. In the *Fatāwāi 'Ālamgīri*, it is laid down that a 'Dāru-l-Ḥarb' becomes a 'Dāru-l-Islām' on one condition, *viz.* the promulgation of the edicts of Islām. (Hughes, Dict. of Islam, 69. See also *Ibid*, 277, 710).

IV. 263, *l.* 13. *And in Kālpi 'Ali Khān* [*was the governor*].

In the Persian translation of the 'Memoirs', he is called 'Ālam Khān' (206, l. 18) and so also in the B. N. (Tr. 523). This 'Ālam Khān, who was the son of Jalāl Khān Jigat, should not be confused with 'Alāu-d-dīn 'Ālam Khān-i-Lodi, one of the sons of Sultān Buhlūl and uncle of Sultān Ibrāhīm. 'Ālam Khān of Kālpi afterwards joined Bahādur Shāh of Gujarāt, was left in charge of Mandū after that Sultan's flight and was hamstrung and put to death by Humāyūn when the stronghold was captured, in 942 H. (*Mirāt-i-Sikandari*, Tr. Bayley, 366 note. Ḥājji Dabīr, Ẓ. W. 232, 233). Jalāl Khān Jigat, his father, is difficult to identify, but *may be* Jalāl Khān, the son of Sikander Lody, (Erskine, H. B. H., I. 469 note), who is explicitly stated to have given Kālpi to him as a *Jāgīr*. (468 *post*).

'Alāu-d-dīn 'Ālamkhān-i-Lodi lived several years longer and was killed by the orders of Sultān Maḥmūd Laṭīf of Gujarāt in 950 H. (*Mirāt-i-Sikandari*, Tr. Bayley, 277 *Note*. Ḥājji Dabīr, *Ibid*, 326). He was the uncle of Sultān Sikandar and *may have been* the granduncle of this other 'Ali (or Ālam) Khān of Kālpi. A third 'Ālam Khān-i-Tahangari [of Tahangarh near Bayāna] who was the brother of Niẓām Khān of Bayāna is also mentioned. (B. N. Tr. 538, 539, 547).

IV. 265, *l.* 1. *Kandhār.....was held by Hasan, the son of Makon.*

Recte, مکہن as in Budāuni. (I. 338=Tr. I. 444). Makhkhan (Butter) is a not uncommon name among Hindus as well as Musalmāns, *e. g.* Makhkhan Lāl, Miyān Makhkhan. A Shaikhzāda or Miyān Makan or Mākhan is mentioned more than once by Ni'amatulla (E. D. V. 98, 101, 104), the Ṭ. A. (165, l. 8; 166, l. 10 from foot), and Aḥmad Yādgār (E. D. V. 16-19). He was one of the great officers of Sikandar and Ibrāhīm Lody. This Ḥasan may have been his son.

IV. 266, *l.* 9 from foot. [*Humāyūn*] *waited on me in the garden of the Hasht-bihisht.*

'Hasht-bihisht', 'Eight Paradises', is the title of one of the Maṣnavis of Amīr Khusrau. The name of this Āgra garden is said to have been afterwards changed to Ārām Bāgh and that to Rām Bāgh by the Mahrāttas. It is now generally known as Rām Bāgh. Jahāngīr gave it away to Nūr Jahān and it is identified by Mr. Keene (Guide to Agra, 38, 39) with the 'Nūr-Afshān, Garden' of his *Tūzuk*. It appears to have been known also as the 'Gul-Afshān' Garden. It lay on the eastern side of the Jumna and opposite the Fort. (Beveridge's Note to A. N. Tr. I. Errata, p. xii).

IV. 268, *l.* 15. *Mustafa Rūmi had disposed the guns according to the Rūmi fashion. He was extremely active, intelligent and skilful in the management of artillery.*

In the Persian version as well as in Mrs. Beveridge's translation from the Turki (B. N. 550), the praise is given to the *'Arāba, i.e.* guns, or rather the gun-carts, and not to the artillerist. مصطفی رومی بد ستور روم ارابه کرده بود خیلی چست و چسپان و خوب ارابها بوده "Muṣṭafā Rūmi had the carts *'Arābas* [or gun-carts] prepared in the Turkish style. Very strong, useful and fine were these *'Arābas* indeed".

IV. 268, *l.* 4 from foot. *I caused the Hindustāni and Khurāsāni prisoners to run a ditch.*

There is nothing corresponding to 'prisoners' either in the Persian translation or the Turki text.

بیلداران خراسانی و هندوستانی و کلند داران را انداخته خندق کنده شد (T. B. 206, l. 10). "Khurāsāni and Hindustāni spadesmen and mattockmen were employed and a ditch was dug". So also B. N. Tr. 550 and P. de Courteille (II. 274). The word 'Khurāsāni' is not used here in the specific sense of 'inhabitants of Khurāsān', but for foreigners (*Pardeshis*) of all sorts. Bābur himself observes elsewhere in the Memoirs that "just as 'Arabs call every place outside Arabia *'Ajam*, so Hindustānis call every place outside India, *Khurāsān*". (B. N. Tr. 202). Barbosa, writing about 1510 A. C., applies the term 'Coraçones' to the inhabitants of North Persia and the kingdom ruled over by Ḥusain Mirzā Bāīqarā, including Sīstān and Herāt. (Tr. Dames, I. 119-20 Note). Ibn Baṭūṭa also had remarked, two centuries before, that the people of Delhi speak of all Asiatic strangers indiscriminately as Khurāsānis. (Defrémery, III. 229. See also Thomas, C. P. K. D. 205 *note*). "Prisoners" is, perhaps, a misprint for 'Pioneers'.

IV. 273, *l.* 12 from foot. *I encamped six kos from the fort of Alwār which was on the banks of the river Manisni.*

The Manisni or Ruparel flows eastward to the south of Alwār town. This name is locally said to be derived from 'Mānas-le', which signifies in Gujarāti 'Man-taker, Man-killer or Man-eater'—a folk-etymology so fantastic that it is surprising to find it repeated without protest in the Official Gazetteer. (Powlett, Gazetteer of Gurgāon, Pt. IV a., p. 6). The river is also called 'Barah' and 'Laswāri'. (I. G. V. 256).

'Abdul-Raḥīm is called *Shaghāwal* on l. 5 f. f. 'Shaghāwal' in Turki means 'chief scribe' or 'a high official who was supreme over all *Qāẓis and Mullās*'. (B. N. Tr. 463 note).

IV. 274, *l.* 2. *To Tardīka.....I gave an appointment of fifteen lacs.*

The correct reading here is 'Tardi Yika', *Tardi* being the personal name and 'Yika' (Yakka), an epithet signifying 'champion, brave, valiant fighter'. Mrs. Beveridge points out that this 'Yika' or 'Yikka' is really the Turki *Yīkīt or Yīgīt*, 'young hero'. It came to be understood afterwards in India as the Persian 'Yikka', and was supposed to have the same meaning as 'Aḥdi', a single soldier or private. (B. N. 579; see also *Ib.* 16, 70 Notes and Appendix, pp. xxvii-xxviii). '*Yikka Jawānān*, is used in the A. N. II. p. 284 and translated as "distinguished champions" by Mr. Beveridge. (II. 420). Cf. the use of the Fr. *As*, Eng. *Ace*, for a daring and renowned airman who has brought down a large number of enemy planes.

IV. 274, *l.* 7 from foot. [*We encamped near Chanderi*], *having previously crossed the river of Barhānpūr.*

This is the Or, a tributary of the Betwa. The correct name of the village is 'Bhurānpur'. (B. N. 592 Note). Jalesar (l. 20) is 'Chhalesar', a village six miles N. E. of Āgra. (N. W. P. Gazetteer, VII. 721).

IV. 276, *l.* **21.** *On one side of it* [*the citadel of Chanderi*] *they have made a covered way which runs down to the water.*

'This covered way which runs down to the water' is called '*du-tahi*, double-walled road' by Bābur. It is thus described in the I. G. "The fort of Chanderi is badly supplied with water, the principal source being the Kirat Sāgar tank at the foot of the hill, reached from above by a covered way, which at the same time formed the weak point in its defence and materially assisted Bābur in his assault upon it." (X. 163).

IV. 276, *l.* **5 from foot.** *Shāham Nūr Beg* [*scaled the wall*].

In the Persian translation as well as the Turki text, Shāham is called 'Yūzbeg', *i. e.* centurion, not 'Nūr Beg'. (T. B. 220, l. 9; B. N. 595; De Courteille, II. 331). One explanation of the name Shāham is that his full name was Shāh Muḥammad, of which Shāhim or Shāham is the short form. In the Turki text of another passage, he is spoken of as 'Shāhim-i-Nūr Beg', and Mrs. Beveridge takes this to mean that he was the brother of Nūr Beg. (B. N. 454). Nūr Beg's younger brothers are mentioned at *Ibid.* 446. يوز بك and نور بك are very liable to be confounded in the Semitic script.

IV. 277, *l.* **9 from foot.** *I encamped by the fort of Mallū Khān.*

The T. B. reads, در کنار حوض ملوخان فرود آمد مشد (220, l. 3 f. f.), *i. e.* near *the Tank* or *Reservoir*—not fort—of Mallū Khān. So also B. N. 597; De Courteille. II. 334. Mallū Khān was made governor of Mālwa by Sultān Bahādur Gujarāti and afterwards assumed the title of Sultān, styling himself Qādir Shāh. But F. seems to say that he was the son of another Mālwa noble who had the same title and was employed by Sultān

Nāṣiru-dīn Khalji in an expedition against a rebellious governor of Chanderi in 1500 A. C. (II. 261, l. 17; 270, l. 12). The Tank may have been built by the father.

IV. 281, *l.* 16. *Asok the Hindu had himself been with Padmāwati.*

این اسوك هندو خویشِ نزدیکِ پدر ماوتی مادر بکرماجیت شده T. B. 225, l. 9. "This Hindu named Asoka was a *near relative* of Padmāwati, the mother of Bikramājit." See also B. N. 612. De Courteille. II. (350) has *proche parent.* The word خویش appears to have been left out in Dowson's Ms. This Asokamal Hindu is mentioned also in the *Mirāt-i-Sikandari.* (Text, 174, l. 15; Bayley's Tr. 273; Tr. Fazlullah, 113).

IV. 283, *l.* 14. *The Bengalis had watched them [Jalāl Khān and Dūdū] with a jealous eye.*

بنگالیان ایشانرا بچشم نگاه داشته اند T. B. (227, l. 4 f. f.). Mrs. Beveridge's rendering is "whom the Bengālis [Nuṣrat Shāh] must have held, as if eye-bewitched, *i.e.* held fast from departure, *e. g.* as a mouse is by the fascination of a snake". (B. N. 664 and note). But the real meaning of the phrase بچشم نگاه داشتن is "to keep under the eye", "to keep under surveillance" and the same idea is expressed by the word 'Naẓarband' or 'Naẓarqaid', which signifies 'in open arrest', 'kept under constant observation' or 'vigilantly watched.' P. de Courteille also has *gardés à vue par les Bengālis.* (II. 410). Budāuni uses the expression in this sense سلیم شاه پنهانی حکم فرمود تا مرزا کامران را چشم بند نگاه دارند "Salīm Shāh gave secret orders to his attendants to keep Mirzā Kāmrān under open arrest". (I. 390=Tr. I. 502). Abul Faẓl also speaks of Mirzā Hindāl and Mirzā 'Askari being kept under surveillance. (A. N. I. 231, 236, Tr. I. 462, 468). نظربند نگاه داشت occurs in the *Tūz. Jah.* (369, l. 15; 371, l. 4). Khwāfi Khān says Prince Muḥammad Akbar was outwardly treated hospitably by the Imām of Masqaṭ, but in reality kept under surveillance. نگاه داشت بطریق نظر بند (Text, II. 285, l. 5 f. f.=E. D. VII. 313).

IV. 284, *l.* 4. *I resolved to send Mullā Muḥammad Mazhib [along with..... the ambassador of Bengal].*

Mrs. Beveridge also reads 'Maẕhab' and supposes the sobriquet to mean that 'its bearer occupied himself with the Muḥammadan faith, (مذهب) in its exposition by divines of Islam". (B. N. 665). But I venture to say that 'Maẕhab' has not and cannot have any such meaning in this context and that مذهب is a copyist's error for مهذب 'Muhaẕẕab', which Richardson says means "a good sincere man, *integer vitae scelerisque purus.*" The word is derived from the same root as تهذیب 'cleaning, purifying'. See also Houtsma, E. I., III, 704. 'Khwāja Muhaẕẕab or Muhaẕẕib', also called Muhaẕẕabu-d-dīn Ḥusain was one of the Vazīrs of Sultān Raẓiyya, Mu'izzu-d-dīn Bahrām Shāh and 'Alāu-d-dīn Mas'ūd Shāh. (Ṭ. N. in E. D. II. 938, 341, 342, 343). B. (I. 84, 86, 87=Tr. I. 120, 122, 124), Ṭ. A. (32, l. 10; 34, l. 15) and F. (I. 79, l. 16; 80, l. 10), also call him 'Muhaẕẕab' or 'Muhaẕẕabu-d-dīn". Barani tells us that Khwāja Muhaẕẕab who had been a minister

in former times was so highly respected by Sultān Ghiyaṣu-d-dīn Tughlaq I, that he was allowed to sit in his presence. (Text. 427, l. 21). F. speaks of Sultān Firūz Tughlaq as پادشاه معظم مهذب (I. 144, l. 6). Ibn Baṭūṭa mentions a Khwāja Muhazzib, who was a wealthy merchant of Kawlam or Quilon. (Defrémery, IV. 100=Gibb, 238).

IV. 284, *l.* **9 from foot.** *I called the Amīrs, both Turki and Hindū to a council.*

امرای ترک و هند را بمشورت طلبیده (T. B. 238, l. 4 f. f.). "I summoned the Turki Amīrs and *the Amīrs of Hind* to a council." The 'Amīrs of Hind' were not 'Hindūs', but Afghāns, Paṭhāns and other Musalmāns born in Hind. They were men like Dilāwar Khān, Malik Dād Kararāni and Shaikh Gūrān. (B. N. 567). Bābur had few or no nobles of the Hindū or Brāhmanical persuasion in his service. At any rate, there is no mention of any, either in his 'Memoirs' or in the later chronicles. Bābur speaks elsewhere also of امراي ترك و هند T. B. p. 210 (*Recte* 200), ll. 3 and 11. *q. v.* B. N. Tr. 530, 531).

IV. 285, *l.* **3.** *'Askari should pass the Surū at the Ghāt of Haldi.*

Haldi is a not uncommon place-name in India. This Haldi must be the one near the confluence of the Sarjū and the Ganges. (B. N. 667, 668, 671 notes). It is in Ballia district U. P. about 65 miles east of Ghāzīpur. Lat. 25°-45′ N., Long. 84°-15′ E. Kharīd is in Shāhābād district. It is a low lying alluvial flat bounded on the north by the Ganges and on the east by the Son. (I. G. VI. 5). There is another Haldi near Sikandarpur West, with which this should not be confused.

IV. 286, *l.* **5 from foot.** *During the assault, some hay that had been collected, being set on fire by the fireworks, turpentine and other combustibles that were thrown on it, ...the fort was taken.*

There is nothing either about 'fireworks' or about 'turpentine' in the Persian version or the Turki original. در اثنای جنگ گاه جمع کرده شد و کپه و چیرآتش درمی گیرد 243, l. f. f. "In the course of the fight, dry grass had been stored and the rags (کپه) and thatch caught fire". See also B. N. 681, where the rendering is a "collection of wood chips, hay and thorns". Pavet de Courteille has *herbes et broussailles, i. e.* grass and *brushwood.* (II. 431). Richardson says کپه means 'bits of thread'.

IV. 295, *l.* **2 from foot.** *The royal autobiographer Jahāngīr, records an instance of it in his Memoirs.*

In the notice of Naqīb Khān to which Elliot refers, Jahāngīr writes: "He has no equal or rival in the science of History or Biographies..... From the beginning of Creation till the present day, he has by heart the tale of the four quarters of the world. Has Allah granted to any other person such a faculty of memory!" (*Tūzuk*, Tr. I. 28; Text, 12, l. 16). Elliot's statement that Naqīb Khān "knew the entire contents of the seven volumes of the *Rauẓatu-ṣ-Ṣafā*" is copied from the *Maāṣiru-l-Umarā* and should not be understood too literally. It probably means nothing more

than that he had all the historical facts " at his fingers' ends ".

IV. 301, footnote. *The exact date of its composition is not given, but it was probably soon after 987 H. (1579 A. D.), a date which is mentioned by the writer in the course of the work when referring to his personal affairs.*

In the Catalogue of Persian Mss. in the British Museum (I. 243), Dr. Rieu quotes these words with approval and gives it at his own opinion that 'Abbās's Chronicle was written about 987 H. It may be therefore permissible to point out that this date-limit can be still further extended by about seven or eight years. I beg to draw attention to a passage which both Elliot and Rieu have overlooked, and emphasise the fact that there is *an event of later date* which 'Abbās mentions in connection with " his personal affairs." and the decline of his own fortunes. This is the death of his patron Shaikh Ḥāmīd Bukhāri (p. 390 *post*). Shaikh Ḥāmīd was one of those who fell fighting against the Yūsufzais near Begrām (Peshāwar) towards the end of 994 A. H. (A. N. III. 510=Tr. III. 777; Ṭ. A., l. 9; E. D. V. 455; Budāuni, II. 354=Tr. II. 366; Blochmann, *Āīn*, Tr. I. 397). It follows that this history must have been written, some time *after 994 H.* It seems indeed to have been taken in hand by Royal command with a view to provide materials for Abul Faẓl's *Akbarnāma*, like the *'Wāq'iāt* of Jauhar and the *Humāyūn Nāma* of Gulbadan which were both composed *after 995 H.* (E. D. V. 137; *Humāyūn Nāma*, Tr. Mrs. Beveridge, 83 Note). We know that the first *Farmān* directing the composition of the *Akbarnāma* was issued on the 22nd of Isfandārmad of the thirty-third year of Akbar's reign, *i. e.* Rab'ī II. 997 H. and this was followed by another *Farmān* on 26th Ardībehesht of the thirty-fourth year, or Rajab 997. (Beveridge, *Akbarnāma*, Trans. I. 33 note). The Memoirs of Bāyazīd Biyāt (or Bāyat), another of these *materiaux pour servir*—were dictated to a scribe, according to that author's own statement, in 999 A. H. (Beveridge's summary in J. A. S. B. LXVII. 1898, pp. 297, 316).

IV. 306, *l.* 7. *Rāi Sīhar Langāh, Zamindār of Zābiri, expelled Shaikh Yūsuf from the kingdom of Multān.*

The reading of the first toponym is most probably wrong. The Ṭ. A. (639, l. 3) and F. (II. 324 last line) say in the sections devoted to the History of Multān, that Rāi Sāhar was the ruler of Sīwī or Sawi, *i. e.* Sībī near Quetta. But 'Zābiri' may be 'Seorāi' which lies about eight miles north-east of Sabzalkot. It is now called Sirwāhi. (Cunningham, A. G. I. 254-5). Lat. 28°-10′ N., Long. 70°-2′ East. It was destroyed by Shāh Ḥusain Arghūn in 1525 A. C. It is still a place of considerable sanctity to Muḥammadans. (I. G. XXII. 110). Sabzalkot is now in Bhāwalpur and lies 76 miles north-east of Bhakkar. It is shown in the London Times Atlas, Pl. 79, D 5.

IV. 308, *l.* 20. *Parganas of Hariāna and Bahkāla and Bajwāra in the Punjāb.*

Hariāna and Bajwāra are in Hoshiārpur district, Punjāb. Constable

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Pl. 25 B b. 'Bahkāla' looks like a miswriting of 'Bhagwāl' or 'Begowāl' بھگوال or بیگوال, which is now in Kapurthalā State, but in their near neighbourhood. Constable 25 A b.

IV. 308, *l.* **3 from foot.** *Hasan.....entered the service of.....'Umar Khān Sarwāni Kalkāpūr.*

This reading 'Kalkāpur' is very doubtful and several variants, *Kaktūr* (347 Note), *Kaknūr*, *Kalnūr* and *Laknūr* (377 *infra* Note) are noted by Dowson himself. The sobriquet occurs only in connection with the names of distinguished individuals of the Sarwāni tribe. It is invariably spelt as 'Gukboor' in Dorn's translation of Ni'amatulla's History of the Afghāns, *e.g.* Mobarez Khan Gukboor (I. 101), Hybet Khan, son of Omar Khan Gukboor (*Ib.* 123), Hybet Khan, Aazem Humayoon Servāni Gukboor, Mian Youb Gukboor Servāni (*Ib.* 126), Isa Khan Gukboor (*Ib.* 128), and Said Khan Gukboor (*Ib.* 141). M. Garcin de Tassy also always reads the *Nisba* as *Kakbūr* in his French translation of the Urdū version of 'Abbās's chronicle (pp. 1, 7, 96, 104 etc.). But all these persons are called 'Kalkāpūr' in Dowson's version on 347, 377, 382, 383, 386, 408 *infra*. Now it appears from the Genealogies of the Afghāns, that 'Gukboor' *was* the name borne by one of the famous forbears of the Sarwānis. He is said to have been the son of Sūri, the son of Sarpal, the son of Sarbani. (Dorn, II. 52). He was the great-grandson of the primeval ancestor, Sarbani, and as he had several brothers, uncles, granduncles and cousins, the specific *nisba* or sobriquet 'Gukboor' came to be affixed to the names of his direct descendants, to distinguish them from other branches of the Sarwānis. In this translation 'Kalkāpūr' is affixed as a sobriquet to the name of 'Abbās Sarwāni (419, 428) and to that of his grandfather, Shaikh Bāyazid Sarwāni (388), both of whom belonged to the same family as Shaikh Malhi Kayāl. Kalkāpūr looks like the name of a town or village, but any such supposition is negatived by the above explanation. Whatever the true reading may be—Kakbūr, Gakbūr, Gagbūr or Gazbūr—it is the name of a person and not of a locality.

Abul Faẓl says in his account of the Afghāns that their remote progenitor Afghān had three sons, Sarban, Ghūrgasht and Batan, and that the Ghilzai, Lodi, Niyāzi, Lohāni, Sūr, Batni, Sarwāni and *Kakbūr* (variant, Gakbūr) clans or septs are descended from Batan. (*Āīn*, Tr. II. 402-3). Raverty states that the Sapis or Safis belong to the Ghūrgasht division of Afghāns and are divided into three septs, Gazbūr or Gurbūz, Mas'ūd and Wader. He adds that a small clan of Afghāns called Guzbūr still dwells in the eastern part of Khost, between the rivers Tochi and Shamāl and belong to the great tribe of Waziris. (Notes on Afghanistan, 105). Gazbūr is also said to be the name of a Balūch tribe in Makrān. (Houtsma, E. I., III., 266).

IV. 309, *l.* **3.** *['Umar Khān held] as jāgīrs Bhatnūr, Shāhābād and Pāelpūr [in the Sarkār of Sirhind].*

Shāhābād and Pāelpur [Pāel] are both near Sirhind. 'Bhatnūr' may

be a miswriting of Binnūr (بینور) *i. e.* Bannūr, which lies fifteen miles south-east of Sirhind and the same distance N. N. W. of Ambāla. It is the Banūr of Bābur's Memoirs. (249 *ante*). Constable 25 D b.

IV. 311, *l.* **16.** *He [Farīd] also studied the Kāfiya.*

The title of the work is *Al-Kāfiyat fi-l-Naḥw, i. e.* "The Sufficient Book for Grammar". It is a Manual of Arabic Grammar composed by Jamālu-d-dīn bin Abu 'Amr Uṣmān, generally called Ibn-al-Ḥājib, who died in 646 A. H. (1248 A. C.). It is not easy to say whether young Farīd read or studied the Arabic original, or the marginal translation in Persian of Qāẓi Shihābu-d-dīn-al-Jami. (Ethé, India Office Catalogue, column 1313; Stewart, Catalogue of Tippoo Sultan's Library, p. 126). This Translation and Commentary is the *Hāshiya Hindīa* which is mentioned a few lines lower down. The Qāẓi lived in the days of Sultān Ibrāhīm of Jaunpur and was known as the "King of Sages" among his contemporaries. (E. D. VI. 487; F. II. 306, l. 22).

IV. 311, *l.* **17.** *He [Farīd] had got by heart the Sikandar-nāma, the Gulistān, and Bostān, etc.*

This statement is repeated by Prof. Qānūngo (Sher Shāh, p. 6) but it is founded on anerroneous translation and is, besides, hardly credible as it stands. The *Sikandarnāma* must contain about seven thousand *baīts*, as it fills 140 pages of fifty couplets to a page in the lithographed edition of Niẓāmi's *Khamsa*. The *Būstān* cannot comprise less than four thousand *Baits*. The *Gulistān* is written in mixed prose and verse, but it cannot be much less in extent. It is scarcely likely that young Farīd could have "learnt by heart" about thirty thousand lines, and also read "the works of the philosophers" while he was at school in Jaunpur. Niẓāmu-d-dīn Aḥmad who has copied the passage from 'Abbās's chronicle does not say that Farīd "committed these books to memory". The word he uses is گذرانید (Ṭ. A. 223, ll. 8-9) and the word which Firishta uses is خوانده (I. 221, l. 6). Dorn also speaks of his having "*read* the Gulistān, Bustan, and Sekandernamah". (I. 82). The word گذرانید, which literally signifies "caused to pass, presented, submitted," is frequently used in connection with school and college classics and means nothing more than that the student read the books with or to the satisfaction of some teacher so as to acquire a passable knowledge of them. It is in fact synonymous with خواند. Thus the Ṭ. A. says that he read (خواند) the 'Kāfiya' and other commentaries and passed in [گذرانید] the *Gulistān* and *Būstān*, whereas F. inverts the order of the verbs and declares that he read (خواند) the *Gulistān* etc. and passed in [گذرانید] the *Kāfiya* and its Commentaries and other text-books. This word گذرانید occurs several times in the *Maāṣiru-l-Umarā* also. بقدری طالب علمی داشت برخی نسخه متد اول گذرانیده بود (I. 829, l. 2 f. f.). And again, کتب درسیه متداول در ایران گذرانید (II. 285). It is said of Mirzā Chīn Qilīch that he read the ordinary text-books کتاب درسیه گذرانید with his teacher, Mullā Muṣṭafā Jaunpuri. (III. 351). Tassy also says in his

translation that Farīd read (*lit*) the *Gulistān* etc. (p. 10).

IV. 314, *l.* 13 from foot. *He ordered his father's nobles to saddle 200 horses.*

As Farīd's father, Ḥasan, was a commander of only 500 horse, he could scarcely have had any *nobles* (*Amīrs*) in subordination to him. 'Abbās himself says (p. 315 *infra*) that Farīd had no horses of his own at the time and obtained some *afterwards* only by borrowing them from his tenants. It is therefore not easy to understand how he could "order 200 *horses* to be saddled" before he had got any. Dorn's version of the counterpart passage appears to be more correct. "He then ordered 200 *saddles* to be provided." (I. 83). The Ṭ. A. has copied the statement from 'Abbās and writes, (223, l. 15) فرید فرمود تا دویست زین اسپ ساختند. See also F. (I. 221, l. 12) who has transcribed the very words of the Ṭ. A.

IV. 321, *l.* 21. *On that occasion, [the battle with Quṭb Khān], Farīd gained the surname of Sher Shāh and he bestowed that of Shujā'at Khān on Shaikh Ism'aīl.*

There is something wrong here also, either in the original or the translation. The battle with Quṭb Khān was fought very early in Farīd's career, about 935 or 936 H., whereas all authorities are agreed that he did not assume the imperial style and titles until about 945 or 946 H. Even if we read Sher *Khān*, instead of Sher *Shāh*, the statement is inconsistent with what 'Abbās himself states about Farīd having obtained the title of Sher Khān from Bahār (or Bahādur) Khān Lohāni, the King of Bihār, for his "gallant encounter" with a tiger. (325 *post*). The passage is reproduced in Dorn's translation of Ni'amatulla, (I. 93), but this statement about Farīd having "gained the title of Shir Shāh *on this occasion*" is not found there. What 'Abbās himself wrote or meant to write was probably this: "*At the time when Farīd himself assumed the title of Shīr Shāh*, he bestowed that of Shujā'at Khān on Shaikh Ism'aīl."

IV. 323, *l.* 5 from foot. *Muhammad Khān Sūr.....governor of the pargana of Chaundh.*

This place is called 'Jaund' in the *Āīn*. It was a *Maḥāl* in *Sarkār* Rhotās, *Ṣuba* Bihār. (Tr. II. 157). The pargana town of Chaund lies about forty miles west of Sāhsarām. "The area of the old Pargana of Chaund is now included in the modern one of Chainpūr. Chāwand is a common place-name in Tirhūt and is derived from Chāmuṇḍā, a name of Durgā, who, according to a local legend, destroyed a demon at this place." (J. Beames, "The Geography of India in the reign of Akbar (Ṣūbā Bihār), J. A. S. B. LIV. p. 181; Oldham, Journal of Francis Buchanan, 122, n. 3). Chainpur is shown in the I. G. Atlas. 29 A 2.

IV. 330, *l.* 11. [*I was*] *in attendance on the Khān-i-Khānān Yūsuf Khail, who brought the emperor Bābur from Kābul.*

At page 324 *ante*, this title is given to Daulat Khān Lodi and Dilāwar Khān is described as his son who was "sent to fetch Bābur". Professor Qānūngo points out that the Khān-i-Khānān mentioned here cannot be

Daulat Khān, as he was no longer alive and this man must be some other Afghān to whom Babūr or Humāyūn had given the title, but whom he is unable to identify. (Sher Shāh, p. 180). At the same time, he maintains that 'Abbās has committed a blunder, because "Khān-i-Khānān Yūsūf Khail can be no other than Daulat Khān." (*Ib.* 46 note).

I venture to say that the Khān-i-Khānān Yūsuf Khail who is mentioned here and also at 356, 357, 363, 368 and 379 *infra* is Dilāwār Khān Lody. It was he who "*brought* the Emperor Bābur to India" and not Daulat Khān. In the *Farmān* which was issued in Bābur's name after the victory at Kānhwa, it is said that in the right wing were stationed "the Amīrs of Hind, the pillar of the State, the Khān of Khāns, [*i. e. Khān-i-Khānān*] *Dilāwar Khān*, along with Malik Dād Kararāni and Shaikh Gurān." (B. N. Tr. 567). Jauhar states that "Khān-i-Khānān Lody" was sent by Humāyūn with the advanced guard to Monghyr and that he was surprised and taken prisoner by a detachment sent by Shīr Khān. (Stewart's Tr. Rep. note 12), while 'Abbās tells us that the Khān-i-Khānān Yūsuf Khail who had brought Bābur to India was captured by Khawāṣ Khān at Mungīr and put to death as a traitor by the orders of Shīr Shāh. (368, 379 *infra*). Budāuni gives Dilāwar Khān the son of Daulat Khān Lodi the title of Khān-i-Khānān and says he "was living upto the time of the rebellion of Shīr Khān but at last died in prison". (Text, I. 330, Tr. I. 436). F. explicitly declares that when Daulat Khān and his son Ghāzi Khān proved false to their promises and turned traitors, Bābur bestowed the title of Khān-i-Khānān on Dilāwar Khān. (I. 202, l. 7 f. f.). See also *Ibid* 204, l. 7 and 209, l. 4, where Dilāwar Khān is styled Khān-i-Khānān and Erakine, H. B. H. I. 420.

Lastly, the Emperor Jahāngīr states in the account of his favourite Khān Jahān Lody that Daulat Khān Lody was the uncle of Khān Jahān's grandfather and that when Daulat Khān died, "Dilāwar Khān was honoured with the title of Khān-i-Khānān and was with Babūr in the battle he had with Ibrāhīm". He adds that Dilāwar was taken prisoner when valiantly fighting in the *thāna* of Mungīr and that Shīr Shāh "ordered him to be shut up in a wall," because he refused to take service with him. "Thy ancestors," he said, "were always the servants of mine; how then could I do this!" (T. J. Tr. I. 87-88; 42, l. 10 f.f.).

IV. 331, *l.* **9.** *They placed before him a solid dish, which he did not know the customary way of eating.*

Dorn says that the dish is called 'Māhcha' (ماهچه) and that according to the *Tārīkh-i-Faiẓ Bakhsh* of Shiv Prasād, [a recent compilation of no particular authority, *q. v.* E. D. VIII. 175], it is also called 'Usbekiah'. (II. 101). In the *Ghiyāṣu-l-Lughāt* ماهچه is explained as "threads made out of fine wheat flour, cooked with milk and sugar, which is called in Arabic *Aṭriya* اطریه. It would appear to have been some sort of sweet dish—a pudding or custard made of macaroni. In an interesting note to his translation of the *Akbarnāma*, Mr. Beveridge has pointed out that

"Ash-i-Māhicha" is mentioned in a *Farmān* issued by Shāh Ṭahmāsp in connection with the reception and entertainment of Humāyūn in Persia and that it was a delicate kind of sweetmeat or confection. Ḥājji Dabīr describes the آش ماهیچه as a succulent dish, but like macaroni difficult to eat. (Ed. Ross, 951). He also relates this curious anecdote, but the details are somewhat different. According to the version he had heard, Shīr Khān did not cut up the 'Māhīcha' with his dagger, but ate it with his fingers. This unseemly exhibition of ill-breeding so angered Humāyūn that he ordered him to be forthwith turned out of the company. Shīr Khān is said to have never forgotten the affront and it was the origin of the implacable hostility between the two men. Whichever version of the tale may be nearer the truth, it is interesting to find that the incident itself was remembered by persons living in the reign of Akbar. B. also had heard the anecdote and speaks of Bābur having observed Shīr Khān "behaving in a manner which deserved censure at a banquet". (I. 359= Tr. I. 469). This independent version shows that the story was not 'invented' by 'Abbās as Prof. Qānūngo suggests. 'Abbās Khān must have heard this story like the one which immediately precedes it from his uncle, Shaikh Muḥammad, who explicitly states that he was present in Bābur's camp at Chanderi and took part in the siege.

IV. 342, *l.* **9.** *Sher Khān drew out... ..a picked force.*

Abul Faẓl states that the battle took place at Sūrajgarh. (A. N. I. 148=Tr. I. 328). This place lies on the right or south bank of the Ganges in a plain between that river and the Kharagpur hills and is situated about twelve *Kos* or twenty miles west of Monghyr. (See Note on IV. 508 *post*). Mr. Beveridge hazards the conjecture that Abul Faẓl must be wrong and 'Sūrajgarh' must be a slip for Teliāgarhi in the Sonthāl *parganas*. (*loc. cit. note*). Erskine, however, follows Abul Faẓl and locates the battlefield at Sūrajpur above Monghyr. (H. B. H., II. 136). Thornton observes that Monghyr is situated in a position of considerable strategical importance. "The route from east to west, from Berhampore to Benares by Patna and Dinapur, is the only route by which the mountainous tract extending southward into the Rāmgarh district is avoided; and from lying along the right bank of the Ganges, it has the further advantage afforded by the navigation of that great river." It may be noted that 'Adli also was routed by Khiẓr or Bahādur Khān Gauriya in a battle fought at Sūrajgarh. (*Tārīkh-ī-Dāūdi*, 508 *infra*). Abul Faẓl is probably right and Mr. Beveridge's surmise, which is not supported by any authority of weight, seems uncalled for.

IV. 346, last line. *Hasan Khān.....and the Rājā of Dūngarpur, Rāwal by name, were slain.*

There is some error here. "Rāwal" was the general *titular designation* of all rulers of Dungarpur, as 'Rāṇā' was that of their cousins, the Sisodiā rulers of Chitor. The *name* of the chief who fell at Kānhwa was Udi (Udaya) Sinha, according to Bābur's own Memoirs. (B. N. Tr. Beveridge,

573). The text of the passage in 'Abbās's chronicle must have been corrupt, as Dorn's translation or paraphrase is even more egregious in error. His rendering is: "Hasan Khan ben Alauel Khān of Mewat was slain in the territory of the Raja of Dunkerpoor." (I. 101). Abul Faẓl informs us that *Rāwal* Pratāp was ruler of Dungarpur in the twenty-first year of Akbar's reign and that his daughter entered the Imperial harem. (A. N. III. 196. Tr. III. 277-8). The rulers of Dungarpur are still styled *Mahārāwals*. (I. G. *s. n.*).

IV. 349, *l.* 14. *The two armies met at Lucknow.*

Jauhar's statement about the site of the battle is more precise. He says that it was fought at 'Doura' on the bank of the Gūdi or Gūmti. (Tr. Reprint, p. 3; Erskine, H. B. H. II. 10 note). This is the village of 'Deunru', about 15 miles north of Jaunpur. F. also locates the battle somewhere near Jaunpur. (I. 224, l. 17).

IV. 350, *l.* 9 from foot. *Sher Khān.. ...withdrew.....to the hills of Nahrkunda.*

Correctly, 'Bharkūnda' which is entered as a *Maḥāl* in *Sarkār* Sharīfābād (Bīrbhūm) in the *Āīn*. (Tr. II. 139). But Blochmann states that the name was extended to the whole of the Bīrbhūm and Santāl *parganas* and it is in this "extended" sense that it seems to be used here. In Blaeve's Map, 'Barcunda' is said to extend from "Bardwān to Garhi, the Gate of Bengal." (Notes on the Geography and History of Bengal in J. A. S. B. XLII. 1873, p. 223). Rennell calls it 'Byrcoodah'. The *pargana* town lies about fifty miles south of Chunār. Lat. 24°-34′ N. Long. 83°-34′ E. 'Bohnkundal' at p. 419 looks like another corrupt form of the same name.

IV. 352, *l.* 13. *Sultān Bahādur went to Sūrat.*

'Sūrat' here is a mistake for 'Soraṭh'. Bahādur Shāh of Gujarāt fled from Mandū to Chāmpāner and thence to Aḥmadābād, Cambay and Diu. (Ṭ. A. in E. D. V. 193; *Mirāt-i-Sikandari*, Tr. Bayley, 390). سورت and سورتھ are often confused in Persian manuscripts and even Rogers and Beveridge have not been able to escape the pitfall, as they speak of "the fort of Junāgar being in the country of Sūrat", in their translation of the *Tūzuk-i-Jahāngīri*. (II. 19).

IV. 352, *l.* 12 from foot. *M'arūf Farmuli joined him* [*Shīr Shāh*].

The tribal name is written 'Qarmali' in the C. H. I. (III. 245), probably because it is spelt with the dotted *Qāf* in the lithographed texts of the Ṭ. A. and F. But the balance of authority is undoubtedly in favour of *F*armuli. The name must have been spelt with a ف and not a ق in the Mss. of the *Tārīkh-i-Shīrshāhi*, *Tārīkh-i-Dāūdi* and *Wāqi'āt-i-Mushtāqi*, from which the extracts in Elliot's work were translated and also in Dorn's translations from Ni'amatulla. The authority of Abul Faẓl also is in favour of the identical orthography. (A. N. I. 100, Tr. I. 251; *Āīn*, Tr. II, 399, 401). A still higher authority—the Emperor Bābur—speaks repeatedly of 'Farmūl' in his description of Kābul. (B. N. Tr. 200, 206, 231, 233, 235). He explicitly states that the "Shaikhzādas, the descendants of Shaikh Muḥammad

Musalmān, who were so much in favour during the Afghān period in Hindustān, came originally from *Farmūl*." (*Ibid*. 220). He tells us that Farmūl was one of the 14 sub-divisions (*tumān*) of the Kābul district. It lies south-east of Ghazni. Its principal village was Urghūn (*Ib*. 206 n.) which is shown in Constable, 24 C a. Among modern writers, Erskine (H. B. H. II, 466), Raverty (N. A. 32 note and 86) and Sir C. R. Markham all vote for Farmuli or Farmūli. Raverty states that the Farmūlis are named after the village of Parmūl or Farmūl which is situated on the river Tonchi and that Afghāns generally do not admit their claim to be considered Afghāns. We read in the *Makhzan-i-Afghāni* also that "*Farmul* is the name of a river running between the confines of Kābul and Ghazni and that the Farmulis were so called because they lived on its banks. Their ancestor was converted to Islam by Shaikh Muḥammad Musalmān, a great saint among the Afghāns and having passed some time in his service, they style themselves Afghans, though they really came from Khata and Khotan". (Tr. Dorn, II. 57). The Emperor Jahāngīr refers to the Farmulis residing in Kābul. (T. J. Tr. I. 197 *note*). Sir Clements Markham tells us that the "valley of Furmul is at the back of Khost, which is watered by the Tochi in its upper course" and that the "Tājīks who now inhabit it have one village called Urghūn". (Proc. Royal Geographical Society, 1879, pp. 47, 48). Sir E. Denison Ross (C. H. I. IV, 16) and Mr. Dames (Houtsma, E. I., II. 68) also write 'Farmūl'. This consensus of authorities leaves no doubt that 'Qarmali' has its origin in the blunder of some copyist who read the initial letter amiss.

IV. 355, *l.* **14.** *When Nasīb Shāh.....died.*

He is more commonly called [Nāṣirū-d-dīn] Nuṣrat Shāh. But there is no reason for rejecting, as Mr. Beveridge does, (A. N. Tr. I. 332 note), the reading. 'Naṣīb Khān' was the name he bore before he came to the throne. 'Naṣīb' seems to have been a not uncommon name in these times. One of the three sons of Qatlū Lohāni is said, in the *Makhzan-i-Afghāni*, to have been called 'Naṣīb Shāh'. (Dorn, II. 115). See also A. N. III. 649, l. 5; E. D. VI. 90, Blochmann, *Āīn*, Tr. I. 520. A suburb of Murshidābād in Bengāl is still called Naṣibpur. (*Akbar Nāma*, Tr. I. 333 *note*). Budāuni mentions a Naṣīb Khān Taghūji as an Afghān Amīr who rebelled against Muḥammad 'Ādil Sūr and was one of the chief adherents of Sikandar Sūr. (I. 432, 459: Tr. 542, 593). Saiyid Naṣīb Khān Bārha is mentioned by the Emperor Jahāngīr. (T. J. 310, l. 3 f. f.; Tr. II. 167). The name of a Naṣīb Turkmān also frequently arrests attention in the A. N. (III. 314, 413, 424, 471 and 619 and the Ṭ. A., Text, 376, l. 12). Nuṣrat Shāh died about the middle of 939 A. H.=January 1533 A. C. (Blochmann in J. A. S. B. (XLIII), 1874, p. 306).

IV. 355, *l.* **26.** *Mihr Sultān died on her way to the pargana of Kayat.*

Garcin de Tassy's reading of the place-name is Kānt, كانت (p. 74). كيت (Kayat) is most probably a miswriting of كنت (Kant) with the dot misplaced. *Kant* and Goḷā were two *parganas* in the *Sarkār* of Budāun. (*Āīn*,

Tr. II. 289) and are now included in Shāhjahānpur district. Kant is in Lat. 27°-40′ N., Long. 79°-51′ E., and is shown in Constable's Atlas, Pl. 28 A b. It is situated about ten miles south-west of the modern town of Shāhjahānpur, which was founded by Bahādur Khān Dāūdzai some time before 1059 A. H. 1649 A. C. (*Ma'āṣiru-l-Umarā*, I. 415). Shāhjahānpur district is in Rohilkhand and has a very large Afghān population. Mihr Sultān was probably going to settle with her relatives there. Kant and Golā are mentioned as the *jāgīrs* of 'Isā Khān Sarwāni at 384 *infra*.

IV. 357, *l.* **27**. *The Rājā of the fort of Rohtās and Chūrāman, the Rājā's nāib.*

'Abbās does not give the name of the Rājā, but says that his minister was a Brāhman named Chūrāman. Abul Faẓl makes the Rājā himself a Brāhman and gives him the name of Chintāman. (A. N. I. 153, Tr. I. 335). F. calls the Rājā Hari Kishen. (I. 225 l). Dorn follows 'Abbās (I. 137), but Erskine speaks of the Rājā as 'Hari Kishan *Birkis*.' (H. B. H. II. 147). 'Chūrāman' [*Chūḍāmaṇi*] and [*Chintāmaṇi*] are both used in Sanskrit for certain kinds of gems or jewel-ornaments and are liable to be confused with each other by Musalmān scribes. The sobriquet which has been read by Erskine as *Barkis* (برکیس) seems to be a misreading or reduplication of Harkishen (هرکیشن). Some copyist who had found it in the margin of an old manuscript as a variant wrote it side by side with هرکیشن in the body of the text, and this came to be read as برکیس (Barkīs) and understood as a part or adjunct of the name itself.

IV. 359, *l.* **8**. [*He said*]: '*If you do not admit him into the fort, I will take poison and die at your door.*'

This is the old Hindu custom which is known in Gujarāt as 'Trāga' and in Mālwā and elsewhere as 'Chanḍi'. (Malcolm, Central India, Ed. 1832, II. 137). Another arresting example of it will be found in B. who says that when Akbar put under arrest Yūsuf Khān, the ruler of Kāshmīr, (who had come to his Court under the safe-conduct promised by Bhagwāndās Kachhwa of Amber) and talked of putting Yūsuf to death, the Rājā, from a sense of honour, stabbed himself with a dagger and threatened to put an end to his own life. (II. 353; Tr. Lowe, 364). There is an allusion to *Trāgā* in the *Mirāt-i-Sikandari* (Text 328, Bayley's Tr. 433) also. Some blood-curdling tales of the actual performance by 'Chāraṇs' of this ghastly rite are narrated by Forbes. (Rās Mālā, Reprint, II. 262, 263, 387, 429; Enthoven, Tribes and Castes of Bombay, I. 284-5; Yule, H. J. *s. v.* Traga). For the derivation of *Trāgā*, which is much disputed, see my 'Notes on Hobson Jobson' in the Ind. Ant. LVIII, 1929, p. 210. It seems to me to be a perversion by metathesis of the Gujarāti 'tagādo' which is derived from the Arabic تقاضی.

IV. 364, *l.* **7 from foot**. *Pargana of Munir Shaikh Yahyā, where they heard that Sultān Maḥmūd Barri, the King of Gaur, was come. Birlās went out to meet him.*

Read, "where Sultān Maḥmūd, the King of Gaur, was come. Barri

Birlās went out to meet him". The printer has dislocated and jumbled the words. It was 'Barri Birlās' who went out to meet the Sultān. 'Barri' was not the sobriquet of Maḥmūd the King of Gaur, but the name of an Amīr of the Birlās tribe who was in Humāyūn's service. Gulbadan speaks of him as 'Mīr Bardi Beg'. (Text, 22, l. 13; Tr. 106). Dorn calls him 'Huri Birlās' (I. 112), but he involves himself in another sort of error, when he makes his author state that 'Huri' Birlās and Khān-i-Khānān Yūsuf Khail were "both Afghans". (*Ib.* 111). The latter only was an Afghān. The Birlās is a Chaghatāi or Jaghatāī clan. The name may perhaps be read as 'Hari' or 'Huri Birlās,' as هري ملك تواچى and another معتمد هرى ملك are mentioned in the *Ẓafarnāma* of Yazdī. (II. 26, last line and 59, l. 2). But 'Barri' or 'Bari' may be correct as Garcin de Tassy calls him Pari Barlās. (l.c. 83, 84). A Pari Beg who was Mīr-i-Shikār—Chief Huntsman—of Shāh 'Abbās of Persia brought falcons as presents to Jahāngīr. (T. J. 280, l. 5 f. f.=II. 107). Barri Birlās is again mentioned by 'Abbās himself on this very page (l. 9 f. f.) and on 365 (l. 4).

Muner or Maner lies 20 miles west of Paṭna and the Son used to join the Ganges there in the days of Abul Faẓl (*Āīn*, Tr. II. 150) and also of Rennell, whose Atlas was compiled in 1772. The junction now takes place about ten miles higher up. It is called the 'Maner of Shaikh Yaḥyā,' because a saint of that name who was the father of another *Pīr* named Sharafu-d-dīn is buried there. Shaikh Sharafu-d-dīn Manerī was a great Sūfi and his writings on the mortification of the human passions and desires were greatly admired by Akbar (*Āīn*, Tr. I. 48 note, and 103; III. 370), as well as by Aurangzeb. (*Maāṣir-i-'Ālamgīrī* in E. D. VII. 161). Shaikh Sharafu-d-dīn died in 782 H.=1380-1 A. C. Maner is in Lat. 25°-7′ N., Long. 84°-50′ E. (Th.). Sikandar Lody as well as Bābur paid a visit to the saint's tomb. (462 *infra*; B. N. Tr. 666; F. I. 211, l. 4).

IV. 365, *l.* **3.** *Muyid Beg, son of Sultān Maḥmūd, and Jahāngīr Kūli, son of Ibrāhīm, Bāyazīd, Mīr Nūrkā.*

The names as printed are more likely to mislead than enlighten the reader. Muyyad Beg was the son of Sultān Muḥammad Duldai (not Sultān Maḥmūd of Bengal). Sultān Muḥammad *Duldai Birlās* was an old servant of Bābur and is mentioned frequently in his Memoirs. (B. N. Tr. 294, 295, 465, 466, 582, 638, 686). Mirzā Ḥaidar tells us that Jahāngīr Quli was the son of Ibrāhim Begchik. (*Tārīkh-i-Rashīdī*, Tr. 470). He is called Ibrāhim Beg Chabūk or Chapūk in the A. N. (I. 149=Tr. I. 330). Mīr Nūrkā may be an error for Mīr Nūr Beg who is frequently mentioned in Bābur's Memoirs. See Note on IV. 276, l. 5 f. f. *ante*.

IV. 368, *l.* **1.** [*ShīrKhān*] *went by way of Jhārkand to Rhotās.*

'Jhārkhand' ['Forest region'], is a geographical expression of very extensive and indefinite connotation. Blochmann writes that in the *Akbar-nāma*, the whole tract from Bīrbhum and Pachet to Ratanpur in Central India and from Rhotāsgarh in South Bihār to the frontier of Orissa is called 'Jhārkhand' or 'Jungle-land'. (Notes on Chutiā Nāgpur,

Pachet and Palāmau in J. A. S. B. Vol. XL, 1871, p. 111). It is not a clear-cut topographical designation and is generally used for the hilly and forest region of Chutiā Nāgpur from Rhotās to Birbhūm and perhaps, further.

IV. 368, *l.* **30.** *Sher Khān sent Khawās Khān against Mahārta, Zamīndār.*

The name of this man is so written in all the chronicles, but the correct form is, perhaps, *Bhārat*. The Cherūhs are mentioned by Abul Faẓl as the principal *zamīndārs* in Rāmgarh, Chai Champā and Pundāg in Palāmau. (*Āīn*, Tr. II. 154 note). The Rājās of Palāmau were Cherūhs and Partāb the son of Balbhadra Cherūh who was Rājā in the time of Shāh Jahān was, after two invasions, compelled to pay tribute to the Mughal Emperor in 1642-43 A. C. Seventeen years afterwards, the country was finally conquered and annexed to the Empire by Aurangzeb (1660 A. C.). I have cited before Blochmann's article in the J. A. S. B. (XL. 1871) on Chutiā Nāgpur, Pachet and Palāmau. To that article he has appended an informative postscript or Note by Mr. L. R. Forbes, Extra Assistant Commissioner of Palāmau at the time. This local antiquary writes thus of *Bhārat* Cherūh: "The fort of Deogan, one of the three strongest forts of Palāmau which is mentioned in the *Bādishāh Nāma*, (the two others being Kothi and Kunda), was built by *Bhārat Rāi*, a renowned border chieftain, more probably a bold and successful cattle-lifter". (p. 131). Of another fort called Māngarh or Tarhasi [the Narsi of the *Ālamgīr-nāma*], it is said that it was "originally built by Mānsingh, a Raksel, but taken possession of by the Cherūhs under this *Bhārat Rāi*". (*Ibid.* 131). These local traditions are not, *perhaps*, without value and they *may* provide a clue to the determination of the real name of "the renowned border chieftain", who appears to have harassed Shīr Khān to some purpose and to have been regarded by him as an opponent whom it was absolutely necessary to crush.

IV. 376, *l.* **12.** *Husain Khān Nīrak* [*was sent with Humāyūn's queen*].

Garcin de Tassy's reading is 'Sarak'. (*l. c.* 97). Dorn calls him 'Husain Khan *Surk*', and says "he was then highly advanced in years". (I. 123). 'Khiẓr Khān Surk' (كـ ـر) is mentioned by B. (Text, I. 364, Tr. 474), Nī'amatulla (E. D. V. 115) and others, as governor of Bengal under Shīr Shāh. But he is called Khiẓr Khān *Bairak* in Elliot's version of 'Abbās. (p. 390, *infra*). *Surk* was the name of one of the ancestors of the Lodi tribe. *Surk* 'Umar was the paternal uncle of Malik Shāhū, whose son was Baseen, whose son was Bahrām, whose son was Kālā, whose son was the (Sultān) Buhlūl Lody. (Dorn, II. 51). A saint named Ḥasan *Surk* Batani is also mentioned in the *Makhzan-i-Afghāni*. (*Ib.* II. 120). *Surk* is, probably, correct. 'Nīrak' and 'Bairak' must be errors. 'Bairak' Niāzi also, on 416, l. 8 *infra*, should, perhaps, be read as *Surk* Niāzi.

IV. 377, *l.* **13 from foot.** *He* [*Shīr Khān*] *seated himself on the throne .....and struck coins and caused the Khutba to be read in his own name.*

The year in which Shīr Shāh took that title and assumed the rights and privileges of an independent sovereign has been variously given as 945 by Elphinstone, Thomas and Vincent Smith (O. H. I. 326), but 946 or 947 by others. His coins of 946 H. are not uncommon and there was one dated 945 H. in the Marsden collection (C. P. K. D. 397 *note*), but the date on it was not clearly defined. Better specimens however have been now discovered and at least four are registered in Mr. Nelson Wright's 'Coinage and Metrology of the Sultans of Dehlī', Nos. 1040 A, 1040 B, 1257 and 1270 A. (See also p. 386). Mr. N. K. Bhattasāli has also described three other rupees which are of a different type, but exhibit the same date. (Islamic Culture, January 1936). He places the coronation of Shīr Shāh somewhere about the middle of Ṣafar 945 H. Prof. Qānūngo's contention (Sher Shah, pp. 205-208), that he assumed the title only after the battle of Chausā in 946 H. is thus proved to be unsound and Thomas appears to have been right in holding that he "assumed the title of Shāh or King of Bihār" during the isolation of Humāyūn in Bengāl. (*op. cit.* 393).

IV. 377, *l.* 3 from foot. *The young men of the army came in crowds and danced, as is the custom of the Afghāns.*

This incidental reference to Afghān 'folk-dances', of which there are several modes, is interesting. Elphinstone gives the following description of an Afghān dance, called 'Ghoomboor', which he had witnessed. "From ten to twenty men or women stand up in a circle.....A person stands within the circle to sing and play on some instrument. The dancers go through a number of attitudes and figures, shouting, clapping their hands and snapping their fingers. Every now and then, they join hands and move slow or fast according to the music, all joining in the chorus". (Account of the Kingdom of Caubool, I. 311). When the Emperor Jahāngīr visited Kābul in the second year of his reign, he had the *Arghashtāq* dances performed before him. (T. J. 51, l. 6 f.f.; Tr. I. 107 and Note). The *Burhān-i-Qāṭi'a* defines ارغشتق as "a dance by girls or young men, accompanied with singing and the clapping of hands".

IV. 378, *l.* 17. *Mahesar was Rājā of Bhopāl.*

Below at p. 391, 'Abbās himself is made to say by the translator that 'Bhopāl' was the *name of the Rājā* and not of the town or country. 'Bhopāl' is there said to have "possessed the country of Bijāgarh and Tamhā (var. Mabhār)." According to Dorn's version, "Peemgur and Mahoor were possessed *by Bhopāl*." (I. 124). M. de Tassy also states that "Rājā Bhopāl possessed Bijāgarh and Mihra." (*loc. cit.* 101, 120). Abul Faẓl records that "when Humāyūn arrived at Āgra (in 943 A. H.), Bhopāl, who was in Bijāgarh (in Nimār) finding the fort of Māndū empty, boldly entered it". (A. N. I. 145=Tr. I. 322. See also E. D. VI. 18). What 'Abbās really states here is that 'Bhūpāl was Rājā of Mahesar' (Variant, Mabhār, *i.e.* Nimār?). Bijāgarh is about sixty miles south of Māndū and about the same distance north-west of Burhānpur. It is now in the Nimār district of Indor State and Khargon, a place in its neighbourhood

—is the district headquarters. 'Tamhā' [variants 'Mabhār' and 'Mihra,' *q. v.* Tassy, 120], must be a miswriting of نمهار Namhār, *i. e.* Nimār. The importance of the town of Bhopāl dates only from about 1735 A. C., in which it was founded. (E. D. VIII. 59). It was an insignificant village before that, and is never mentioned in any old chronicle. Bijāgarh, Khargon and Nimār are all shown in Constable's Atlas, Pl. 27.

IV. 378, *l.* **20.** *Mallū Khān put his seal at the head of the letter which he sent.*

The story of the seal is told by 'Abbās incompletely and not quite fairly. He has suppressed the material fact that the provocation was first given by Shīr Shāh himself, and not by Qādir Shāh, as his mode of relating the event implies. F. (II. 270) and Niẓāmu-d-dīn Aḥmad (Ṭ. A. 591) state in the Mālwa Sections of their chronicles that when Humāyūn invaded Bengāl and took possession of Gaur, Shīr Khān addressed to Qādir Shāh and other rulers, a *Farmān* urging them to harry and ravage the Āgra province and other Mughal territories in the vicininty of Mālwa, with a view to effect a diversion in his own favour. As Shīr Khān had placed his seal at the top of this *Farmān*, Qādir Shāh affixed his own seal in exactly the same spot, in his reply. Mallū Khān had, before this, assumed the imperial style and title of Qādir Shāh and had even struck coins in his own name. (Numism. Suppl. No. XI to the J. A. S. B. (1909), Art. 63, p. 316). He consequently regarded Shīr Khān's arrogation of superiority and suzerainty as an affront and declared that self-respect and kingly dignity required that he should get even with and mete out to Shīr Khān the same treatment which he had thought fit to mete out to himself. Erskine tells the story in the same way. (H. B. H. II. 430). The etiquette in regard to the fixing of seals was very strict. Bābur complains that "Shāh Beg Arghūn had the incivility to seal his letter to me in the middle of the reverse, where Begs seal if writing to Begs or a great Beg if writing to one of the lower circle". (*Bāburnāma*, Tr. Beveridge, 332). Morier explains that when the King of Persia writes to an inferior, the seal is affixed to the top, when to an equal, it is placed at the foot of the letter, or on a separate piece of paper." (First Journey to Persia, 219). See also Briggs, IV. 371 note. Chardin gives us some very curious and interesting information on the Persian code of epistolary etiquette.

IV. 380, *l.* **2.** *Humāyūn arranged his army and came to Kanauj.*

This "irretrievable rout" of the Chaghtāis is generally said to have taken place at Qanauj, but the actual site was somewhere in Hardoi district and *on the other side of the* Ganges, at some miles distance from Qanauj itself. (I. G. XIV. 371). 'Abbās states elsewhere (419 *infra*) that Shīr Shāh built a city on the spot where he had gained his victory and called it 'Shīr Sūr' (*Recte* Shergarh). This Shergarh is situated about four *Kos* from Qanauj.

IV. 382, *l.* **2.** *Ghāzi Mujli.*

The *Tārīkh-i-Dāūdi* calls him 'Ghāzi Maḥli' محلی (482 *post*) and B.

and F. (I. 229) have the same reading. The Ṭ. A. speaks of him as 'Maḥldār' (234). Firishta (I. 229, l. 7 f.f.) and B. (I. 376=Tr. 487) say he was یکی از مقربان و محرمان "one of the confidential and intimate personal attendants" of Islām Shāh. He was probably a man employed in the 'Maḥl', *i. e.* the female apartments or Seraglio. He is spoken of as "Maḥram", because he had the entry of the harem and may have been one of the eunuchs in charge of the wives and concubines of the Sultan.

Erskine speaks of him as one of the chief officers of the Household. (H. B. H. II. 451). The right reading is, most probably, 'Maḥli', but ملحی or ملهی was an Afghān name, *e. g.* Malhi Qattāl, and it may have been his own name or that of his father.

IV. 382, *l.* 11. *Kutb Khān Banet.*

This sobriquet also assumes several forms. He is again called 'Banet' on p. 387 *infra*, but some Mss. of this chronicle have the reading 'Manīb'. (*Ibid*, footnote). In the Ṭ. A. (235), F. (I. 229) and the *Tārīkh-i-Dāūdi* (481 *infra*), he is called 'Nāīb', and Dorn has 'Nasīb'. (I. 116, 118, 126). Shīr Khān had a son named Quṭb Khān, who must have been called Quṭb Khān Sūr. A Quṭb Khān Mochi-Khail is mentioned by 'Abbās at p. 350 and Quṭb Khān Lody at 381 *supra*. There was also a Quṭb Khān Niāzi. (Ahmad Yādgār in E. D. V. 43). Perhaps بنیت or منیب is an error for بتنی, Batani, or بیتنی Baitani, the name of another Afghān tribe. Ḥājji Khān Batani is mentioned at 378 *ante* note and Dorn, (I. 126). The name of Ādam Khān Batni is found in Dorn, I. 128 and that of Fāṭḥ Khān Batni in Budāuni. (II. 33=Tr. II. 27). But the balance of authority appears to be in favour of نایب.

IV. 383, *l.* 5. [*Shīr Shāh sent*] *Barmazīd Gūr* [*in pursuit of Humāyūn*].

All the Musalman chroniclers are unanimous in calling him Barmazīd (Ṭ. A. 235, l. 10; F. I. 230, l. 20; B. I. 379=Tr. 490), but Prof. Qānūngo has in his monograph on Shīr Shāh hazarded the conjecture that this man was a Rājput named 'Brahmaditya or Brahmajit Gaur'. (*op. cit.* 197, 225, 369). It is therefore necessary to stress the fact that Mazīd and Barmazīd were and are common names among Afghāns as well as Turks. A Mazīd who was the chief man of Indarāb and Auzūn Mazīd Baghdādi are mentioned in the histories of Tīmūr. (E. D. III. 401, 491). Several other persons bearing the name, *e. g.* Shaikh Mazīd Beg, Mīr Mazīd Taghāi and Mazīd Beg Tarkhān Arghūn, are mentioned in the *Bāburnāma*. (Tr. 26, 27, 131, 167 and 51). The great leap of 25 feet across a gorge which is described by the Ākhūnd Darveza was taken by the horse of a Sadozi named *Barmazīd*. This Barmazīd was the brother of the famous Khān Kāju who was a contemporary of Humāyūn and flourished about 956 H. (Raverty, N. A., 202, 227). Abul Faẓl states that when Humāyūn marched to Bangash in 959 H., with a view to punish the rebellious Afghāns, the first tribe attacked was the 'Abdur Raḥmāni, the last the *Barmazīdi*. (A. N. I. 323=Tr. I. 598). This clearly shows that *Barmazīd* was an Afghān name.

Gūr or Kūr also is a not uncommon sobriquet. Bābur mentions a Mīrak Gūr (or Kūr) who was the Diwān of Bad'īu-z-zamān Mirzā. (B. N. 328). Abul Faẓl speaks of Idi Kūr or Gūr (A. N. III. 298=Tr. III. 441) and Maqsūd 'Ali Kūr or Gūr. (*Ibid*, III. 304=Tr. III. 450). This last name occurs also in the Ṭ. A. (249, l. 12=E. D. V. 259). Mīr Ḥusain Kūr (or Gūr) was one of the nobles of Tīmūr. (*Malfūẓāt* in E. D. III. 404). In the *Tārīkh-i-Dāūdi*, the subject of this note is styled Barmazīd *Sūr* (485, 486), but this also indicates that the author who was himself an Afghān, was sure that the person intended was an Afghān and not a Hindu.

IV. 383, *l.* **10.** *The Emperor Humāyūn told Amīr Sayyid Amīruddīn.*

The name has been miswritten or misread. The person to whom Humāyūn told the story was *Mīr* Sayyid *Raf'īu-d-dīn* Īji. (Jauhar, Tr. Reprint, 33; A. N. I. 167, Tr. I 355; Dorn, I. 128; Tassy, 109). He was one of the most learned men of his day and the leader of the 'Ulamā. (402 *infra*). Abul Faẓl states that he was a Ḥusaini Sayyid from Shīrāz and that Humāyūn went to his house and took counsel with him on the morning after his arrival in Āgra after the defeat. Mīr Raf'īu-d-dīn was the teacher and patron as well as relative of Abul Faẓl's father, Shaikh Mubārak, and there is a long account of him in the *Āīn*, (Tr. III. 423-4). He died in 954 H. He is called *Mir* because he was a Sayyid. He was not an *Amīr*.

IV. 385, *l.* **12 from foot.** *One Shaikh Gadāi was in Gujarāt to whom he [Bairam Beg] did good service.*

The meaning of the author is just reversed in the translation. It was Shaikh Gadāi who had rendered "good service" to Bairam. Cf. what Niẓāmu-d-dīn Aḥmad says: "At this time, the dignity of *Sadārat-i-Mamālik* (the office of Lord Chief Justice) was conferred upon Shaikh Gadāi, ...through the interest of the Khān-i-Khānān [*Scil.* Bairam Khān], who *remembered* the kindness which he had received from the Shaikh during the time of his exile in Gujarat". (Ṭ. A. Trans. in E. D. V. 259). Abul Faẓl tells us that Shaikh Gadāi had behaved well to Bairam Khān and showed him kindness during the time of his [Bairam's] sojourn in Gujarat. (A. N. II. 20=Tr. II. 36). Tassy also understands the sentence to mean that Shaikh Gadāi had tendered his good offices to and accompanied Bairam part of the way until he left the province. (*loc. cit.* 112).

IV. 388, *l.* **11.** *Shaikh Aḥmad Sarwāni who was the grand-father of Shaikh Malhi Kayāl.*

According to the Afghān Genealogies, Shaikh Mulhi *Qattāl* was the son of Shaikh Sulaimān Dānā, the son of Aḥmad Jawānmard, the son of Mūsā, son of Maḥmūd, son of Maulānā *Gukbūr*, son of Sūri, son of Sarpal, son of Sarbani. (Dorn, II. 52. See also *Ibid*, I. 129 and II. 27). This shows that Shaikh Malhi was the great-grandson of Maulānā Gukbūr, who was the great-grandson of Sarbani. Shaikh Bāyazīd Sarwāni, the grandfather of 'Abbās, is given the sobriquet of 'Kalkāpūr' by Dowson, but it is clear from this pedigree that 'Kalkāpūr' is a mistranscription or misreading of some personal name like 'Gukbūr', 'Gugbūr' or

'Guzbūr', and not a place-name. M. de Tassy calls the Shaikh Mulhi 'Quitāl' and speaks of his grandfather as 'Shaikh Ahmad *Kakbor* Sarwani.' (p. 115).

The name of the Saint reminds one of Shaikh Mali or Malhi who is stated to have written a History of the conquest of Swāt by the Yūsufzāis between 1413 and 1421 A. C. It is said to be the earliest known work in Pushtu. (T. H. Thornton's Art. on Punjab Literature and Folklore in J. R. A. S. 1885, p. 389; Encyclopaedia Britannica, Ninth Edition, I. 238, *s. v.* Afghānistān). The sobriquet is spelt 'Kayāl' by Dowson, but 'Qattāl' by Dorn and De Tassy and this seems to be more correct, as it is assigned to several other Saints also, *e. g.* Sayyid Ṣadru-d-dīn Rājū *Qattāl*, who was the brother of the still more renowned Shaikh Jalālu-d-dīn Makhdūm-i Jahāniān and died in 806 H. (*Āīn*, Tr. III. 371-2; F. II. 417-8; Beale, *Miftāḥ*, 98). Another member of the same family, Sayyid Sultān Aḥmad is also styled Qattāl and Jalālpur in Shujābād *taḥṣīl*, Multān district, is called Jalālpur-*Pīrwālā* or Jalālpur of the *Pīr*, because he died and is buried there. (I. G. XIV. 16). Shaikh Yūsuf *Qattāl* lies buried in Dehli and his mausoleum near the mosque in Kharki was built in 903 H. (F. Cooper, *op. cit.* 94; *Āṣār*, I. 23). Another saint Jamāl *Qattāl*, who was a disciple of Shaikh Sharafu-d-dīn Maneri, is mentioned by Abul Faẓl. (*Āīn*, Tr. III. 370). Still another named Mu'īnu-d-dīn *Qattāl*, who was the grandfather of the more famous Shaikh Muḥammad Ghauṣ, is buried at Jaunpūr. (Houtsma, E. I., III. 687). The *raison d'être* of the epithet also is stated by Firishta. (II. 417, l. 9 f.f).

IV. 389, *l.* 9 from foot. *But the Kāzi-'ali.....spoke ill of us and said.*

The manuscript used seems to have read عالی, 'high', 'exalted', 'chief', but the correct lection is undoubtedly, 'Alī علی. We know that Qāzi 'Ali was deputed in 936 A. H. to the Punjāb to make inquiries respecting the lands held in rent-free tenure. He was directed "to resume the old tenures, to measure them and to include them all in one district". (Budāuni, II. 254=Lowe II. 261; see also A. N. Tr. III. 343). He was appointed Bakhshi in 987 H. (A. N. Tr. III. 423) and killed in Kashmīr in 999 H. (*Āīn*, Tr. Blochmann, I. 346).

IV. 390, *l.* 9. *A short time afterwards, he [Mīr Sayyad Hāmid Bukhāri] was himself slain.*

As Sayyid Ḥāmid was killed in fighting against the *Tārīkis* or *Raushanais*, towards the end of 994 H. (A. N. III. 510 = Tr. III. 777; T. A. 371, l. 9=E. D. V. 455; B. II. 354=Lowe, 366; Blochmann, *Āīn*, Tr. I. 397), the allusion furnishes an important piece of internal evidence for fixing the inner limit of the date of composition of the *Tārīkh-i-Shīr Shāhi*. See my note on Vol. IV. 301 *supra*.

IV. 390, *l.* 16. *The hills of Padmān and Girjhāk.*

'Padmān' is an error for نندنا, Nadnān, *i. e.* 'Nadnā', 'Nandana' or 'Nindūna' of p. 389 *supra*. 'Girjhāk and Nandnā' are both in the Salt Range—the Gakhkhar country—and are both mentioned in juxtaposition

in Dorn (I. 129=E. D. V. 114) and also by the Emperor Jahāngīr. (T. J. Text, 61, l. 3 f. f.=Tr. I. 81; 91, l. 3 f. f.=Tr. I. 129). Nandna lies about twelve miles distant from Jhelum town, Lat. 32°-43′, Long. 73°-17′. It is a place of strategic importance and was captured by Maḥmūd of Ghazni. It stands on a rocky hill which commands the route across the outer Salt Range. Girjhāk lies near Jalālpur in Pind Dādan Khān *taḥṣīl* of Jhelum district, Jalālpur is situated about thirty miles south of Jhelum, in a narrow valley extending between the river and the eastern extremity of the Salt Range. It is one of the great passages of the Jhelum on the route from Afghānistān to India and is supposed by Elphinstone, Cunningham, Chesney and others to have been the site of Alexander's battle with Porus. Lat. 32°-39′, Long. 73°-26′. (Thornton; I. G. XIV. 14). Constable, Pl. 24 E a. 'Girjhāk and Nandana' are both mentioned by Minhāj. In the Ṭ. N. (Text, 179, last line), he specifies in the list of Īltutmish's conquests, two places, the names of which were read by Raverty as "Nandanah and *Gūjah* or *Kūjah*". (Tr. 627). There can be little doubt that the right reading is not *Gūjak*, but گرجهاک *Girjhā* (*k*).

IV. 397, *l.* 6 from foot. *Bhaiā Puran Mal sent 600 elephants, but did not himself come out.*

Puran Mal, the son of Silhādi, is styled 'Purabi' by Ni'amatulla, Silhādi is said to have been a 'Tuār' by Tod (A. A. R., Ed. Crooke. I. 356), but a Gehlot [or Guhilot] by the Ṭ. A. (231, l. 15) and Dorn (II. 104 notes). The question is not easy to decide, but the latter opinion seems to be invalidated by the fact that one of the wives of Silhādi was Durgā, a daughter of the Rānā (*Scil.* of Chītor). (Ḥājji Dabīr, Ẓ. W. 225, l. 5 f. f.). Elsewhere, the Ḥājji states that the mother-in-law of Bhūpat, the son of Silhādi, was the mother of Vikramājit, the son of Rāṇā Sanga, *i. e.* Bhūpat had married a daughter of Rāṇā Sanga. (*Ib.* 227, l. 2). The Ṭ. A. also avers that the daughter-in-law [عروس] of Durgāvati, the wife of Silhādi, was the daughter of Sanga. (506, l. 2). The *Mirāt-i-Sikandari* also says that the wife of Silhādi's son Bhūpat was the Rāṇā's daughter (256, l. 10), while F. speaks of Durgāvati herself as the daughter of Sanga. (II. 221, l. 2 f. f.). We can scarcely expect the Musalman annalists to have been *accurately* informed about the family history and matrimonial connections of the Rājput princes, but it stands out clearly, notwithstanding some discrepancies, that Silhādi or his son was connected by marriage with the reigning house of Chitor. It is quite possible that both Silhādi and his son had taken wives from that house. The practice is not at all unusual among Rājputs, though Sir E. Clive Bayley was puzzled by it on account of imperfect acquaintance with Hindu customs. (*Loc. Cit.* 365 *Note*). But as a Gehlot can never marry a female of his own tribe, Silhādi must have belonged to some other sept.

In this connection, it may be worth while to note that 'Purabiya' is said by Tod to have been one of the 24 branches of the Chauhāns. (*op. cit.*). In the Sanskrit poetical history of the Rājās of Rewā which has been

summarised by Dr. Hirānand Shāstri, Puranmal is described as a descendant of Hammīra, the Chauhān. (Memoirs of the Arch. Survey of India, No. XXI, (1925), p. 6). If this is correct, Silhādi also must have been a Chauhān. But the better opinion seems to be that 'Purabiya' means nothing more than 'Eastern' and all Rājputs were called 'Purabiya' in Mālwā, because they came from *Purab*—the Ganges-Jumna Duāb and Oude—because these districts were situated to the east of that province. Ḥājji Dabīr states that Medini Rāi was the title given to Rāi Chand *Purabiya* (213, l. 9), and he mentions several other Rājputs also who are styled 'Purabiya', *e. g.* Gangu Purabiya, Lord of Mauḍasā, (226, l. 9), Hemkaran Purabiya, (107, l. 1), and others. The Ṭ. A. also speaks of *Rājputān-i-purabiya*, as a general term, (584, l. 5) and appends the epithet 'Purabiya' to the name not only of Silhādi himself (587, last line), but to that of a man called Shādi Khān (586, l. 4).

In these circumstances, the balance of authority points to Silhādi having been neither a Gehlot nor a Chauhān, and Tod is probably right in making him a Tuār or Tonwar. This conclusion is borne out by the Emperor Jahāngīr, who in a detailed notice of one of his Amīrs, named Nāhar Khān, declares that he was the grandson of Narsinha Deva, the brother of Puran Mal *Tonwar* تو نور of Rāisīn. (T. J. 365, l. 21). The 'Alīgarh text has 'Lūlū' لولو and some Mss. have بلو or بولول, but these are all mistranscriptions of تنور or تونور, as Mr. Beveridge has clearly shown in his note. (Tr. II. 268).

IV. 398, *l.* **3.** *Fath Khān Jat had been in rebellion in Kayūla.*

Recte Qabūla, *i.e.* 'Kot Kabūla', as in Dorn. (I. 134). It is mentioned in the T. J. also. (77, l. 6; Tr. I. 160). It was in *Sarkār* Depālpur of the Lāhore *Ṣūba*. (*Āīn*, Tr. II. 332). It lies about seven miles north of the Sutlej in Montgomery district, Punjab. Lat. 30°-11′ N., Long. 73°-36′ E. Satgarha (l. 11) also is in Montgomery district and lies "about thirteen miles east of Gugera on one of the projecting points of the high bank, which marks the limit of the windings of the Rāvi on the east." (Cunningham, A. G. I. 242). The name is said to mean 'seven castles', but none of them now exist. Lat. 31°-0′ N., Long. 73°-0′. Constable, Pl. 24 E b. The mausoleum of Mīr Chākar Rind is at Satgarha.

IV. 398, *l.* **13.** *I am going to seize Mahla.*

'Mahla' is not the name of any place which it was intended to capture. What Haibat Khān wanted to do was to take the *Maḥal* (the *dāgh wa maḥal*) of the contingent which Chākar [Chaqar or Jaghar] Rind was bound to maintain. Chākar was therefore asked to "keep his forces ready", so that the horses could be branded on the spot according to regulations. Four lines lower down on this very page, Haibat Khān is made to say, "I shall take your Muster (*Maḥal*) at Depālpur". De Tassy renders it correctly thus: "qu'il prepare donc son armee *et j'en passerai in revue*". (p. 125). B. uses the phrase *dāgh-u-maḥalli*. (II. 206, Lowe, Tr. 209=E. D. V, 522).

IV. 398, *l.* **5 from foot.** *Fāṯḥ Khān Jat sent Shaikh Ibrāhīm, son of Kutb 'Ālam, Shaikh Farīd to Haibat Khān.*

The Quṭb-i-'Ālam Shaikh Farīd-[i-Shakarganj] who lies buried at Ajodhan or Pāk-Paṭṭan died, according to Musalman hagiologists, either in 664 or 668 A. H., *i. e.* in the 13th century A. C. (Beale, *Miftāḥ*, 63; *Āīn*, Tr. III. 364), and it is impossible for a person living in the 16th to have been either his *son* or his '*nephew*', as Dorn has it. (I. 135). The word فرزند is here used loosely for 'descendant', (*q. v.* 371 Note 2 *ante*). Prof. Qānūngo has been misled by Dowson's wrong translation. (*op. cit.* 310).

IV. 399, *l.* **9 from foot.** *Fath Jang Khān.....in the country of Multān founded a city which he called 'Shergarh'.*

This Shergarh is still in existence and lies "on the right bank of the Biyāh, about twenty miles to the south-east of Satghara". (Raverty, Mihrān, 360 *note*). Constable, 24 E b. Prof. Qānūngo conjectures that it must be either 'Sher Shāh,' about 8 miles south-west of Multān or 'Shāhgarh', 27 miles in the same direction (313 *note*), but Raverty's suggestion hits the mark much better in every respect. This Shergarh is mentioned also by B. (II. Text, 155-6; Tr. 159, 160), as near Jahni or Channi (Chuniān) and it contains the Mausoleum of Shaikh Dāūd Channiwāl.

IV. 403, footnote. *The Shaikhzādas of Barnawa.....and the Shaikhzādas of Bhandner* [*complained to Shīr Shāh*].

There was a *Maḥāl* named Barnāwa in *Sarkār* Dehli, *Ṣūba* Dehli. (*Āīn*, Tr. II. 286). Barnāwa lies about sixteen miles north-west of Mīrat on the right bank of the Hindau. (Th.). It is supposed to be the Vāraṇāvata, to which the Pāṇḍavas retired on their expulsion, and where Duryodhana attempted to burn them to death. Lat. 29°-7′ N., Long. 77°-29′ E. This 'Bhandner' may be an error for 'Pundir' (پندیر) or 'Pundri', which was also in the same *Sarkār*. Pundri is shown in Constable, 25 B c. It is a place of some antiquity. It is most probably identical with the 'Banadri' of Waṣṣāf. See Note on III. 36, l. 15 *ante*.

IV. 406, footnote. *Shortly after the beginning of 951 H., he* [*Shīr Shāh*] *must have started for Chitor, marching during the hot weather, passing the rains in Kachwāra, and then occupying the closing months of 952 and the beginning of 953 with the siege of Kālinjar. This makes the chronology very plain.*

It is permissible to point out that instead of making the chronology plain, this would make it inconceivably confused and utterly impossible, as Shīr Shāh died on the 10th or 11th of Rab'ī I. *952* H. There is some inadvertence or typographical error here and the years should be read as *950*, *951*, and *952* respectively. A. H. 950 began on 6th April 1543. Rāisin was sacked during the first half of 950 H. and the campaign in Rājputāna followed in the second half, November-March 1544 A. C. The attack on Chītor came three or four months later. Kālinjar was besieged in or about Sh'abān 951 H. (November 1544) and Shīr Shāh died on 22nd or 23rd May

1545. At p. 304 *ante*, Elliot himself puts the expeditions against Rāisin, Ajmīr, Nāgor and Māldeo into 950 H., and the capture of Chītor and the commencement of the siege of Kālinjar into 951 H. See also the note at 404 *ante*. B. distinctly states that the siege of Rāisin *began* in 949 H. and he gives also the contemporary chronogram as قیام بارگاہ باشد مبارك which stands for 949. He adds that the fort was surrendered in the following year. (I. 376, Tr. 476).

IV. 407, *l.* 16. *When he reached the stage of Shahbandī.*

M. Garcin de Tassy reads 'Sahpada'. (*op. cit.* 136). I suggest that it may be شہنہ Shahandah, or سہنہ Sahanda, *i. e.* Sehonda. It lies about 30 miles north-west of Kālinjar in the line of Sher Shāh's route from Kajwāra or Khichiwāra. Like Kālinjar, it is now in Bānda district and is situated on the river Ken. It was near the lake of Sehonda, which is said in the *Bādishāhnāma* to be about twenty *Kos* from Kālinjar, that Khān Jahān Lody was defeated and killed. (Text, I. Pt. i. 349 = E. D. VII, 21). Constable, 28 B c.

IV. 407, foot note. *Aḥmad Yādgār says that the reason for his advancing against Kālinjar was that Birsingdeo Bundelah.....had taken refuge with the Rājā of Kālinjar, who refused to give him up.*

Aḥmad Yādgār is a careless and muddleheaded scribe. This 'Birsingdeo' was not a Bundela, but a Bāghela. He was not the Rājā of Panna in Bundelkand but of *Bhaṭa* or *Bhaṭghora* (modern Rewā). He was contemporary with Bābur and his name occurs more than once in that Emperor's Memoirs. (B. N. Tr. 521, 562, 639). Bīrsing [Vīra Sinha] was succeeded by "Perbehān" or "Birbahān" (Vīrabhānū), who is stated by Jauhar and Gulbadan (H. N. Tr. 136) to have rendered material assistance to Humāyūn in his flight after the defeat at Chausa. Apart from this error, Aḥmad seems to have confounded the father with the son. It is not unlikely that Bīrbhān [not Bīrsing] *was* summoned to court by Shīr Shāh to answer for his conduct and that the Bāghela thought it the better part of valour to seek safety in flight. The Rājā of Kālinjar, with whom he took refuge, is called Kirat Sing by 'Abbās (407 *infra*) but Bhārtichand, in the genealogy of the Rājās of Orchha and the local chronicles. (Silberrad, History of Western Bundelkhand, J. A. S. B. LXXI, 1902, p. 107). Bīrsingdeva is mentioned in the A. N. also (II. 210; Tr. II. 325). Abul Faẓl says that Bīrsing was a vassal of Sikandar Lodi. Bīrsing, in fact, was the son of Shālivāhan, the brother and successor of Bhīḍachandra, both of whom are mentioned at 461-2 *infra* and Nī'amatulla in E. D. V. 94-5.

IV. 409, *l.* 16. *On the 10th Rab'iu-l-awwal 952 A. H., Shīr Shāh died.*

Abul Faẓl gives 11th Rab'ī I (A. N. I. 336; Tr. I. 615). F. has 12th (I. 228). Ni'amatūlla says he died at midnight on Tuesday following the 9th, which was a Friday, *i. e.* the 12th or 13th. (Dorn, I. 141). The *Makhzan-i-Afghāni* makes it the 17th. (Dorn, II, 111). Abul Faẓl says that Islām Shāh ascended the throne eight days after the death of his father, *i. e.* on the

19th, but according to Ni'amatulla he did so on Thursday the 15th. (Dorn, I. 146). B. does not give the exact date of Shīr Shāh's death, but says Islām Shāh ascended the throne on the 15th of Rab'ī I. (I. 374=Tr. I. 485). 'Abbās also makes 9th Rab'ī I a Friday. 10th Rab'ī I (*Ḥisābi*) 952 H. was Friday, 22nd May 1545. If Dorn is right in saying that he died on the night of the *Muhammadan* Tuesday, the *Ḥisābi* date must have been the 13th Rab'ī I.=25th May 1545 A. C. The dates given by Abul Faẓl and F. must be *Ruyyat* dates. Erskine says he died on the 24th of May 1545. (H. B. H. II. 441 and *note*). See also Mr. Beveridge's Note at A. N. Tr. I. 400. The Hijri date was most probably the 11th *Ruyyat* or 12th *Ḥisābi*.

IV. 415, *l.* **13**. *The Nagarkot, Jwāla, Dihdawāl and Jammū hills.*

'Jwāla' is Jwālāmukhi. There is a Dhudiāl in Jhelum district in the Punjāb, Constable 24 E a, but there is another place bearing the same name in Hazāra district, about twenty-five miles from Abbottābād. (*Ibid*, 24 D a). The first of these is most probably meant here, as the headquarters of the governor are said to have been at Malot, probably the place so called in the Hoshiārpur district. Dudhiāl in Jhelum district is now a station on the Mundra-Bhaun Railway. It is 28 miles south-west of Mundra, which is 52 miles north-west of Jhelum town.

IV. 416, *l.* **9**. *The contumacious and highway plunderers inhabiting the pargana of Malkonsa.*

Malkonsa was a *Mahāl* in *Sarkār* Qanauj, *Ṣūbā* Āgra, (*Āīn*, Tr. II. 185), and is now called Rasūlābād. (Elliot, Races II. 91). The district has been always notorious for the lawless and turbulent character of its inhabitants. Every man is said to have gone about armed and even peasants tilling the fields had loaded muskets fixed to their ploughs and never paid the land revenue or any other dues until compelled to do so by *force majeure*. (*Maāṣiru-l-Umarā*, I. 418). Rasūlābād is a not uncommon placename. There is a Rasulābād which lies a little south of Asiwan in Mohan *taḥṣīl*, Unāo district, twenty miles north of Unāo town. (I. G. VI. 13). Constable, 28 B b. But this Malkousa is 'Malgosa'—Rasūlābād, about forty miles north-west of Cawnpore and nine miles north of Jhinjhak station on the East India Railway. (N. W. P. Gazetteer (1881), VI. 253-4). The pargana contains a large area of swampy land. A saying commemorating the difficulty of realising the revenues in former times is quoted by the compiler of the Gazetteer:

Rasūlābād-Malgosā, tīn pahar jūti to ek pahar paisā;
Rāt basen phir jaesā kā taisā. (Ibid, p. 8).

IV. 419, foot note. *It cost eight krors, five lacs, five thousand and two and a half dāms, which means Bahlolis. All which is written over the gate of the fort.*

The Emperor Jahāngīr who stayed at Rhotās for some days in his father's reign (Ṭ. A. in E. D. V. 465) and visited it also in his own, states that according to an inscription on one of the gates of the fort, "the cost of erection was sixteen *Krors*, ten *lacs* of *dāms* and a little more, equal to

forty *lacs*, twenty-five thousand rupees. (T. J. Tr. I. 96; Text, 46, last line). It will be observed that the figure, as it is given by Jahāngīr, is just double that given by the *Tārīkh-i-Dāūdi*. Jahāngīr calls the coin *Dām* and reckons it at 1/40th of the rupee. 'Abdulla also speaks of it as *Dām*, but his total is the exact moiety of Jahāngīr's. He adds that this *Dām* was the same as the *Bahloli*. His *Dām* or *Bahloli* must have been equal to 1/40 × 2, *i. e.* 1/20th part of the Rupee. In other words, it bore the same value as the *Sikandari Tanga*, of which twenty were accounted as equal in value to the Rupee. This shows that the word 'Dām' is used very loosely and that two different coins, one, of which 40 went to the Rupee and another, of which 20 bore the same value, are both indiscriminately designated 'Dāms'. And this confusion is aggravated by the fact that the terms 'Bahloli' and 'Tanga' also seem to have been employed with equal laxity, not only in common parlance or the language of the street, but in the histories and chronicles of the period.

IV. 433, *l.* 5. *And in the time of Sher Shāh, a decrepit old woman might place a basket of gold ornaments on the head and go on a journey and no thief or robber could come near her.*

This is not historical verity but fatuous adulation. Unfortunately, it is repeated in the *Zubdatu-t-Tawārīkh* of Shaikh *Nūru-l-Ḥaqq* (E. D. VI. 188-9), the Ṭ. A. (232, last line), F. (I. 228, l. 3 f. f.) and B. (I. 363; Tr. 473), as if it had been a real fact. Any decrepit old woman who had tried the experiment would have had good reason to rue it all her life, if her head had remained on her shoulders at all. The whole passage is rhetorical bombast of no historical significance. It is, at best, only a picturesque metaphorical expression, just like "the lion lying down with the lamb" or "the wolf drinking at the same fountain as the goat." And this flimsy fustian has not even the merit of originality. It has been pilfered from an older author and the very words, almost, occur in the *Shajrat-u-l-Atrāk*, the author of which writes thus:

"It is related in different histories that when Sultan Muhammad Khwarizm Shah conquered Mawarau-n-Nahr, the roads between Iran and Turan were well-guarded and safe, in so much, it is stated as an example, that if an old woman were to carry a dish full of gold all over the country, there was none hardy enough to molest her". (Tr. Miles, p. 110).

It may be pertinent to note that the *Shajrat* is an abridgment of the ار بعه الوس چنگیزی, which was based on a History of the Mongols written by or under the orders of Sultān Ulugh Beg about 851 A. H. (Rieu, B. M. Catalogue, I. 164; Ethé, I. O. Catalogue, 77-8).

Similarly, all that is said a few lines higher up about travellers and wayfarers having been relieved from the trouble of keeping watch and about the Zamindārs keeping guard over them is 'stolen thunder'. It is just what Barani says about 'Alāu-d-dīn Khalji. (T. F. Text, 340, ll. 12-18).

"The safety of the highways, throughout the provinces," that historian states, "had become so great that the Hindu landed proprietors and headmen [*Muqaddimān wa Khūṭān*] used to stand on the highroads and keep watch over wayfarers and caravans, while travellers with goods, fabrics, cash or any other property used to alight in the midst of the plains and deserts". (Major Fuller's translation in J. A. S. B. 1870, p. 48). And writing of Ghiyāṣ-u-dīn Tughlaq, he declares that "so great was the fear of his sword in the hearts of all robbers and plunderers, that in his time, the robbers became the protectors of the public road..... and the name of robber was not heard, and the fear of the robber was wiped from the minds of men." (Text, 442-3; [Sir Auckland] Colvin's Tr. in J. A. S. B. 1871, p. 238). When 'Abbas further assures us that in the reign of Shīr Shāh, there was not "a thief or robber who dared to direct the eye of dishonesty to the property of another, nor did any theft or robbery ever occur in his dominions" he is only repeating what had been said before. The fact is that this overpraised account of Shīr Shāh's administration has been pieced together out of borrowed material. For its most important passages, *viz.* those relating to the manner of his daily life and his system of civil and military government, 'Abbās must be indebted to Mushtāqi, as that author died in 989 H. (534 *infra*), several years before the *Tārīkh-i-Shīr Shāhi* was begun.

It seems necessary to put this point in the proper light and nail the lie to the counter, as it is thus represented even in the C.H.I. (IV. 57). "Even the historians of the Timurids admit that in the Afghān's reign, an old woman with a basket of gold could safely sleep in the open plain at night without a guard", and another modern writer also assures us in an official publication, that "under the rule of Shīr Shāh, *all disorders ceased and so complete was the order that prevailed throughout Hindustān*, that a decrepit old woman might place a basket of gold on her head and go on a journey etc." (U. P. Gazetteer, X. p. 157).

IV. 435, *l.* 11 from foot. *He summoned two competitors for the crown, Kiyām Khān and Malik Bahlol.*

No individual named Qiyām Khān is mentioned as a competitor for the throne of Delhi by any of the other historians and قيام must be a copyist's error, *perhaps*, for حسام Ḥisām or Ḥusām. (*q. v.* E. D. V. 73). The Ṭ. A. and F. agree in saying that the two other persons, besides Buhlūl, of whom Ḥamīd Khān thought were Sultān Maḥmūd of Jaunpur and Sultān Maḥmūd Khalji of Mālwa. The first was ruled out because he was Sultān 'Alāu-d-dīn's son-in-law, the second on account of his being at too great a distance from Dehli. (Ṭ. A. 151, l. 6; F. I. 172, l. 6 f. f.).

IV. 437, *l.* 12. *It was the custom to distribute every third day, Sherbet, pān leaves, etc.*

The author is referring to the *Ziārat* or funeral ceremony performed on the *third day after a man's death.* See *ante* 322, l. 8 f. f. Herklots speaks of it as "the *teeja* alias *Zeeārut* of the dead, or the visiting the

grave on the third day after burial." (*Qanoon-e-Islam*, Madras Reprint, 1863, p. 284). Barani in his elaborate eulogy of Balban's virtues says that he used to visit in person the houses of deceased Shaikhs and Sayyids on the day of the *Ziārāt* or third day (سوم) after death. (Text. 47, l.).

IV. 437, *l.* 10 from foot. *Mullā Fāzin one of the elders of the city.*

The correct reading seems to be 'Qāẓan' or 'Qādan' (قاذن). He is probably identical with the 'Miān Kādan' mentioned on p. 464 *infra*. This latter is spoken of as Miyān Qādan, the son of Shaikh Jūfū or Khujū in the Ṭ. A. (164, l. 4) and F. (I. 182, l. 26). A Qāẓi Qāẓan or Qādan (قاذن؟) of Bhakkar is mentioned in M'aṣūm's History of Sind. (Tr. Malet, 130= Kalīch Beg's Tr. in his History of Sind, II. 65, 68, 69. See also E. D. I. 310 note and Ṭ. A. 636, l. 20). Qāẓi Qādan Bangāli was the spiritual guide of Ḥājji Ḥamīd Gwāliari, who was the *Pīr* or spiritual director of the renowned Shaikh Muḥammad Ghauṣ. (*Maāṣiru-l-Umarā*, II. 577, l. 6). The 'Miān Kādan of Dehli' mentioned at 464 *infra* is described there as one of the most eminent Mullās of the empire in the reign of Sikandar Lody.

IV. 439, *l.* 16. *It is also related of this prince, etc.*

Several stories illustrative of the judicial sagacity and Solomon-like wisdom of Sikandar Lody are repeated by the chroniclers. One of them at least, a long and circumstantial yarn which is related in the Ṭ. A. (p. 172), F. (I. 187) and the *Makhzan-i-Afghāni* (Dorn, I. 68) is really an old apologue borrowed from the inexhaustible store of Hindu folklore. It occurs in 'The Mongolian Tales of Ardshi Bordshi' which is said to be the Tibetan paraphrase of the *Sinhāsan Dvintrashati*, or 'Thirty-two Tales of a Throne'. It is told there thus: "A merchant entrusted a friend with a jewel to give to his wife, but the man sold it and afterwards declared that he had duly delivered it. When the merchant brought his case to trial, the false friend produced two witnesses who asserted that they had seen the merchant giving the jewel to the merchant's wife, and judgment would at once have been given in his favour, but for the interposition of a boy who advised that all four should be confined in separate rooms and each to be given a piece of clay, out of which they were to make models of the jewel. As the models of the merchant and his false friend were found to correspond, while those of the two witnesses differed, the fraud and perjury were both detected". (Clouston, Popular Tales and Fictions, II. 13). In the Ṭ. A. and Dorn, the story is told of two brothers who resided in Gwālior, the false witnesses are two Brāhman gamblers and the judge is Sikandar. Another intriguing case, which is said to have come up before Sikandar for final adjudication, and is represented in the *Makhzan* (Dorn, I. 67-8) as an event which had actually occurred in his reign, is really a replica of the Arabian Nights' fairy tale of Alāddin and his Wonderful Lamp and genii who are the Guardians or Slaves of that talisman. Elliot says of these anecdotes of Sikandar's acumen that "many of them have been reproduced by *later* writers and attributed to the monarchs of their own times," (435 *ante*), but the truth lies really the

other way. They are much older than the time of Sikandar and most of them are migratory sagas which illustrate the "tendency of all peoples to ascribe well-known anecdotes, sayings and adventures to well-known persons," as E. G. Browne puts it. (L. H. P. II. 189).

IV. 444, *l.* 6 from foot. *On Friday, the 7th Sh'abān, A. H. 894, he (Sikandar) was raised to the throne.*

The date must be wrong, as the Julian correspondence, 6th July 1489 A. C. was a Monday. The Ṭ. A. (159, l. 13) gives it correctly as *17th* Sh'abān, 17th July, which was a Friday and must be correct.

IV. 444, *l.* 12. *On the day he quitted Dehli, he first went to Shaikh Samāu-d-dīn.....for the purpose of requesting him to repeat the fātiha.*

Budāuni tells a similar story of a poet who wrote a *Qaṣīda* in praise of Sultān Īltutmish, but first went to the celebrated Saint Quṭbu-d-dīn Bakhtyār-i-Kāki and requested him to give his blessing by repeating a *Fātiḥa* before its presentation to that ruler. He then attended at Court and read it to the Sultān, who was so pleased with it that he gave him a reward of 53,000 white *tangas*—at the rate of 1,000 *tangas* for each couplet. (I. 65=Tr. I. 92). Another example of this custom is found in the *Muntakhabu-l-Lubāb* of Khwāfi Khān, who informs us that before marching against Dārā Shukoh, Aurangzeb went in disguise to a famous saint of Burhānpur and requested him to repeat a *Fātiḥa*, just as Sikandar is said by Abdulla to have done. (Text, II. p. 11).

IV. 447, *l.* 16. *Their stone images were given to the butchers to make weights to serve them as meat-weights.*

This is a "wandering tale" of iconoclastic zeal which appears in varying forms. 'Abdulla tells it here of Sikandar Lodi and associates it with the temples of Mathurā. According to the *Wāq'iāt-i-Mushtāqi*, the hero was Khawāṣṣ Khān and the images belonged to the shrine of Mahāmāyā [Vajreshvari or Ambikā] at Nagarkot and not to Mathurā. (544 *post*). F. had read in some book that the idol of Nagarkot was broken to pieces, mixed with cow's flesh and put into nosebags, which were hung round the necks of the Brāhmans. But this had occurred, not in the reign of Sikandar Lodi, but in that of Firūz Tughlaq. (I. 148, l. 6). F.'s story looks like a variant of a still older legend about Maḥmūd of Ghazna. He is said to have had the stone images of Hindu deities burnt and turned into lime which was given to the Brāhmans to eat with their *betel* leaves. They were then told that they had their gods in their bellies! (Raverty, N. A. 60; I. G. *s. n.* Butkhāk). Still another variant of 'Abdulla's tale appears in the provincial histories of Mālwa. There, the idol-breaker is the Prince Ghiyāṣu-d-dīn, son of Sultān Maḥmūd Khalji. He is stated to have destroyed in one of his campaigns against the Rāṇā of Chiṭor, the temples of Kombhalmer and converted the objects of worship into butchers' weights. (Ṭ. A. 551). F. repeats this yarn also (II. 247), having copied it, as usual, from Niẓāmu-d-dīn. The story of the

practical joke played by Maḥmūd upon the Brāhmans has the appearance of an etymological myth. It seems to have been invented to account for the toponym *Butkhāk*, the name of a village near Kābul, where the incident is said to have taken place. *But* means 'idol' and *Khāk* 'dust' in Persian. Aḥmad Yādgār also refers to the capture of Nagarkot in Sikandar's reign, but merely says that the idol was exposed to be trodden under the feet of the people. (E. D. V. 18).

IV. 449, *l.* 16. *[The musicians] were ordered to play only these four tunes, (1) Malikur, (2) Kalyān, (3) Kānra and (4) Husaini.*

The correct name of the first *Rāg* is 'Mālkos'. In Persian Music there are, according to the *Ghiyaṣu-l-Lughāt*, twelve *Maqām* (tunes or modes) of which 'Ḥusaini' is the tenth. 'Kaldāra' and 'Hasani' which are mentioned as variants in the footnote seem to be mistranscriptions of کیدار 'Kedār' and 'Ḥusaini'.

IV. 450, *l.* 12 from foot. *The noble who had the general direction of affairs in the reign of Sikandar bestowed districts.....to an extent that had never been known before.*

The original words حضرتِ مختارِ مطلقِ سکندری remind one of the وکیلِ مطلق who was a minister higher even than the Chief Wazīr. The *Wakīl-i-Muṭlaq* was the Viceregent, the deputy of the Sovereign himself and all the powers of the Sultān were, for the time, delegated to him. He was often appointed when the king was young and inexperienced or had to be unavoidably absent from the capital on protracted or distant military enterprises. The reference here is probably to Shaikh Bhuwa, who was Sikandar's prime minister and *alter ego*. Aḥmad Yādgar states that Miān Bhuwa was the most powerful and independent grandee and the absolute minister of Sultān Sikandar. (E. D. V. 13-4). Khwāfi Khān observes that in former reigns, the appointment and removal of Wazīrs and other ministers used to be vested in the *Wakīl-i-Muṭlaq*. (Text, II. 597=Tr. in E. D. VII. 401-2).

IV. 451, *l.* 1. *The Argar-mahā-bedak, was translated ... and received the name of Tibb-i Sikandari.*

An alternative title of the *Ṭibb-i Sikandari* is *M'adanu-sh-Shifāi Sikandari* and there are copies of the book in the British Museum and other Libraries. (Rieu, II. 471; III. 1120; Ethé, I. O. Catalogue No. 2305, Sachau and Ethé, Bodleian Catalogue, No. 1592; Stewart, Catalogue of Tippoo Sultān's Library, p. 108). The work has been also lithographed at Lakhnau. The author calls himself Bhuwa, the son of Khawwāṣṣ Khān, and says that the translation was completed in 918 A.H. (1512 A.C.). It is made up of an Introduction in praise of the Science of Medicine and three *Bābs* or Chapters, the names of the subjects of which are given in Sanskrit as *Sutrasthān-Shārirak-Chikitsāsthān* and *Nidān*. *Argar-mahā-bedak* may be a corrupt form of [ایور] *Ayūr Mahā Vaidak*, or of *Charak Mahā*

Baidak [Vaidak]. Mīān Bhuwa states that it had been compiled from several Sanskrit works "which were the foundations of the physicians of Hind" and specially mentions those of *Charaka*, Sushruta, Sārangdhara and Chakradatta and the *Mādhava Nidāna*.

IV. 454, *l.* **20.** *A saiyyid from the district of Ardal, which is twenty or thirty Kos from Panna on the Agra side.*

The names 'Ardal' and 'Panna' are both wrong. The first must be intended for *Arwal* in Gaya district, which lies on the Sone about 44 miles south-west of *Patna*, (Seeley, Road Book of India, 15-16). Constable, 28 D c. The *wāv* has been wrongly read as a *re*. Arwal was in Bihār which we know to have been annexed by Sikandar. The second name must be *Patna*.

IV. 457, *l.* **4.** *Led by a Hindu named Jugā.*

The name of the leader is not given by the Ṭ. A. or any of the older authorities. They know nothing of 'Jūgā' and merely say that the Zamindār who led the rebels was a بچگوتی or بچکوتی (Ṭ. A. 161, l. 1; Dorn, I. 57; E. D. V. 93; B. I. 314; Tr. 415). It would seem that 'Abdulla, who had never heard of such a tribal designation, could make nothing of بچگوتی and tried to make sense by reading it as the name of a person, جگو Jagū or Jugā. 'Abdulla's account is borrowed from that of Niẓāmu-d-dīn and he could not have known the name of their leader, as the original author was ignorant of it. His attempt to transform ملاحان, *Mallāḥān* (l. 7) 'boatmen' into [ملاّخان] 'Mullā Khān' is also unfortunate and shows that his Manuscript of the Ṭ. A. was none of the best and frequently corrupt. In the second case also, the Ṭ. A. has the correct reading بدستِ ملاحان گرفتار شد (161, l. 3).

IV. 457, *l.* **9.** *Bārbak Shāh had gone to Daryābād.*

This Daryābād is probably the place of that name in Rāmsnehighāt *taḥṣīl* of Bārābanki district in Oude, U. P. Lat. 26°-53′ N., Long. 81°-34′ E. (I. G. XI, 191). Miyān Muḥammad Farmuli to whom Bārbak Shāh is said to have fled was the son of the sister of Buhlūl, who had given him the whole *Sarkār* of Oude (to which Daryābād belonged) in *Jāgīr*. (*Tārīkh-i-Shīr-shāhi*, 352 *ante*).

IV. 457, *l.* **15.** *Food is just ready, eat a little of it as a good omen, and then set out for Jaunpūr.*

Another instance of this Oriental belief or superstition is found in the Memoirs of Jahāngīr. During the pursuit of his mutinous son Khusrau, the news of the two armies having come within sight of each other was brought to him, just when "a dish of roast meat was placed before him". But he tells us that he was so anxious to join his troops, that "*he took only a mouthful by way of good omen* (شگون) and started off at once for the scene of the battle". (T. J. Text, 29; Tr. I. 63). This article of popular faith is not infrequently referred to in Hindu folklore also. In a rare Collection of Indian Tales published by C. Vernieux at Calcutta in 1872), there is the story a prince who resolves to abdicate the throne and leave his country, but before doing so, receives

from a Fakīr four maxims, the second of which is, "Never forsake ready food." The prince takes care to act upon these maxims and each of them saves him from certain death on a critical occasion. (The Hermit of Motee Jhurna and other Indian Tales, *apud* Clouston. *op. cit.* II. 450).

IV. 461, *l.* 16. *The fugitive Rājā, by name Bhed, went to hell.*

It is now possible to definitely restore the name of this Rājā. He was Bhīdachandra, Rājā of Bhaṭa or Bhaṭghorā. A Sanskrit *Mahākāvya* or Poetical History of the rulers of Rewā written about the middle of the 16th century A. C. has been summarized by Dr. Hirānand Shāstṛi in Memoir No. XXI of the Archaeological Survey of India (1925). See also the supplementary article in Journal, Bihār and Orissa Research Society, 1930. He is called 'Bhil Rājā of Phaphamau' in the C. H. I. (III. 237), but Bhīl is an impossible name for a Hindu King. He was not the Rājā of Phāphāmau, which is an insignificant village, near Allahābād, but of Bāndhū. Sālbhān (Shālivāhan), who is mentioned a few lines lower down, was his brother.

IV. 461, footnote. *Aḥmad Yādgār adds, 'In short, from Jalālābād near Kābul, to Mandū and from Udīpūr to Patnā, coin was struck in his [Sikandar's] name.'*

Aḥmad Yādgār is a careless and very untrustworthy compiler of a later date and this statement is flatly belied by well-known facts. Neither 'Jalālābād' nor 'Udīpūr' existed in the days of Sikāndar Lodi. Jalālābād was given that name by Mun'im Khān in honour of Jalālu-d-dīn Akbar and Udipūr was founded by Rāṇā Udi (Udaya) Sinha, the son of Sanga, about the middle of the sixteenth century (1559 A. C.). (I. G. XXIV. 102).

IV. 462, *l.* 6. *Sultān Husain had gone to Kahlgānw, in the country of Lakhnauti.*

This is 'Colgong' now in Bhāgalpūr, Bengāl. Lat. 25°-13′ N., Long. 37°-17′ E., about 23 miles east of Bhāgalpūr town. Sultān Husain is said to have died there. Constable, Pl. 29, B. C.

IV. 464, *l.* 16. *There came a Brahman by name Laudhan, who dwelt in the village of Kaner.*

The Ṭ. A., from which this story has been borrowed by 'Abdulla, reads the name of the place as 'Kānthi' (163, last line). Dorn has 'Katbhūr' (I. 65) and F. (I. 182, l. 7 f.f.) calls it 'Kāthian'. The name of the Brāhman also is uncertain and read as 'Budhen' by Dorn and 'Yauddhan' by F. The reading 'Lakhnauti' on l. 21 seems to be very doubtful. It is not likely that Sikandar would permit judicial *fatwās* to be given by divines residing outside his territories on a matter relating to the internal administration of his own. It must be an error for 'Lakhnor,' which is near Sambhal, where Sikandar was encamped and to which the Brāhman was sent for trial by 'Azam Humāyūn the governor of the district of Sambhal. 'Lakhnor', 'Lakhnau' and 'Lakhnauti' are frequently confused in Persian chronicles. See Mrs. Beveridge's Note in B. N. Tr.

Appendix T. pp. lxxiii-vi. The place from which the Brāhman came is difficult to identify. It may be 'Kāther' [Rohilkhand]. The man himself was, probably, a follower of Rāmānand, one of whose twelve 'Chelas' was named 'Bhavānand' or 'Bhāvānand'. (H. H Wilson, Religious Sects of the Hindus, in Works, Ed. Rost, I. 53-6; [Sir George] Grierson, J. R. A. S. 1909, p. 642 Note).

IV. 467, footnote *l.* **13.** [*Sikandar*] *sent Rāi Ugar Sen Kachhwāha.*

The name is so spelt in Briggs' translation of Firishta, but the lithographed texts of the Ṭ. A. (169, l. 5) and F. (I. 185, l. 5) call him 'Jagar Sen Kachhwāh' and they are followed in the C. H. I. (III. 245). But 'Ugra Sen' seems to be correct and the person meant may be the *Ugra* Sen *Khīchī* of Rājput tradition, who is said to have been obliged by domestic strife to abandon Gāgraun and found Khīchipur (wrongly called Khiljipūr). (I. G. XV. 279). 'Kachhwāh' is, most probably, wrong. Persian writers constantly confound "Kachhwāh" and "Khīchi." "Kachhwāra" on p. 407 *ante* is a misreading of 'Khīchīwāra'. The 'Khīchis' are a branch of the Chauhāns and are entirely distinct from the Kachhwāhs. (Crooke, Tribes and Castes, III. 278). This Ugra Sen Khīchi is most probably identical with the Ugra Sen Purabiya of the Gujarāt Chronicles. (*Mirāt-i-Sikandari*, Tr. Bayley, 256 and 272 *note*; Ḥājji Dabir, Ẓ. W. 105, l. 1; 113, l. 3 f. f; Ṭ. A. 489, l. 20 f. f. and F. II. 210, l. 7). Khīchīwara or the country of the Khīchis comprises most of the country between Gūna, Sāraugpur, Shujāwalpur and Bhilsā. (I. G. XXI. 34).

IV. 471, *l.* **12.** *His* [*Sikandar Lody's*] *death took place on Sunday, the 7th of Zīl-K'ada, 923 H.*

The Ṭ.A. (170, l. 6) and F. (I. 186, l. 9) give the same date. B. has 17th, but the same week-day. The Julian equivalent is given as 21st November 1517 A. C. in the C. H. I. (III. 246), but calculation shows that the 21st of November was a Saturday. If the week-day is correct, Sikandar must have died on 22nd November, which was 7th *Ruyyat*, but 8th *Ḥisābi*. It may be noted as a curious illustration of the state of society and communications, that the news of the demise of Sikandar at Āgra reached Sultān Muẓaffar II of Gujarāt in his camp on the Mālwa frontier on 9th Ẓī-l-ḥijja. (*Mirāt-i-Sikandari*, Text, 158 last line; Faẓlulla's Tr. 98; Tr. Bayley, 255). 17th Ẓī-l-q'ada which is given by B. is most probably incorrect, as it was a Tuesday or Wednesday. The length of his reign is here stated as 28 years and 5 months by 'Abdulla, but if Sikandar came to the throne, as he himself avers, on 7th Sh'abān 894 H. (444 *ante*), it must have been 29 (lunar) years and 3 months.

IV. 471, footnote 2. *The Tārikh-e-Khān Jahān Lody informs us* (*Ms. p. 124*) *that the coffin was removed to Dehli and deposited there together with that of his father.*

The tombs of Sikandar and Buhlūl are mentioned by Abul Faẓl in his description of Dehli. (*Āīn*, Tr. II. 280. See also *Aṣāru-s-Ṣanādīd*, Pt. i. 89 and 20; Plates 85 and 11). "Sikandar's tomb is about a mile

from Ṣafdar Jang's Mausoleum, close to an ancient bridge which stood on the road leading from Firūzābād to one or other of the towns stretching from Sīri to Lalkot". (J. A. S. B. XXXIX, 1870, p. 84; Fanshawe, D. P. P. 244). Buhlūl's remains are popularly supposed to lie near the shrine of Shaikh Naṣīru-d-dīn Maḥmūd, Chirāgh-i-Dehli. But this is a low, mean-looking structure and modern archaeologists are not sure that the traditional ascription is worthy of credit. (Fanshawe, *loc. cit.* 288; Sir J. Marshall in C. H. I. III. 594). In this connection, it may be permissible to note that Sir H. Elliot speaks elsewhere of the author of the *Tārīkh-i-Dāūdi* having left it on record that Buhlūl was buried in the *Bāgh-i-Jūd*. (See E. D. V. 91 note). Unfortunately, the exact site of the *Bāgh-i-Jūd* is not known, although it is frequently mentioned in the chronicles of Minhāj and Barani. The *Tārīkh-i-Khān Jahān Lodi* may be right in averring that the body of Sikandar was first deposited in his garden, [باغ خود] which Islām Shāh afterwards enclosed and this garden may have really been in the *Bāgh-i-Jūd* [باغ جود]. The statement is found also in Dr. Lee's copy of the *Makhzan-i-Afghāni*. (Dorn, II. 99). But the father and son do not now lie in the same spot and this fact may reinforce the doubts regarding the building in which popular tradition locates the grave of Buhlūl. Perhaps the body was only deposited temporarily in the Jūd Garden and afterwards interred elsewhere. I have thought it worth while to draw attention to these statements in the chronicles, as they do not appear to have attracted the attention of any writer on the Archaeology of Dehli.

IV. 476, *l.* **10.** *Ten Mans of corn could be purchased for one bahloli; five sīrs of clarified butter and ten yards of cloth could be purchased for the same coin.*

As the *Buhlūli* was a copper or billon *fulūs* worth, at the most, the twentieth part of the silver *tanga*, this and several other statements of the same sort in this paragraph stand in need of being taken with some grains of salt. Most of the anecdotes illustrating the profuse expenditure and largesses of the nobles of Sikandar Lody's reign are pitched in a very high key of silly and incredible exaggeration. A few lines lower down in this very paragraph, this author tells us that gold and silver were only procurable with the greatest difficulty in Ibrāhīm's reign. But if this was so, it is hard to understand how the Amīrs of Ibrāhīm's father were able to squander gold *mohurs* by the handful and even by the plateful, to give away jewels whose value is estimated only in hundreds of thousands of *tangas* and to dissipate five hundred *tangas* daily in roses for their harems. (471-5 *supra*).

The partiality of 'Abdulla for the fabulous verges, not infrequently, on the absurd. For instance, he informs us that when Shīr Shāh was engaged in besieging Kālinjar, two thousand workmen were daily engaged in casting cannon and *four thousand mortars* (*degs*), each capable of discharging a ball weighing four *Mans*, were cast! (Qānūngo, *op. cit.* 338).

The fabulous cheapness of commodities which this writer ascribes

to a succesion of good seasons and "luxuriant harvests" seems to have been really due to very different causes,—to the depletion of the stock of precious metals and an insufficient supply of the circulating medium. Tīmūr had carried off enormous quantities of the treasure which had accumulated during the preceding two centuries of Muslim rule. The old sources of the flow of gold and silver from the seaports of Bengal and Gujarāt had been largely cut off by the alienation of those provinces from the Empire of Dehli. The normal movements of trade also must have been seriously interrupted by the misgovernment and lawlessness which prevailed under the Sayyids, the 'Thirty Years' War' with Jaunpur, and the revolts and rebellions of the turbulent Afghān aristocracy. The slump in the money-value of agricultural produce could have hardly been an unmixed blessing, as it must have affected most disastrously the income of the peasantry as well as the resources of the government whose revenue was paid almost entirely in kind. (Thomas, C. P. K. D. 435-6; Moreland, A. S. N. I., 68).

IV. 477, *l.* 14. [*Shīr Shāh had to march against*] *the thieves of Pāli and Pāhal, who are of the Gūjar tribe.*

Pāli and Pā*k*al [not Pāhal] are both near Dehli. Pāli lies in Gurgāon district at the eastern base of a rocky range about 18 miles south of Dehli. (Thornton). Islāmābād-Pākal is registered as a *Maḥāl* in *Sarkār* Dehli. (*Āīn*, Tr. II. 285). Pāli and Pākal are spoken of as 'an united *pargana*' by Elliot. (Races, II. 129). Pākal is situated at about two miles' distance from Pāli. (Th.). Gurgāon is in the notoriously turbulent Mewāt country and these brigands were the Gūjars to whom Bābur also gives a very bad character. (B. N. Tr. 454=240 *ante*; Elliot, Races, I. 99).

IV. 480, *l.* 15. *He made privates (fard) officers (girohdār), and officers nobles.*

Ibn Baṭūṭā says a regularly enrolled soldier was called a 'Mufrid.' (E. D. III. 601, 603). Barani also uses the words مفرد 'Mufrid' and 'Mufridzādah'. (234, l. 3 f. f). Cf. the later synonyms 'Yakka' and 'Aḥdi'. See my note on E. D. III. 155, l. 8. فرد and مفرد both mean 'one, single, solitary, alone.'

IV. 480, footnote 1, *l.* 4. *To every fifty soldiers, there was a Turki and Hinduwi writer attached.*

"Turki" must be a slip for 'Fārsi', 'Persian'. There would be no sense in keeping regimental accounts in Turki and Islām Shāh is not at all likely to have had any special partiality for men of that race. Cf. *ante* 413, where 'Abbās says that Shīr Shāh appointed in every *pargana* one *kārkun* to write Hindi and another to write *Persian*. F. notes in his account of Sikandar Lody a fact which is of some interest in this connection. Learning, he says, was in high favour in that reign. *Amīrs* and even *Sipāhis* devoted themselves to the *belles lettres* and the *Kāfirs* or Hindus learnt to read and write Persian to which they had not paid any attention before. (I. 187, l. 4).

IV. 481, *l.* 12 and footnote. *Īsā Khan Hujjāb.*

The fine tomb of this 'Isā Khān is still one of the sights of old Dehli. In an inscription on the grave-stone, he is said to have been the son of Miān Aghwān and to have died in 954 A. H.=1547 A. C. (*Āṣār*, I. 33, Pl. 31; Fanshawe, D. P. P. 234). Malik Firoz Aghwān was an Amīr of Sikandar Lody. (E.D.V. 101). 'Ḥujjāb' is the honorific plural of *Hājib* and signifies *Ḥājību-l-Ḥujjāb*, 'Ḥājib of Ḥājibs' or Lord Chamberlain. Cf. Nāib and Nawwāb. The sobriquet is added to distinguish him from 'Isā Khān Niāzi, 'Isā Khān Sarwāni and other persons who bore the same name.

IV. 481, *l.* 9 from foot. *Islām Shāh came forth to meet him in the village of Singārpūr.*

The reading in the Ṭ. A. (233, l. 7 f.f.) is 'Singārpūr', and in Dorn (I. 150) 'Shikārpūr.' F. calls it 'Sikri' and says Islām Shāh was engaged in hunting در شکار بود (I. 229, l. 15). B. has (I. 375; Tr. I. 487) 'Shikārpūr' (with the variants 'Sankāpūr' and 'Sangārpūr') and explains that 'Shikārpūr' was just where the Emperor's [Akbar's] palace (in Fatḥpur Sikri) is at present. Bābur is said by Shaikh Zain and Abu-l Faẓl to have changed the name of Sikri to 'Shukri,' in sign of gratitude for his victory near the place over Rāṇā Sanga. (B. N. Tr. 548 n.; A. N. I. 105=Tr. 260). The true reading may be 'Shukarpur' شکرپور and the place identiep with or very near Sikri.

IV. 484, *l.* 9 from foot. *A second battle took place at Firūzpūr (Jharka), near Mewāt.*

Firūzpūr Jhirka is so called from the *Jhirkā*, *i. e.* small perennial stream or "ever-flowing fountain" (*Āīn*, Tr. II. 193), bordering the road which leads from the town *via* Tijāra to Rewāri. (Gazetteer of Gurgāon, 249). The town is shown in Constable, Pl. 27 C b.

'Marhākar' which is mentioned in the footnote is 'Madhākar' about ten miles from Āgra on the road from Āgra to Dehli. (Seeley's Road Book of India. Ed. 1825, p. 19). See also *infra* 507, where the distance from Āgra is given as six *Kos*.

IV. 485, *l.* 2. *He [Islām Shāh] ruined first Kutb Khān Sūr, then Barmazīd Sūr, Jalāl Khān Sūr.*

The words in the original are کوکناری ساخت and the explanation given in the footnote is that they were "squeezed as poppy-heads کوکنار are squeezed". The phrase itself is loosely paraphrased as 'ruined', but this interpretation is fanciful and far-fetched. The real meaning is that Islām Shāh fed these nobles forcibly on what was called پوست 'Pousta', the boiled water of poppy-heads or *Koknār*. It was a slow poison administered to State prisoners with a view to reduce them to a state of physical prostration and mental imbecility. Bernier throws welcome light on the matter. He informs us that when Sulaimān Shikoh was brought as a prisoner before Aurangzeb, he told his uncle that "if it were intended to give him the *Poust* to drink, he begged he might be immediately put to death." The French physician explains that "the Poust is given to prisoners,

whose heads the monarch is deterred by prudential reasons from taking off. It is nothing but poppy-heads crushed and allowed to soak for a night in water.....It emaciates the wretched victims, who lose their strength and intellect by slow degrees, become torpid and senseless and at length die." (Travels, Ed. Constable, 106-107). Bernier's account is borne out by the contemporary Musalman historian, Muḥammad Ṣāliḥ Kambu, who states that when the two princes Sulaimān Shikoh and Muḥammad Sultān were ordered to be confined in the fortress of Gwālior, it was directed that "they should be fed upon Koknār". (*'Amal-i-Ṣāliḥ*, Text, III. 344, l. 16; E. D. VII. 131). Monserrate observes of Bābā Kapūr, a *Majẕūb* or half-mad mystic of the days of Akbar, that, he and his disciples indulged habitually in this drink, because they believed that it produced that "absence of all feeling and insensibility towards the ills of the flesh, which is indispensable for perfect happiness, and numbed and froze all the impure desires" of the body. (Commentary, Tr. Hoyland 24-26. See also Fryer, New Account of India and Persia. Ed. Crooke, III. 99). 'Koknāri' is a word formed on the lines of طرياقی - افيونی - بنگی and means an addict or slave of this infusion of poppy-heads. It is used in this sense in the *Mirāt-i-Sikandari* (Text, 210, l. 3), where a story is told of Sultan Bahādur and a man who was a *Koknāri* and also a *Bangi* (Bhang-eater). Another man named Mubarāk *Koknāri* is mentioned in 'Ināyatulla's Continuation of the *Akbar Nāma*, in connection with the death of Prince Dānyāl. (B. I. Text, III. 838=Tr. III. 1255). Bāyazid Biyāt says he had seen a man named Faridūn, who "swallowed with impunity enormous quantities of Bhāng and drank *Koknār* like water and yet behaved as if the drugs had had no effect on him". (Memoirs, Trans. in J. A. S. B. Vol. LXVII. 1898, p. 314). [Sir Richard] Burton says that "the lives of State prisoners were curtailed in Mughal times by a daily draught of 'Post'. After a few months, the frame became emaciated, the mind torpid and inert and these symptoms did not cease developing themselves till death was the result of the slow poison." (Sind or the Unhappy Valley, I. 267-8).

IV. 493, last line. *He went thence towards Mūrīn.*

'Mūrīn' مورين is an error for موبتن 'Mau-Patan'. 'Pathan,' 'Pathān' or 'Paithān' is the 'Pathānkoṭ' of our maps, which is about 100 miles north-east of Lāhor (by rail). It is now in Gurdāspur district, Punjāb. The name has nothing to do with the Trans-Indus Paṭhāns. 'Pathān' or 'Paithan' is a corruption of *Pratishthāna*, 'established city.' (I. G. XX. 28 and Note). 'Mau' is in the vicinity of Nūrpur. Lat. 32°-18′ N., Long. 75°-57′ E. Pathān or Pathānkot lies 14 miles west of Nurpūr in Lat. 32°-18′ N., Long. 75°-42′ E. (Th.).

IV. 494, *l.* **3.** *Parsurām, the Rājā of Gwālior became a servant.*

This is *Gwāler* or *Goler*, a hill State in the Punjab. See note on IV. 19 *ante*. Pandit Hirānand Shāstri says, on the authority of a Sanskrit chronicle called *Dilipranjani*, which was written in V. S. 1762, that the real name of the Rājā, who was contemporary with Islām Shāh and Akbar, was

Rāmchand and not Parasrām. (Journal, Punjab Historical Society, 1912, pp. 140, 146). Mānkot (l. 20) is now in ruins and known as Rāmkoṭ, It lies about 76 miles north of Amritsar, and 101 N. E. of Lāhor. Lat. 32°-37′ N., Long. 74°-55′ E.

IV. 496, *l.* **20.** [*Islām Shāh*] *encamped beneath Kaitāli-ṣhahr and designed to pursue the Niāzis into Kashmīr.*

I offer the suggestion that this 'Kaitali Shahr' is the Kotli of Constable's Atlas, Pl. 25 A a. It lies about twenty-five miles south-west of Punch and about thirty-five north-west of Naushahra which is mentioned a few lines lower down. Lat. 33°-28′ N., Long. 73°-59′ E. It lies on the frontier of Kashmīr among the mountains south of the province.

IV. 497, *l.* **7.** [*Islām Shāh*] *encamped at Ban, a village near Siālkot.*

B. states that Ban is five or six *Kos* distant from Mānkot. (I. 410; Tr. 527). Raverty says that it is eighteen miles north-east of Siālkot and eight miles south-west of Jammū. (N. A. 354). The Governor of Jammū informs me that a village called Ban still exists about 2½ *Kos* W. S. W. of the modern town of Jammū. The Banihāl Pass (l. 27) is at the eastern extremity of the Pīr Panjāl range and on account of its comparatively small elevation (only 8500 feet above sea-level), has always been a convenient route of communication towards the Upper Chināb valley and the eastern of the Punjab Hill States. It is the only Pass across the Pīr Panjāl on which communication is never entirely stopped by snow-fall." (Stein, Ancient Geography of Kashmīr, J. A. S. B. 1899, pp. 70-71). Banihāl is in Lat. 33°-21′ N., Long. 75°-20′. Constable, Pl. 25 A a.

IV. 503, *l.* **4 from foot.** [*Shaikh 'Alāi died*] *in the year 956, as is shown by the chronogram* Zikrul-l-Allah.

The letters composing the chronogram are not given correctly. ذکرالا لله would yield by *abjad*, 1017 and ذکرالاله 987. Budāuni who was fond of and a past master in this art, gives it as ذاکرالله, *i. e.* 'The Mindful of God.' (I. 409=l. 6). The *abjad* value of ذاکرالله [with only one *lām*] is 957 (700+1+20+200+1+30+5) and B. puts the event into that year. In the lithographed edition of the Ṭ. A. (238, l. 7 f. f.) and F. (I. 233, l. 5), the date is given as 955 H. in words and the chronogram as ذاکرالله, but these statements are inconsistent and erroneous as the *abjad* value of the words would be 987.

IV. 505, *l.* **9.** [*Islām Shāh*] *departed to the next world in the year 961 H.*

The date of Islām Shāh's death is given by Ni'amatulla (Dorn, I. 170) as 26th Ẓī-l-ḥijja 961 H. As he also says that Islām ascended the throne four days after Shīr Shāh's death (on the 13th of Rab'i I. 952) and reigned for eight years, nine months and seven days, the Hijrī year given is manifestly wrong. It must be 960 H. Abul Faẓl gives the date as 22nd Ẓī-l-q'ad 960 H. According to him, Shīr Shāh died on 11th Rab'ī I. 952. Islām Shāh succeeded him eight days afterwards on the 19th and reigned for eight years, two months and eight days. (A. N.

I. 336=Tr. I. 615). But there is an inadvertent error here also and Abul Faẓl must mean eight years, *eight* months and *two* days. The B. I. *Text* of B. puts the event into 961 H., but Ranking observes that both his own Mss. had the reading 960 H. (I. 415. Tr. I. 533 and Note). He suspects that و بك has been added by the Editors. The correct year appears to be not 961, but 960 H. Dr. Lee's copy of the *Makhzan-i-Afghāni* also gave the date as 26th Ẕī-l-ḥijja 960 H. (Dorn. II. 111). This was Sunday, 3rd December 1553 A. C. The Ṭ. A. (237, l. 5) and F. (I. 231) say that Islām Shāh was taken ill in the beginning of 960 H. and that he reigned for about nine years. The date given by Abu Faẓl, 22nd Zīl-q'ad 960 H. was Monday, 30th October 1553 A. C. The date given in the C. H. I. (IV. 61) is 22nd November 1554, *i. e.* 26th Ẕī-l-ḥijja 961 H., but it must be wrong. It would leave only fourteen months for all the events of Muḥammad 'Ādil's reign. Indeed, Sir Wolseley himself states eleswhere (*Ibid*, p. 67) that Humāyūn determined to invade and recover India "*after* hearing of the confusion which prevailed" under 'Adli and reached Peshāwar on 25th December, 1554. The numismatic evidence is distinctly and decidedly in favour of 960 H. The latest coins of Islām Shāh are dated in 960 H. A coin of Muḥammad 'Ādil of the same year and several of 961 H. are known. (Wright, C. M. S. D. 326, 370).

IV. 505, *l.* 14. *And the chronogram Zawāl-i-Khusrawān gives the dates of the deaths of these three sovereigns, viz. A. H. 961.*

Dowson remarks in the footnote that "Firishta says his father wrote this chronogram." But Budāuni ascribes its authorship to a Mīr Sayyid Ni'amatulla, whose pen-name is spelt as رشوتی in the B. I. Text but رسولی in Ranking's Translation. (I. 415=Tr. I. 533 and Note). The compiler of the *Makhzan-i-Afghāni* gives the credit of the composition to Shāh Ṭāhir Dakhani. (Dorn, I. 170). But there must be some error, either in the original or translation, as this Shāh Ṭāhir is said to have died in 952 H.—nine years before 961 H.—according to the *Tuḥfah-i-Sāmi*, the *Majālisu-l-Muminīn* and the *Ṭabaqāt-i-Shāh-Jahāni*, all works of respectable authority. (Rieu, Persian Catalogue, I. 395). There is a fourth claimant also and his pretensions are sponsored by Beale, who calls him Maulānā 'Ali. (*Miftāḥ*, 159).

The numerical value of زوالِ خسروان is 961 and it is, perhaps, this chronogram which has misled the compilers and is responsible for the error adverted to in the preceding Note. Absolute accuracy is not demanded by the rules of this art and an error of one is condoned by all the connoisseurs.

IV. 507, *l.* 11 from foot. *Ibrāhīm [Sūr].....went to Patna where he fought with Rāmchand, Rājā of that place, and was taken prisoner.*

The place was not 'Patna' but *Bhatā*. This Rāmchand was the son of Vīrabhānu, the son of Vīra Sinha, the son of Shālivāhan, the brother of Bhīdachandra, Rājā of Bhaṭghorā, who has been already mentioned at p.

461 *ante, q. v.* my note. The Ṭ. A. from which 'Abdulla has copied the passage has 'Bhata', E. D. V. 244. So also B. I. 432.=Tr. 553.

IV. 508, *l.* 6 from foot. *The action was fought at the stream of Sūrajgarh, about one Kos from Mūngīr and about twelve Kos from Patna.*

There is a double error here. Sūrajgarh lies about *twelve Kos, i.e.* about twenty miles south-west of Mūngīr on the road from that town to Patna. Lat. 25°-12′, Long. 86°-19′ (Thornton), and Mūngīr (Monghyr) is about one hundred miles south-east of Patna. The river of Sūrajgarh is the Ganges, on the south or right bank of which it is situated. Constable, Pl. 29 B e.

IV. 512, *l.* 10. *Akbar pursued Dāūd as far as Daryāpūr.*

Abul Faẓl places Daryāpūr at about thirty *Kos'* distance from Patna and on the other side of the Punpun. (A. N. III. 101; Tr. III. 142). It is 34 miles due west of Monghyr (Cunningham, A. G. I. 475) and to the north of Bārh, which is 33 miles east of Patna by the Railway.

IV. 518, *l.* 13. *Diwān-ī-Salmān.*

Mirzā Muḥammad Qazvini has recently shown that much of what is said here by Dowson and in the Persian *Taẕkiras* about Mas'ūd-i-S'ad-i-Salmān is more or less erroneous or inaccurate. The net result of his investigations is that Mas'ūd was born about 440 A. H.=1048 A. C. at Lāhore. (J. R. A. S. 1905, pp. 719, 708). The poet was a great favourite of the prince Saifu-d-daula Maḥmūd, the son of Sultān Ibrāhim, when that prince was Viceroy of Hindustān. It was during this period that he composed the Qaṣīdas eulogising his master's conquests, of which four or five are translated by Elliot. (*Ibid*, 721). Mas'ūd was obliged to leave India and go to Ghazni in 480 H. to demand justice against those who had deprived him of his *jāgīrs* or estates. But he fell, soon after his arrival, under suspicion of having been implicated in the treasonable proceedings of his patron, Saifu-d-daula, and was confined for about ten years in the fortresses of Sū, Dahak and Nāi. (*Ib.* p. 722). He was released shortly before Ibrāhim's death in 492 H. (p. 733). When the Prince Shīrzād, son of Sultān 'Alāu-d-daula was appointed Viceroy of Hindustān, Mas'ūd was made governor of Jālandhar. (p. 738). But when his patron Abu Naṣr Pārsi fell into disgrace, Mas'ūd was again thrown into prison and immured for eight years in a fortress called Māranj. (p. 739). He was released sometime after 500 H. through the intercession of Thiqatu-l-Mulk Ṭāhir bin 'Ali, the privy-counsellor of 'Alāu-d-daula, and died in or about 515 H. 1121-2 A. C. (J. R. A. S. 1906, pp. 11-12 and 24). See also Browne, L. H. P. II. 324, 326. Niẓāmi 'Arūẓi pays to Mas'ūd's 'Prison-Rhymes' the high compliment of saying that "their eloquence and lofty feeling were such as to make the hair stand on end on his body and tears trickle from his eyes". (*Chihār Maqāla*, Tr. Browne, 73).

IV. 519, *l.* 3. *Tabarhinda is stronger than Nūrsādna.*

'Nursadna' must be 'Nandna' in the Salt Range, the great natural

strength of which is enlarged upon by 'Utbi and the other historians of the Ghaznavides. 'Utbi calls it 'Narẓīn' or 'Nārdīn'. 'Tabarhinda' is not Sirhind, as the note states, but 'Bhaṭinḍa'.

IV. 520, *l.* **3.** *Thou didst bring an army from Dhangān to Jālandhar.*

'Dhangān' is, probably, دهمال 'Dhamāl', also written دهميري, 'Dahamīri,' which is said by Alberūni to have been the capital of Jālandhar. (E. D. I. 62=Sachau's Tr. I. 205). Cf. also the extract from the *Tārīkh-i-Alfi* in E. D. V. 162, where the name is spelt as 'Damāl' دمال. The transliterations 'Dihmīri' and 'Damhari' (E. D. V. 254, 248, 357) are not quite correct. *Dhamerī* would be more accurate, as the name of the village, as pronounced by the inhabitants, is 'Dhaner'. The present *taḥṣīl* office and hospital at Nūrpur are built inside the ruined fort of Dhaner. (Kāngrā District Gazetteer).

IV. 521, *l.* **11.** *For sixty years, this slave's father, S'ad bin Salmān served the State.*

A S'ad-i-Salmān is said by Baihaqi (E. D. II. 134) to have been appointed by Sultān Mas'ūd Ghaznavi, as Accountant and Treasurer of his son Majdūd, when the latter was nominated Governor of Hindustān in 427 A. H. (1036 A. C.). This S'ad bin Salmān was probably the father of the poet.

IV. 522, *l.* **12.** *Bū Rihān, five years previous to this, declared in the book called* Tafhīm, *that a King, lord of the conjunctions, would exist upon earth, when 469 years had passed from the Hijra.*

The reading in the best Manuscripts is not 'five years' but 'fifty years'. (J. R. A. S. 1905, p. 713). The *Tafhīmu-t-Tanjīm* is an elementary treatise on Astronomy and Astrology which Alberūni wrote in Persian for the Princess Rayḥāna of Khwārizm in 420 H. Forty-nine years—just one short of fifty—had elapsed after 420 A.H., when the prince Saifu-d-daula Maḥmūd, the son of Sultān Ibrāhīm, was appointed Viceroy of Hindustān in 469 H. Mirzā Muḥammad Qazvini observes, however, that he has not been able to find this prediction of Alberūni's in the fine old Manuscript of the *Tafhīm* (written in 685 H.) which is in the British Museum. He thinks it unlikely that such an elementary treatise contained any such announcement or prognostication of the distant future. (*Loc. cit.* 713-4). The *Tafhīm* has been recently edited and translated by Mr. Ramsay Wright.

IV. 530, *l.* **17.** *He entered the Rājā of Kumāon's country by the pass of Dabar.*

The village of Dabar is "seven or eight miles north of Sadhaura in Ambālā district, near the northern hills and on the edge of it is a small hill, difficult of access, on which Islām Shāh Sūr began to build a fort named Pawā-garh, which was never completed, but was subsequently restored and extended by Banda, the Sikh Guru." (Irvine, Later Mughals, I. 116-7). The place is also known as Lohgarh, *q.v.* E. D. VII. 424. It is very near Mukhliṣpur which lies close to the Pass.

IV. 532, *l.* 23. [*Khawāṣṣ Khān's tomb is pointed out at*] *Khawāspur in the Upper Punjāb, between the Jelam and the Chināb.*

This must be Khawāspur, a town or village which is said by the Emperor Jahāngīr to be situated at about five *Kos'* distance from the town of Gujarāt and to have "been founded by Khawāṣ Khān, a servant of Shīr Khān Afghān." (T. J. Text. 44, l. 21; Tr. I. 91; E. D. VI. 303). It is mentioned in the *Chihār Gulshan* as a stage on the road from Lāhor to Attock and about 11 miles north-north-west of Gujarāt town. (Sarkār, I. A. p. ci. See also I. G. XII. 365). Sirsi, where Khawāṣṣ Khān was assassinated, lies about ten miles north-east of Sambhal. Constable, 27 D a.

IV. 533, *l.* 6. *Sūrat Singh whose principality was Chonsū.*

This is *Chatsū*, twenty-four miles south of the town of Jaipur. Lat. 26°-30′, Long. 76°-0′, Constable, Pl. 27 B b. Sūrat Singh Rāṭhor was a vassal of the great Rāṭhor Rājā Māldev of Jodhpur. Chatsū is explicitly said by Tod (A. A. R., Ed. Crooke, II. 954, 955) to have been included in Māldev's dominions at this time.

IV. 535, *l.* 21. *And his* Paimāban Job Niranjan *and other treatises in Hindi are celebrated throughout the world.*

The correct title of the treatise was probably *Premānand Jog* [*or Yog*] *Niranjan, i. e.* '[Discourse on] Love, Ecstasy and Union with the Universal Spirit' [عشق و حال و وصل].

IV. 540, *l.* 19. *He also read one of the takmīlas of Ghausu-s-Saklain and the whole of Husn* [*Hiṣn*]*-i-Hasīn.*

'Ghauṣ' means succour, deliverance. It is also an epithet of the Quṭb or head of the Sūfi hierarchy of Saints. (Houtsma, II. 145). *Ghauṣu-s-Ṣaqalain*, the 'Helper of Men and Angels,' *i. e.* of the 'World of Men and the World of Demons or Genii,' is one of the panegyrical epithets of the saint 'Abdul-Qādir Jīlāni. (B. Tr. Lowe, II. 418, 446 note). Richardson says in his Dictionary that "Rasūlu-Ṣaqalān" is one of the epithets of the Arabian Prophet. 'Abdul Qādir Jīlāni is also called *Ghauṣ-i-'Aẓam*, *Ghauṣ-i-Ṣamdāni*, and *Pīrān-i-Pīr* or *Pīr-i-Dastgīr*. He was the founder of the order of Qādiri faqīrs. (Crooke, T. C. IV. 183). He has ninety-nine names and his devotees repeat them to implore his intercession. (Herklots, Ed. Crooke, 192).

IV. 544, *l.* 26. *He sacked the temple of Debi Shankar.*

This must be the shrine of Vajreshwari Devi. 'Debi Shankar' signifies 'Devi, the wife of Shankara or Mahādeva'. She is known also as Pārvati, Bhavāni, Durgā, Mahāmayā, Bhīmā etc. The shrine of Vajreshwari still exists at Bhavan, a suburb of Kāngra or Nagarkot. (I. G. XIV, 386). Tieffenthaler says that the idol was that of Bhavāni and represented the lower part of her body, the head being supposed to have fallen at Jwālāmukhi, which lies 14 or 15 miles south-east of Kāngrā. (*Description*, I. 108. See also T. J. 340, l. 24=Tr. II. 224; *Āīn*, Tr. II. 314). 'Bhavan' is about a mile distant from the fort of Kāngra. (E. D. II. 445).

IV. 547, *l.* 11 from foot. [*When*] *the shoes of the infidels slain in this*

action ... were melted down, 20,000 Mohurs of gold were obtained from them.

This tall story reminds one of Tod's tale of the sacred threads of the Rājputs slain after Akbar's sack of Chītor having weighed seventy-four maunds and a half. (A. A. R. Ed. Routledge, 1914, I. 263). The historians of Kashmīr relate of Sikandar-i-Butshikan that he put to death so many Brāhmans, that seven maunds of the sacred threads worn by them were burnt along with their bodies. The legend is still popular in Kashmīr and is related in the I. G. (XV. 92). A closer and also older analogue of Mushtāqi's story is found in the Roman historian Livy, who tells us that after the carnage at Cannae, Hannibal measured his success by the bushels of rings taken from the fingers of the equestrian Romans who had fallen in the battle. (Bk. xxiii. 12).

IV. 548, *l.* **9.** *Ambāla and Hodhna were held by Kālā Pahār.*

'Hodhna' looks like an error for 'Budhāna', now in Muẓaffarnagar district. It was a *maḥāl* in the *Sarkār* of Sahāranpur. (*Āīn*, Tr. II. 291). Constable, 25 B c. It lies about 43 miles south-east of Karnāl. (Th.). Mārahra (l. 12) is in Etāh district, U. P. Lat. 27°-45′; Long. 78°-38′. Constable, 27 D b.

IV. 551, *l.* **5.** *The whole of the territories in his possession contained 13,000 parganas.*

13,000 must be a typographical error for 113,000, as in the footnote on page 424 *ante*, Elliot himself states that the *Wāqi'āt-i-Mushtāqi* gives the number of *parganas* as 113,000. 'Abbās also, who has copied several passages from Mushtāqi (cf. 410-424 *ante*), puts the number at 113,000, but takes care to add that by *parganas* he means 'villages'. (424 *ante*). The *Tārīkh-i-Dāūdi* asserts that 113,000 *horsemen* were distributed throughout the *parganas* for the protection of the district forts. (417 note). '*Parganas*' must be loosely used for 'villages.' The total number of *Maḥāls* or *parganas* in Akbar's Empire was only 2737 (*Āīn*, Tr. II, 115) and in Aurangzeb's not more than 4440. (Bakhtāvar Khān, *Mirāt-i-'Ālam* in E. D. VII. 163). Moreover, if there were, as 'Abbās (413 *ante*) and Mushtāqi assert, five revenue officials in each village, there would have been 665,000 of such parasites in the kingdom, which seems open to doubt.

IV. 551, last line. *He kept an army ... in Khajwāra, one in the country of Dhandhera.*

'Dhandhera' may be 'Dhūndār', the district of which Daosa, the oldest seat of the Kachhwāh rulers of Jaipur, was the centre. "A range of rocky hills intersects nearly the whole of Shekhāwati in a north-east direction and close upon its eastern frontier. The country on the east side of these hills is called *Dhundār*, a name which was formerly applied to a large portion of Rajputāna, while that to the west is called Bāgar, which includes nearly the whole of Shekhāwati and is generally applicable to the sandy country where water is procurable only at great depth." (Boileau's Ms. Journal, quoted in Elliot, Races, I. 9-10 Note. See also

I. G. XIII. 385). The name is said to be derived from an ancestor of the Nikumbha Rājputs, who is said to have slain a demon named Dhūndhu and acquired thereby the title of 'Dhūndhumāra' or "Slayer of Dhūndhu." (Cunningham, Arch. Survey Reports, XX, 3; Crooke, T. C. IV. 86). Dausa is shown in Constable, 27 C b.

But 'Dhandhera' may be meant for 'Dhamdhera,' a Rājput principality in Mālwā—a Rājā of which named Indarman [Indradyumna] is mentioned in the chronicles of Shāh Jahān. (*Bādishāhnāma*, I. ii. 223, l. 7). The town of Shāhābād-Dhamdhera is 90 miles north of Sironj and the same distance south-west of Gwālior. It is now in Jhālāwar State, Rājputāna. (I. G. Atlas, Pl. 34 E 3). The M. U. (II. 265) says Indarman's native place was Sahār Bābā Ḥāji in Sārangpur. Another chief called Jagman Dhandhera lived in the days of Akbar, (*Ibid*). 'Khajwāra' must be a mistake for 'Khīchīwāra.'

IV. 553, *l.* **23.** *Hereupon Mahmūd feigned sickness etc.*

The story of drinking a goat's blood which is told here of Sultān Maḥmūd of Mālwa is related by Niẓāmu-d-dīn (Ṭ. A. 639, l. 15) as well as by Firishta (II. 325, l. 8), in the Multān Section of their histories of Sultān Quṭbu-d-dīn Langah and he is said to have practised the same trick for the same object of securing the throne. And if we are to believe Manucci, Shāh Jahān had recourse to the identical ruse with a view to obtain the permission of the King of Bījāpur (?) to leave his territories, immediately after the receipt of the news of the death of Jahāngīr in Kashmīr. (Storia, I. 180). Manucci's tale is undoubtedly apocryphal.

IV. 563, *l.* **4.** *Where then did he ['Abdu-r-Razzāq] get his history of Tīmūr !.....If Abdu-r-Razzāq did not use the Malfūzāt, he must have used some work remarkably similar to it. No such work is known.*

This formidable conundrum can be easily solved. Such a work *is* now known, though it was not, when Dowson wrote. It is the *Ẓafarnāma* of Niẓām-i-Shāmi which was composed in 806 A. H., several years before that of Yazdi, and which has been copied, *verbatim*, by Ḥāfiẓ Abrū also. See my Notes on III, 390, l. 6 *ante*, and IV. 91, l. 9 f. f.

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V. 1, *l.* 5. *Aḥmad Yādgār, the author of this work, describes himself... as an old servant of the Sūr Kings and says that Dāūd Shāh gave him orders to write a History of the Afghān Sultāns.... The author mentions incidentally that his father was wazīr to Mirzā 'Askari, when the latter was in command in Gujarāt.*

Every one of these three statements is, to say the least, very doubtful. The whole of the chapter (on the Reign of Humāyūn), in which the last of these assertions occurs, is copied *verbatim*, as Elliot points out (p. 2 *infra*), from the *Ṭabaqāt-i-Akbari. It is there made by the author of that work of his own father.* (196 *infra*=Text 198, l. 11). It is hardly likely that the father of Niẓāmu-d-dīn as well as of Aḥmad Yādgār, should have both been Vazīrs, at the same time, and in the same circumstances, of one and the same individual. If Aḥmad's claim to be the author of the chapter is admittedly and demonstrably invalid, the supposition about *his father* having been 'Askari's Vazīr must be also rejected. His claim to being the son of 'Askari's Vazīr is as unsubstantial as his pretence to be the author of this section of his work. Everybody is agreed that Aḥmad's assertion about his having compiled his chronicle by the command of Dāūd Shāh Kararāni must be false, as Dāūd was put to death in 983 H. Moreover, Dr. Rieu has shown that the *M'adanu-l-Akhbār-i-Āḥmadshāhi*, upon which Aḥmad has drawn as freely as on the *Ṭabaqāt*, was composed about 1022 H. (Persian Catalogue, III. 888). This fact also throws considerable doubt on Aḥmad's claim to have been a "servant of the Sūr Kings," as their power was extinguished so long ago as 963 H. sixty years before. The incidental remark on p. 42 *infra* about "160 years having elapsed since" the capture and punishment of Mohan Mundāhar in 936 H., seems to me to prove that his compilation is of much later date than has been supposed. Mrs. Beveridge thinks that the remark "may have been originally only a marginal note" (B.N. Tr., 701 Note), but this *surmise* is hardly borne out by the fact that it is found not only in the copy belonging to the Asiatic Society of Bengal but in the "better Codex of Aḥmad's work which is now in the Calcutta Imperial Library." (*Ibid*). Mrs. Beveridge admits that "the writings now grouped under the title of *Tārīkh-i-Salāṭīn-i-Afāghana*, present difficulties, both as to date and contents." These difficulties are perhaps of our own creation, and they would cease to exercise us, if it was recognised that Aḥmad Yādgār's rigmarole is a late compilation made up of patches and shreds purloined from earlier authors and pieced together without discernment or discrimination. It is full of demonstrable errors in regard to names, dates and facts and its exiguous value is further discounted not only by the author's "liking for marvellous and ridiculous stories," but by its frequent mention of the use of artillery, *e.g.* shells (p. 5), camel guns (p. 6), cannon (p. 13), gunpowder (p. 14), and matchlocks (p. 15) by the Lodis. It is clear from the Memoirs of Bābur

that Ibrāhim Lodi brought neither matchlocks nor field guns of any sort to the battle of Pānīpat.

V. 4, *l.* 14. *Buhlol.....had by this time advanced as far as Narela.*

Narela is stated, at 78 *infra*, to be 15 *Kos* from Dehli and it is mentioned as the next stage after Bādli Serāi in the itinerary from Dehli to Lahore. (*Chihār Gulshan* in Sarkār, I. A. xeviii). Finch also speaks of it as 14 *Kos* from Dehli. (E. T. I. 156). It is now a station on the Dehli-Kālkā Railway line, seventeen miles distant from Dehli Junction. Constable, 27 C a. This indicates that the *Kos* referred to by Ni'amatulla and Finch is the short or common Bādshāhi *Kos* of 1¼ miles, *q. v.* Cunningham, A. G. I. 574.

V. 4, *l.* 4 from foot. *Chattar Sāl, son of the Rānā's sister, was at Ūdipūr with 10,000 cavalry.*

The mention of Udayapur here in *Circa* 1460 A. C. and the subsequent mention of it as the Rāṇā's capital in the reign of Buhlūl (p. 5, l. 10 *infra*) is unhistorical. Udayapur in Mewār was founded only in 1559 A. C., after Rāṇā Sanga's death, by his son Udaya Sinha, who ruled from 1537 to 1572 A. C. (I. G. XXIV, 89; Duff, C. I. 288). Aḥmad Yādgār's compilation is full of blunders and anachronisms of this sort.

V. 5, *l.* 12. *After that, the Sultān [Buhlūl] carried his victorious armies into Munkhār.*

The place-name appears to be corrupt and is difficult to restore, as there is no reference to this expedition in any other writer. The district meant may be that of *Nimkhār* which is mentioned at 296 *infra* and also at E. D. VI. 123. The town lies on the left bank of the Gomti in Hardoi district, Oudh. Lat. 27°-21′ N., Long. 80°-32′ E. Constable, 28 B b. But the reference *may be* to the country of the 'Mun*dh*ārs' [منڈهار] which was in the neighbourhood of Sirhind, as the Sultān is said to have returned immediately afterwards to that town. On the other hand, Nimkhār contains, as Abul Faẓl says, a shrine of great resort (*Āīn*, Tr. II. 172) and is, even now, a place of pilgrimage. It is the *Naimisha Araṇya* which is mentioned so frequently in the sacred literature of the Hindus. Sikandar's iconoclastic zeal may have taken him there.

V. 7, *l.* 1. *[Aḥmad Khān Bhaṭṭi] bestowed jewels upon her to the value of 10000 rupees.*

The reference to " rupees " is either one of the numerous anachronisms of this author or an unauthorised interpolation by the translator. It is common knowledge that the use of the word ' Rupee ' for the silver *tanga* weighing about 175 grains is not older than the reign of Shīr Shāh. (*Āīn*, Tr. I. 31).

V. 18, *l.* 16. *I slew the Rājā of Nagarkot and that stone which the Hindus had worshipped for 3000 years, I exposed to be trodden under foot by all the people.*

In the narrative of the same event in the *Wāq'iāt-i-Mushtāqi*, the credit of the conquest of Nagarkot is given to a quite different in-

dividual, *viz.* Khawāṣṣ Khān, the son of Miān Bhūwa, and the idol is said to have been "given over to the butchers to make weights for the purpose of weighing their meat." (E. D. IV. 544. See also my note on IV. 447, l. 16 *supra*). The Rājā of Bihār, from whom Miān M'arūf boasts of having brought away seven *Mans* of gold, may have been the Rājā of Tirhut, who is said by Ni'amatulla to have submitted to Sikandar, but he is there said to have only *promised* to pay several lacs of *tangas*, as a fine. (96 *infra*).

The fort of Jūnd جونڈ (l. 15) may be the same as that mentioned in the *Tārīkh-i-Dāūdi* (E. D. IV. 458-460), from which Aḥmad Yādgār has borrowed this and several other passages. It has not been satisfactorily identified but is perhaps Chirand چرنڈ in Sāran, six miles east of Chupra. A mosque built by Sultān Ḥusain of Jaunpur at Chirand still exists.

V. 20, *l.* 1. *Miān Bāyazīd, the son of 'Atā Lodi.*

According to 'Abbās Sarwāni (E. D. IV. 347), the Miyān *Biban* who joined Shīr Shāh was the son of 'Aṭā Lodi. See also *Ibid.* 352, 377. Miyān or Shaikh Bāyazīd was not a Lodi at all. He was a Farmuli and a brother of Shaikh Muṣṭafā. They were both sons of the brother of Miyān Muḥammad Farmuli (Kālā Pahār) and sister's sons of Sultān Buhlūl. (E. D. IV. 352-4; B. N. Tr. 527; B. I. 337=Tr. 444). But F. states that Biban was a Jalwāni. (I. 202, l. 18; 204, l. 15). Whether the Biban of 'Abbās was or was not identical with the Biban who was defeated by Bābur, and whether the latter was a Lody or Jalwāni, it is certain that Miyān Bāyazīd was not a Lody.

V. 20, *l.* 3 from foot. *The Rājā [of Gwālior] had determined to send ....several pairs of elephants.*

Here "pairs" is an unsuccessful attempt to render the idiomatic expression زنجیر فیل, lit. "chains of elephants," in which زنجیر is only one of those meaningless adjuncts which have been variously described as 'numerical affixes or co-efficients' and 'quantitative or numerical auxiliaries'. They are very common in Persian, *e. g.* قطعِ لعل - مہارِ شتر - منزلِ کشتی - دانۂ مروارید - دستِ باز - قبضۂ شمشیر. Yule (Hobson Jobson, 632-4) gives examples of similar idioms in Malay, Burmese, Chinese and even the languages of Central America.

V. 25, *l.* 7. *On Wednesday, 2nd Shawwāl, 932 H., he [Bābur] set forth [from Kābul].*

The date, like almost all the other dates in Aḥmad's work, is wrong. The battle of Pānipat was fought, according to this writer's own statement at p. 28 *infra*, on 4th (really 7th or 8th) *Rajab* 932 H. Bābur started from Kābul on 1st *Ṣafar* 932 H. (B. N. Tr. 445=E. D. IV. 239; A. N. Text, I. 92=Tr. I. 239; F. I. 203, l. 17). Ganaur (p. 27, l. 5), where Sultān Ibrāhīm is said to have arrived, is nineteen miles south of Pānipat. Garaunda, where Bābur is stated to have "mounted his horse" (28, l. 5), is ten miles north of it. (Sarkār, I. A. xcviii). Constable, 25 B c.

V. 30, *l.* 14. *Amīr Khalīfa, Allāhdād Khān, Tursam Bahādur [were despatched] to Dehli and Āgra.*

The names of the officers sent to both towns on this occasion are given by Bābur himself very differently. The Amīrs sent to Dehli were Mahdi Khwāja, Muḥammad Sultān Mirzā, 'Ādil Sultān, Junaid Birlās and Qutluq Qadam, while Prince Humāyūn, Khwāja Kalān, Muḥammadi, Shāh Manṣūr Birlās, Yūnuṣ 'Ali, 'Abdulla and Wali Khāzin were despatched to Āgra. It will be seen that *not even one* of the names mentioned in this connection in the corresponding passage of the Emperor's own Memoirs (B. N. Tr. 475=T. B. 176, ll. 8 f. f.=E. D. IV. 256) or other reliable authorities (A. N. I. 98=Tr. I. 246-7; F. I. 205, l. 11) is to be found in Aḥmad Yādgār's account and *vice versa*.

V. 30, footnote, *l.* **4.** *He [Ibrāhīm] endeavoured to cross into the Doāb at the ferry of Burāna.*

This name بورانه is most probably meant for بوريا, 'Būriya' in Ambāla, Punjāb. Constable, 25 B b. Thornton says that there is a ferry in the neighbourhood by which the Jumna is crossed. The name may be also read as 'Budāna'. There is a 'Budhāna' in Muẓaffarnagar, 43 miles south-east of Karnāl (Th.), but that place is not on any river at all. But the whole story which is said to have been told by a man who was "present in the battle" and was "120 years old" when he related it is unhistorical. Ibrāhīm's head was actually brought to Bābur.

V. 33, *l.* **10 from foot.** *One day, Jalāl Khān.....said, "O Haibat Khān, I have heard that you are generous when intoxicated" etc.*

This is one of those 'wandering tales' which are fitted to and fathered upon different persons by successive retailers of popular anecdotes. It is by no means new and there is a much older analogue in Barani who relates it in almost the same words of Sultān Balban and one of his freed slaves (مولا زاده) named 'Ali who had the title of Ḥātim Khān. (T. F. 119, l. 5).

V. 35, *l.* **15.** *[Bābur] sent Amīr Kuli Beg together with Prince Mirzā Kāmrān in that direction (Jaunpur).*

The name of Amīr Quli Beg cannot be found in the Indian portion of Bābur's Memoirs or elsewhere in this connection. Aḥmad Yādgār perhaps means *Jahāngīr* Quli Beg. The other name also is a blundering guess. Kāmrān had not and could not have had anything to do with the expedition sent to suppress the Afghān revolt in Jaunpur. He was not in India at all at the time. He had been left in Afghānistān. Humāyūn was the prince really sent. (B. N. Tr. 544=E. D. IV. 266; A. N. I. 103=Tr. I. 255-6).

V. 36, *l.* **16.** *He [Rānā Sanga] marched.....and prepared for action in the plains near Fīrozpūr Jharka.*

Another egregious error about a matter which every school boy knows. The battle was really fought at or near Kānhvā, in the vicinity of Sīkri, afterwards called Fathpur. Firozpur-Jharka was the site of a battle between Islām Shāh Sūr and Khawāṣṣ Khān, but the event occurred about twenty-five years later. (*Tārīkh-i-Dāūdi* in E. D. IV. 484; F.

I. 230, l. 14). Firūzpur-Jharka must be at least fifty miles north of Kānhwa. Muḥammad Mahdi Khwāja was not Bābur's son-in-law, as Aḥmad asserts (l. 10), but his brother-in-law, the husband of his sister Khānzāda Begam. Hindāl's name also is wrongly inserted. It is a mistake for *Humāyūn*, who led the right wing at the battle Kānhwa. (B.N. Tr. 566).

V. 37, *l.* 9 from foot. *His Majesty [Bābur] sent Sultān Junaid Birlās and Haidar Malik Hūlak to proceed with other Mughals and a Hindustāni army.*

'Haidar Malik Hūlak' can be meant for no other person than Mirzā Ḥaidar, the author of the *Tārīkh-i-Rashīdi*. *Hulāk* must be a perversion of 'Dughlāt', the name of his tribe, which is sometimes written as 'Oghlāt' (*vide* B. N. Tr. 22 *note*). But Ḥaidar Mirzā Dughlāt was really in the service of Sultān S'aīd of Kāshgar from 918 up to 937 H. He came to India only during the reign of Humāyūn and *about five years after Bābur's death.* (*Tārīkh-i-Rāshīdi*, Tr. 399; A. N. I. 135=Tr. 308; B. N. Tr. 362, 695). The reference to Hindāl on l. 24 is also founded on error. The prince was not in India at all at this time and was less than ten years old. (B. N. Tr. 695-699). Here, Aḥmad Yādgār has confused Hindāl with '*Askari*,' who was the prince really despatched as the nominal leader of the expedition. (B. N. Tr. 628, 637, 651, 654; E. D. IV. 285-6; A. N. I. 113, Tr. 269-70). Hindāl arrived in India for the first time only on the day of Humāyūn's coronation. (Gulbadan, H. N. Tr. 110; T. A. 188 *infra*). There is similar confusion and error in what is said about Kāmrān and Hindāl on p. 40. The statements are "discredited by Bābur's own narrative." (B. N. Tr. 604 note). The names of the four princes are everywhere confused in this chapter which is a veritable jungle of errors.

V. 41, *l.* 13 from foot. *The royalist troops turned their backs and fled, followed by the Kanwār.*

Here as well as below, at p. 193, *Note* 5, the true reading is كنوار. It means "thieves, plunderers or robbers" in Persian. (Richardson). Or it may be a vernacular word for 'villagers, peasants', which is used more or less contemptuously in the sense of 'rustics', 'boors'. (Cf. the Gujarāti *Gamār* and *Gāvaḍi*). It occurs in the *Akbarnāma* also, but Mr. Beveridge (Tr. I. 309) leaves it untranslated and unexplained. He speaks of 'Kolis and Gawārs' and 'Bhils and Gawārs' (in capitals), as if 'Gawār' was a proper name or a tribal designation. Mrs. Beveridge also adopts the same course in her translation of the Memoirs of Gulbadan where the word occurs twice. (Text. 47, ll. 10, 12. Trans. 143). The word is found in Budāuni also. Ranking spells it as '*Kawārs*' and thinks that the reference must be to "a tribe of Jats, otherwise known by the name of Gatwārās," (Text, 85, 168, 382=Tr. 122 and Note, 231 and 493), but this cannot be accepted, as the 'Kolis and Gawārs' and 'Bhīls and Gawārs' of Abul Fazl are mentioned in connection with Cambay in Gujarāt.

V. 46, *l.* 3. *He despatched an army against the Rājā of Andrūn.*

On page 53, he is called 'Rājā of *Andardūn*'. His stronghold is

there called 'Kisht' and he is said to have rebelled once more. It is permissible to suggest that 'Andrūn' [Andarvan] or 'Andardūn' [Andardavan] is not the name of the place but that of the Rājā. He may have been called 'Indradyumna' or 'Indravadana.' Both these names are found in Sanskrit Literature and are common even now. (Duff. C. I. 299; Sir G. Grierson's Art. 'Gleanings from the *Bhakta Mālā*' in J. R. A. S. 1910, p. 300). 'Kisht' may be a miswriting of كنث 'Kanṭh', *i. e.* Hat-*Kanṭh* or Haṭ-*Kānṭ*, the old name of the Bhadauriya country, near Gwālior. The Bhadauriya chiefs were notorious for their lawlessness and turbulence. Bhind in Gwālior is locally known as Bhind-Bhadāwar, on account of having been the chief seat of the Bhadauriyas. It is in Lat. 26°-33′ N. and Long. 78°-48′ E. (I. G. VIII. 110). It lies on the route from Etāwa to Gwālior and is 54 miles north-east of the latter. Constable, 27 D b.

Haṭkānṭ is now included in Bāh or Pināhat, the south-eastern *taḥṣīl* of Āgra district (I. G. VI. 192) and lies in the ravines of the Chambal. (Elliot, Races, II. 86). The *pargana* town seems to be also called Aṭhgāth and lies on the route from Etāwa to Āgra, 20 miles west of the former. Lat. 26°-47′ N., Long. 78°-47′ E. A Rājā named Indarman Dhandhera is mentioned in the *Bādishāhnāma* (I. ii. 223, l. 9 and M. U. II. 265-266) and Indarman Bundela in the *Maāṣir-i-'Ālamgīri* (Text, 163).

V. 48, *l.* 12 from foot. *A battle was fought at Kanūlāpūr near Ladānah.*

Thornton mentions a 'Ludhana' in Gwālior State, 46 miles south-east of Nimach. Lat. 24°-0′ N., Long. 75°-27′ E. It is the 'Ladūna' of the Post Office Guide and is near Sitāmau which is in Lat. 24°-1′ N., Long. 75°-23′ E. Sitāmau is shown in Constable, Pl. 27 B d. 'Kanūlapur' may be some place called 'Kamlāpur' near Gwālior, where Jamāl Khān was posted.

V. 56, *l.* 11. *On Friday, the 7th of Sh'abān [962 H.], a severe action was fought [at Farra between Ibrāhīm and Sikandar Sūr].*

The year is not given, but as 7th Sh'abān *Hisābi* 962 H. or 27th June 1555 A. C. was a Thursday, 7th Sh'abān *Ruyyat* must have been a Friday. The same date in the preceding year, 961 H., was Sunday, 8th July 1554.

V. 56, footnote 4. *Firishta makes him [Sikandar Sūr] out to be the nephew of Sher Shāh.*

But Niẓāmu-d-dīn (Ṭ A., 240, last line) and according to the Cawnpore lithograph of his History, *Firishta also* (I. 234, l. 8 f.f. and 236, l. 3) state that Sikandar was 'the son of one of Shīr Shāh's uncles' (یکی ازبنی اعمام) and not his nephew. Ni'amatulla avers that he was only a relative. (Dorn, I. 174). In view of the uncertainty of the relationship, it may be worth while to point out that on some of his very rare rupees and copper coins, Sikandar styles himself, the son of Ism'āīl. (Rodgers, J. A. S. B. (1887), LV, pp. 184, 187; Wright, I. M. C. II. No. 898; C. M. S. D., pp. 379-380). 'Abbās gives the names of the seven brothers of Shīr Shāh (E. D. IV. 310) and Ni'amatulla gives a slightly different list, (Dorn, I. 81); but Ism'āīl does not appear in either of those authorities.

V. 57, *l.* 4 from foot. *Akbar spent that time on the borders of Mahain.*

جاتن must be an error for غزنین 'Ghaznīn' (*q. v.* Ṭ. A. 219, l. 14=236 *infra*; A. N. I. 322=Tr. I. 596; F. I. 241, l. 18). Ghazni had been given to Akbar as his appanage after the death of Hindāl (F. I. 240, l. 3 f. f.; T. A. 234 *infra*) and all these authors state that he was sent there at this time.

V. 63, *l.* 12. *Hīmūn . .....vowed that if he were destined to conquer Dehlī,....., he would become a Musalmān on his return to Dehlī.*

This story must have been popular at the time, as it is told in the Memoirs of Bāyazīd Biyāt also. "Hemū", he writes, "had vowed that if he defeated the Mughals, he would become a Musalmān. But God erased from the infidel's heart the recollection of this vow after he had defeated Tardi Beg. As the glory of Timūr had descended to Akbar, God, on the field of Pānīpat, put forgetfulness of his vow into Hemū's heart." (Mr. Beveridge's Summary in J. A. S. B. 1898, LXVII, p. 309).

V. 64, *l.* 3 from foot. *Ahmad Beg, the madman, who was unequalled .....in foretelling the future by what he saw in the blade bone of a sheep.*

Another 'wandering tale.' The Emperor Jahāngīr tells a very similar story of a man named Hazāra who was a past master in this art of predicting events by looking at the shoulder-blades of slaughtered sheep. But he relates it in connection with the battle between Akbar and Muḥammad Ḥusain Mirzā near Aḥmadābād in 981 A. H. (T. J. 20, l. 1=Tr. I. 43). The Amīr whose death was foretold on that occasion was Saif Khān Koka. Aḥmad Yādgār has perhaps mixed up the two battles and transferred the tale from the one to the other. He is, in any case, demonstrably wrong in asserting, as he does, a few lines lower down (65, l. 8 f. f.), that the reprobate, Shāh Abu-l-M'aāli, was the "chief of rank" who "obtained martyrdom" in this battle, as the *Majẕūb* had predicted. Abu-l-M'aāli did not take part in the battle, as he had been thrown into prison. He met a felon's death seven years later at Kābul (970 H.). (Ṭ. A. 248, 287 *infra*).

V. 67, *l.* 6 from foot. *Khwāja Habībulla of Herāt.*

Can this Khwāja Ḥabībulla who was Ni'amatūlla's father have been identical with the Ḥājji Ḥabībulla, who is mentioned at 407 and 424 *infra*? Ni'amatulla says that his father had been in Akbar's service for thirty-five years. We know that Ḥājji Ḥabībulla Kāsi was employed by Akbar in conducting negotiations with his brother Mirzā Muḥammad Ḥakīm and was also sent to Goa on a commercial mission in 986 H. (407 *infra*).

'Kāsi' is the name of an Afghān tribe. (M. U. III. 637, l. 4). Tātār Khān Kāsi was the Afghān governor of Rhotās in the Punjāb in 962 H. (Ṭ. A. 237 *infra*; B. I. 459=Tr. 592-3).

V. 71, *l.* 1 from foot. *Both parties met near the village of Karra in the pargana of Khizrābād.*

This 'Karra' [کرہ] is *perhaps* 'Kharār', now in Ambālā, in which Khiẓrābād also is included. There is a Khiẓrābād in Kharār *taḥṣīl*, seven miles south of Rupār. Constable, 25 B b. See the note on Vol. III, p. 350, l. 6, *ante*.

V. 72, *l.* **8.** *There was a holy man named Saiyid ibn Majzūb who made predictions (Sāhib-i-lafz būd).*

صاحبِ لفظ بود rather means that whatever the man happened to say without thought or premeditation, whatever passed his lips or was uttered by chance, was realized in fact and came to pass, as the utterance was inspired from above, although he himself was not conscious of it. The idea underlying the phrase is expressed in two couplets which are familiar quotations in Persian Literature:

مردانِ خدا خدا نباشند لیکن از خدا جدا نباشند

"Men of God are not God, but they are not different from God."

حدیثِ اهل فنا ترجمانِ تقدیرست بود ضمیر و زبانش شبیه لوح و قلم

"The words of the men who mortify (lit. destroy) themselves are the interpreters of Destiny; their hearts and tongues are replicas (facsimiles) of the Tablet and the Pen of Fate". (Ṭ. A. 171, l. 14). The second couplet is quoted in the *Tārīkh-i-Dāūdi* also. (E. D. IV. 444). Both these authors cite it in connection with a presage or omen portending the rise to power of Buhlūl's son Sikandar. Stories of this sort have a tendency to grow in the telling and to gather all sorts of excrescences relating to time, place and circumstance. The holy man's name is uncertain. He is called 'Sayyid Ibn' by the Ṭ. A. (149, l. 16), 'Saidā' by F. (I. 174, l. 9) and 'Seid Ayen' by Dorn. (I. 43). The real name may have been سعید مجذوب Sa'īd, the Majẕūb. According to a legend still current in Ludhiānā district, the Faqīr's name was Haẓrat Shaikh Ṣadr-i-Jahān or Ṣadru-d-dīn, and he was a disciple of Shaikh Bahāu-l-Ḥaqq, *i.e.* Bahāu-d-dīn Zakarīya of Multān. The ruling Nawābs of the Māler Kotla family now claim to be his direct descendants and his mausoleum is shown in Māler. (F. H. Tolbort's art. in J. A. S. B. 1869, Pt. i. 92; I. G. XVII. 86).

V. 72, *l.* **5 from foot.** *But the truth or falsehood of this has never been ascertained.*

Dorn's rendering of this sentence is very different. "Such as assert Behlol to have carried on the trade of a merchant are wrong." (I. 43). The original words used in the Ṭ. A. (149, l. 4 f. f.), from which this account has been borrowed by Ni'amatulla, are در بعضی تواریخ مسطور است که ملك بهلول تجارت مینمود اصلی ندارد "In some histories it is written that Malik Buhlūl was engaged in trade, but it has no foundation in fact, *i. e.* it is not true."

V. 74, *l.* **7.** *Ahmad Khān Mewātti possessed the country from Mahrauli to Ladhū Sarāi near the city of Dehli.*

'Aḥmad Khān Meo' [Mewāti] is mentioned as a grandson [نبیره] of Bahādur Nāhar who paid his respects to the Sayyid Sultān Muḥammad Shāh in 838 H. (T. M., Text, 243 last line). Dorn reads the place-name as 'Mahrwai', محروی (I. 44), which may be an error for مچروی or مچوری *i.e.* مچیری Macheri, (originally, Matsyapuri), in Alwar. But the Ṭ. A. (150, l. 13) and F. (I. 142, l. 5) also call it 'Mahrauli', and it may be 'Maholi' near Mathura which was a *Maḥāl* in *Sarkār* Āgra, *Ṣūba* Āgra. (*Āīn*, Tr. II. 183; Elliot, Races, II. 85-6).

As regards Laḍhu Serāi, it is said in the *Āṣāru-s-Ṣanādīd* that the road to Ladhu Serāi starts from the Mausoleum of Īltutmish and passes *via* the Quṭb Minar. (Pt. I. 66). Ladhu Serāi lies a little north of the Quṭb and is shown on the Map prefixed to Thomas's C. P. K. D. and the Tourist Map of Dehli issued by the Survey of India.

V. 74, footnote 4. *The empire of the King of the Earth extends from Dehli to Pālam.*

یاد شاهی شاهِ عالم - از دهلی تا پالم The point or sting of the epigram lies in the fact that this Sultān 'Alāu-d-dīn assumed the title of 'Ālam Shāh', 'King of the Universe,' and had it engraved on his coins also. Pālam is a village which lies about 10 miles south of Dehli. It is now a Railway station.

V. 79, *l.* 10 from foot. *When he [Sultān Buhlūl] reached Burhānābād, Mubārak Khān, governor of Sakīt, came to pay his respects.*

Burhānābād is said to have been near Mārehra, which lies about 15 miles north of Etah. (Ṭ. A. 150, l. 4 f.f.). Here it is said to have been near Saket which also is in Etah. Yaḥyā (E. D. IV. 64) and B. (I. 293, Tr. I. 386) speak of it as a dependency of Etāwa and near or on the bank of the Black Water (Kāli Nadi). Seely mentions a place called 'Burrawanpoor', fourteen miles north of Saket, thirty-nine north of Mainpūri and forty-three south of Koil or 'Alīgarh. (Road Book of India, Edit. of 1825, 20-1 and 18).

V. 80, *l.* 4 from foot. *Sultān Mahmūd confined him [Quṭb Khān],..... and he remained captive for seven years.*

So also in the Ṭ. A. 154, l. 2, from which Ni'amatulla has transcribed the words. But F. (I. 176, l. 7 f. f.) has "months" instead of "years" and the context which follows indicates that this is most probably right. Sultān Maḥmūd of Jaunpur died very soon after the capture of Quṭb Khān Lody. F. says that Bhīkhan Khān, styled Muḥammad Shāh, ruled only for five months and Quṭb Khān was released very soon after peace was made on Ḥusain's accession. (F. II. 309, l. 9 f. f.). B. (I. 307-8=Tr. I. 403-4) also states or implies that Quṭb Khān was released within less than a year of his capture. The chronology of the Sharqi dynasty is not quite certain. The numismatic evidence is not only unhelpful, but confusing. Maḥmūd Shāh's coins in regular sequence from 844 to 863 have been found. But, at the same time, coins exist, both of Muḥammad and of Ḥusain Shāh, which are dated in 861, 862 and 863 H. It would seem as if Muḥammad and Ḥusain had both aspired to supreme power and both issued coins. All that can be said is that Sultān Maḥmūd died between 861 and 863 H., that the reign of Muḥammad Shāh was a brief one and that peace was made between Buhlūl and Ḥusain very soon after the latter's accession. F. says that Maḥmūd died in 862 H., and that Muḥammad reigned only for five months. (II. 308-9). The Ṭ. A. puts the death of Maḥmūd into 862 H. (532, l. 1), and gives Muḥammad a reign of five years, (*Ibid.* l. 6), but this is, most probably, a miswriting of سال for ماه. The incarceration of

Quṭb Khān could not, in any case, have lasted for so long as seven years, even if it did not terminate after seven months. For the history of the Jaunpur dynasty and their coins, see H. M. Whittell, Numis. Suppl. No. XXXVI to the J. A. S. B. (1922), New Series, XVIII, pp. 10-35.

V. 81, *l.* 5 from foot. *Muḥammad Shāh reached Sūrseni..... Sultān Bahlol encamped in the pargana of Rāpri which adjoined Sūrseni.*

The Ṭ. A. (154, l. 13) and F. (I, 176, l. 16) read 'Sarsati' and this is transcribed as 'Saraswati' in the C. H. I. (III, 231), but no clue is given to its location. Can it be سرسی *i. e.* the old village of Sirsā (now called Sirsāganj), near Rāpri, 27 miles south of Mainpuri and 14 from Shikohābād? (N. W. P. Gazetteer, (Ed. 1876), IV. 751; I. G. Atlas, 31 A 3).

V. 87, *l.* 3. *He [Sultān Husain] then proceeded against Dehli in the month of Ẕū-l-hijja, A.H. 893.*

This date is out by ten years. It should be 883. Sultān 'Alāu-d-dīn died in that year. The Ṭ. A. (156, last line) and F. (I. 173, l. 4) put this invasion into 883. B. gives the chronogram of the subsequent defeat of Ḥusain as نوید خرابی (Tidings of Ruin), the letters of which have the numerical value of 883 (50+6+10+4+600+200+1+2+10=883). (I. 310; Tr. 407).

V. 88, *l.* 11. *A desperate battle was fought at the village of Sonhār.*

There are several variants, سونہا in the Ṭ. A. (157, l. 15); سنہارن in F. (I. 177, l. 5 f. f.), سونہار in B. (I. 310=Tr. 407), and 'Lubhar' in Dorn (I. 53). Sir Wolseley Haig thinks it is Senha or Suhnuh in Lat. 27°-21′ N., Long. 78°-48′ E. (C. H. I. III. 233 and 257 *note*). Thornton mentions a 'Senowra' in Mainpuri, 40 miles north-west of Etāwa in Lat. 27°-12′ N., Long. 78°-36′ E., and also 'Sooneyruh' in Mainpuri, Lat. 27°-37′ N., Long. 78°-57′ E., fifty mile snorth-west of Fatehgarh. The compiler of the District Gazetteer opines that the battle was fought at the *pargana* village of Sonhār in Etāh *taḥṣīl*. (U. P. Gazetteer, (Ed. 1908), X, (Mainpuri), 154; I. G. XII. 36).

V. 89, *l.* 11. *They met at the village of Rāngānw, which belongs to Kālpi.*

This is identified in the C. H. I. (III. 233) with Rāigāon in Khāgā *taḥṣīl*, Fatḥpur district. Lat. 25°-54′ N., Long. 81°-16′ E. Khāgā is the eastern *taḥṣīl* of Fatḥpur district. (Constable, 28 B c). Kālpi is in Jālaun. A glance at the map will show that the identification is very doubtful.

The correct name of the Rājā of Etāwa was not 'Sangat' but *Sakat* Sinha and that of his son was not 'Dādand' but 'Dandū'. (Ṭ. A. 159, l. 5; F. I. 178). Both of them are mentioned in the Dynastic List of the Chauhān Rājās of Partābner. (N.W.P. Gazetteer, (Ed. 1876), IV. 374 and Note). 'Baksar' (l. 14) is not the well-known 'Buxar' in Shāhābād, but 'Bagesar' which lies about thirty-five miles south-east of Unāo town. (I. G. VI. 218).

V. 89, *l.* 17. *Sultān Husain fled to the Panna country, the Rājā of which came out to meet him.*

The Ṭ. A. rightly reads بھٹہ Bhata (158, l. 6), *i. e.* Bhaṭghora, the modern Rewā. B. also has بھٹہ (I. 311). The name of the Rājā, which is given at page 93 as Bhīd, conclusively proves that the right reading is

Bhaṭa. He was Bhīḍachandra the Bāghelā Rāja of Rewā.

On page 94, l. 11, Kantit is called "a dependency of Panna", where also the right reading must be "Bhaṭa". Kantit is now in Mirzāpur district, on the road from Allahābād to Rewā, sixteen miles south of the former. (Th.). Arail, which is mentioned on the same page, is now called Jalālābād and is very near 'Bayāk', *i.e.*, Prayāg. (Elliot, Races, II. 104).

V. 89, footnote 4. *Firishta adds that Bībī Khunza, daughter of the late King, Saiyid 'Alāu-d-dīn and chief lady of Husain Shāh's household was taken captive.*

Dorn speaks of her as Sultān Husain's 'first consort, Malka Jehan'. (I. 52). She is said by F. (I. 178, l. 9) as well as the Ṭ. A. (158, l. 12) to have been his خوندا or خونزه بی بی محترم 'his most honoured wife, Bībī Khunza or Khūndā'. B. speaks of her as his "chief wife, *Malika-e-Jahān, Bībī Khūnzā.*" (Text, I. 312=Tr. I. 412). Sir Wolseley Haig gives her name as *Jalīla* (C. H. I. III. 231 and 255), but this seems to be founded on a misapprehension. F. says elsewhere that she was his *Ḥalīla*, (II. 310, l. 5), or 'lawful wife' and instigated him to invade Dehli. This word حليله is used in the same sense in the Ṭ. A. also. It is there said that the Khān-i-'Aẓam Mirzā 'Azīz Koka went to Aḥmadābād to visit his sister who was the wife [حليله] of the Khān-i-Khānān 'Abdu-r-Raḥīm. (362, l. 8 f. f.=442 *infra*). In another place, Niẓāmu-d-dīn writes that the wife حليله of Sultān Muẓaffar II. of Gujarāt was the daughter of Jām Ṣalāhu-d-dīn's uncle. A man speaks of his wife periphrastically as his حليله. or حلالم 'that which is lawful to me' (Richardson). The author of the *Maāṣir-l-Umarā* writes that the noble wife حليله جليله of Mir Abul M'aāli Khwāfi and mother of Khān Jahān Bahādur was the foster-mother of Aurangzeb. (I. 791, l. 8). 'Jalīla' is only an adjective or qualifying epithet signifying, 'exalted, glorious, noble.' حليلهٔ جليله has very much the same meaning as حرم محترم.

خونده or خونده "Khūnza" or "Khūnda" seems to be a short form of "Khudāwanda" or "Khāwanda." So, 'Khūndgār' is an abbreviation of "Khudāwandgār." Ibn Baṭūṭa tells us that the name of the sister of Sultān Muḥammad Tughlaq was *Firūz Khūnda*, meaning, *'l'heureuse maitresse'* or the 'Fortunate Lady'. (Defrémery, III. 271). We know from Barani and Shams also that she was called "Khudāwandzāda." Īltutmish's wife is said by Minhāj to have been styled '*Khudāwanda*-i-Jahān' after the accession of her son, Ruknu-d-dīn Firūz, to the throne. (T. N. Text, 181, l. 5 f. f.). Firishta states that the mother of Murtiẓā Niẓām Shāh of Aḥmadnagar, who reigned from 1565 to 1589, was called 'Khūnza Humāyūn'. (II. 130, l. 7).

V. 90, *l.* 1. *Leaving..... Kutb Khān Lodi and Khān Jahān.....at Majhauli, he himself [Buhlūl] proceeded to Budāūn.*

'Mijoūli' in Dorn. (I. 54). There are several places which bear this name and it is not easy to decide, but this is, most probably, Sālempur-

Majhauli, which lies on the left bank of the Little Gandak, about forty-five miles south-east of Gorakhpur. Lat. 26°-17′ N., Long. 83°-58′ E. (Th.). There are two contiguous villages which constitute one town. Majhauli which is Hindu, lies on the north bank of the river and Sālempur which is Muḥammadan, on the south bank. (Hunter, I. G. IX. 213). Constable, 28 D b.

V. 91, *l.* 6 from foot. *He [Buhlūl] reigned during the space of thirty-eight years, eight months and eight days.*

So also in the Ṭ. A. (159, l. 6), F. (I. 179, l. 2) and B. (I. 312=Tr. 410), but the calculation has not been worked out correctly. The Sultān ascended the throne, as they themselves state, on the 17th of Rabʿi I. 855. If he reigned for 38 years, 8 months and 8 days after that date, he must have died on the 25th of Ẓī-l-qʿad 893 H. But all these four authors put his death into 894 and also state that Sikandar ascended the throne on the 17th of Shʿabān 894 H. There must be an error somewhere. If 894 H. is correct, one or other of the two statements—either the computation or the date of accession—must be wrong. In the C. H. I., the Sultān is said to have died in the second week of July 1489 at page 235 and on 17th July at p. 504. The latter date corresponds with 18th Shʿabān, 894 H. This would make the length of the reign 39 (lunar) years, 5 months and 1 day.

The name of the place where Buhlūl died is given as 'Balāwali' (Ṭ. A. 159, l. 6), 'Bhadāwali' (F. I. 179, l. 1), 'Malāwi' here and 'Malawali' in Dr. Lee's copy of the *Makhzan*. (Dorn, II. 95). Can it be 'Malāwan', a village very near Saket which is mentioned in the Post Office Guide? According to the Ṭ. A and F., 'Jalāli' in 'Alīgarh was the place where Sikandar met his father's coffin and was crowned, not where Buhlūl died.

V. 93, *l.* 12. *Mubārak Khān had fallen into Mullā Khān's hands.*

The diacritical point on the fourth letter is a copyist's blunder and the right reading is ملاّحان, *mallaḥān* 'boatmen,' as in the Ṭ. A. (161, l. 3), from which Niʿamatulla has copied his account. Similarly, at page 99, l. 11 *infra*, 'Mihtar Mullā Khān' is an error for *Mihtar-i-Mallāḥān*, 'Chief of the boatmen.' The fact that the man is there called 'Nāyak' (leader, chief) and said to have commanded or steered the Sultān's barge settles the point. Dorn also has read it wrongly. (I. 57).

V. 93, *l.* 14. *Rāi Bhid, Rājā of Panna, had carried him off a prisoner.*

Here again, 'Panna' is an error for 'Bhaṭa'. Mubārak Khān had been captured at Jhūsi near Prayāg and the Rājā of Bhaṭā was the ruler of Arail, which lies, like Jhūsi, just opposite to Prayāg. There was no Rājā and no separate State, Kingdom or chiefship of Panna at this time. The State of Panna was founded by Hirde Sāh, the son of Rājā Chhatarsāl Bundela, after Chhatarsāl's death in 1731 A.C. Hirde Sāh had a short reign and died in 1738-9. (Irvine, Later Mughals, II. 241; I. G. *s. n.* Panna. See also my note on IV. 461, l. 16).

V. 95, *l.* 2. *Sultān Sikandar then penetrated as far as Phāphūnd belonging to Panna.*

But سنده از اعمال پنه in the Ṭ. A. (161, last line), شهدرو in F. (I. 181, l. 13)

and 'Behavand' in Dorn (I. 58). In Dr. Lee's Ms. of the *Makhzan-i-Afghāni*, Rājā Bhīd is said to have fled to Sirguja and Sikandar to have advanced to 'Behavund,' a dependency of *Bhattia*. (Dorn. II. 95). بهوند *may be* an error by metathesis of the letters, for بهندو 'Bahandū' or بندهو Bandhū, *i.e.* Bandhūgarh (Lat. 23°-41′ N., Long. 81°-3′ E.), which lies about 60 miles south of Rewā and was the name of the kingdom and also of the chief town of the Rājās of Bhaṭa. (I. G. VI. 358-9). The *Tārīkh-i-Dāūdi* states that the Rājā was the ruler of *Bhata* and that the fort to which Sikandar afterwards laid siege was that of "Bandhū, the strongest castle in that district." (E. D. IV. 462-3). 'Abdulla has transcribed his account from the Ṭ. A., which is the original source of Ni'amatulla also, and this may indicate that in his copy of the Ṭ. A., the names were spelt as Bhata and *Bandhū*. Phāphūnd is neither in Panna nor in Bhaṭa.

V. 97, *l.* 10 from foot. *Sikandar himself marched on Friday, the 6th Ramazān, 906.....upon Dhūlpūr.*

The week day is given correctly. The Julian correspondence, 26th March 1501 A. C., *was* a Friday.

V. 98, *l.* 3. [*He*] *encamped for two months on the banks of the Asi or Mendhi, where his people fell sick on account of the badness of the water.*

This is the Asun or Ahsin, a small river which joins the Kuāri, which is itself a tributary of the Sindh or Betwā. The Asun rises in Lat. 25°-29′ N., Long. 77°-38′ E. It has a course of about 80 miles and is crossed by an easy ford on the road from Āgra to Gwālior. (Thornton). The Ṭ. A. reads the other name as 'Mendaki', which is said to mean in Sanskrit, 'frog haunted.' (B. Tr. I., 419 *note*).

V. 98, *l.* 17. *He raised the standard of war for the reduction of the fort of Mandrāil.*

Mandrāil, also written Mandlāer, is now in Karauli State. It lies about 12 miles south-south-east of Karauli town. It is mentioned in the *Āīn* (Tr. II. 190) and was the chief town of a *Sarkār* in *Ṣūba Āgra*. It is the 'Mandrel' of the I. G. Atlas, 34 E 2 and Constable, 27 C b.

V. 99, *l.* 13. *That which is 'Āgra', or 'in advance', is the preferable one.*

Mr. H. G. Keene mentions (Guide to Agra, p. l) another equally apocryphal and factitious derivation of the name of the town from "*Agur*, a salt pan, the soil being brackish and much salt having been made here in old times by evaporation". But if Āgra was captured, as the contemporary poet Mas'ūd-i-S'ad-i-Salmān states, in the reign of Sultān Ibrāhīm of Ghazni about 1080 A. C., all that is said here about it must be a fiction. (See E. D. IV. 522). The Emperor Jahāngīr also quotes a couplet relating to Āgra from the *Qaṣīda* of this poet. (T. J. 2, l. 7 f. f.). But the place taken by Ibrāhīm was, *perhaps*, Agrowah اگروه (*q. v.*, I. G. V. 91).

V. 99, *l.* 1 from foot. *One of the able scholars of Hind has traced the date* [*of the great earthquake of 911 H.*] *in the*

word 'Kāzī.'

The point of this chronogram lies in the fact that one of the meanings of قاضي is 'deadly, fatal' and قاضيه signifies 'death, fate, doom.' (Richardson). The week-day is stated to have been Sunday and the date 3rd Ṣafar, 911 H. The Julian correspondence 6th July, 1505 *was* a Sunday.

V. 100, *l.* **14.** *He was attacked by the Rājā of Gwālior in an ambuscade at Chatāwar, about ten Kos from that place.*

'Chanāwar' in the Ṭ. A. (165, l. 5 f. f.) and 'Janwar' in F. (I. 183, last line). It is the 'Chatiāwar' of the *Āīn*, (Tr. II. 187). It may be Jatwār or Jetwār, which lies north of Gwālior.

V. 100, *l.* **6 from foot.** *In 912 H.....the Sultān went towards the fort of Awantgar.*

This is the 'Untgar' of the *Āīn* (Tr. II, 190), where it is entered as a *mahāl* in *Sarkār* Mandlāer and stated to have had a stone fort, below which flowed the river Chambal. It is called Utgīr, Ontgir, Untgir, Awantgarh, Hanwantgarh and Himmatgarh also. It is now in the State of Karāuli, 28 miles south-west of the town of Karāuli, at the southern mouth of the Paniar Pass, which is between Narwar and Gwālior. (Cunningham, Arch. Surv. Rep. II, 328-330). Lat. 26°-6′ N., Long. 77°-0′ E. It is shown as 'Utgarh' in the I. G. Atlas, Pl. 34 E 2.

V. 101, *l.* **23.** [*He ordered*] *that they should destroy the idol temples and raise mosques in their places.*

The word employed here in the Ṭ. A. (166, l. 9 f. f.) is بتخانها and B. (I. 320, l. 14) and F. (I. 184, l. 13) have copied it. But the words used by all these authors in connection with the similar destruction of the temples of Mandrāel are بتخانها و کنائس (Ṭ. A. 165, l. 8; B. I. 319, Tr. 420; F. I. 183, l. 10 f. f.). Sir H. Elliot has rendered کنائس as 'fire-altars' in his Essay on 'Fireworship in Upper India' and pressed this ambiguous reference into his service to support the theory that there were large colonies of fire-worshippers, *i. e.* Zoroastrians, in the Punjab so late as the 15th Christian century. (568 *infra*). But کنیسه is loosely used for a Christian church, a Jewish synagogue and *any pagan temple*, and Richardson and the *Ghiāṣu-l-Lughāt* give all these meanings. It is inserted here only as a synonym of بتخانه 'idol house'. کنائس is used for Hindu temples by Muḥammad Sāqi in his account of the destruction of the Hindu temples of Ḥaidarābād and Parli by Aurangzīb. (*Maāṣir-i-'Ālamgīrī*, 285, l. 14; 428, l. 4). Bilāduri uses the word for 'churches' and 'synagogues'. He speaks of کنائس النصاری والیهود و بیوت نیران مجوس "the churches of the Nazarenes and the Jews and the fire-temples of the Magians." (Reinaud, *Fragments Arabes et Persans*, 171, l. 10). Ranking in his translation of B. states that Sikandar "destroyed all the idol temples and *churches* of the place" (Tr. I, 420), but *churches* cannot be right.

V. 102, *l.* **15.** *Sultān Sikandar's proceedings at Hatkānt, Lucknow, Nāgor and Lesi-Sheopūr.*

'Lesi-Sheopūr' must be an error for 'Sūi-Sūpūr,' and so it is written in the Ṭ. A. (Text, 169, l. 12 and also at 104 *infra*). 'Sūi-Sūpūr' is again mentioned at 385 *infra*. B. writes the name as 'Sūi Supar' (I. 321, l. 4 f.f. =Tr. I. 454) and F.'s spelling is سیو پور [Sīvpūr]. (I. 186, l. 5). It must be 'Sheopur' on the western boundary of Gwālior State, towards the Jaipur territory. I. G. Atlas, 38 B 2. Lat. 25°-38′ N., Long. 76°-48′ E. Lahair is Lahār (l. 17) in Gwālior State, six miles east of the right bank of the Sindh. It is about 50 miles west of Kālpi, 85 miles south-east of Āgra and 50 east of Gwālīor. Lat. 26°-12′ N., Long. 78°-59′ E. (Th.). Constable, 27 D b. Sheopur is stated at 104 *infra* to have been not very far from Awantgarh, which is in Lat. 26°-6′ N., Long. 77°-0′ E. Sheopur was a small Rajput principality upto 1816 A. C. when it was absorbed by Daulat Rāo Sindiā. (Th. 885).

V. 103, Footnote. [*Sultān Ibrāhim*] *appointed Shaikhzāda Manjhū to the government of Chanderi and gave the office of peshwā to Sultān Muhammad, grandson of the King of Mālwā.*

مچھو in F. (I. 189, last line), but منجھو in the Ṭ. A. (176, l. 16) and 'Munjoo' in Dorn (I. 73). The correct form is *Manjhū*. *Manjhū*, literally signifies "middle" and is generally given to a son who is neither the youngest nor the eldest in the family. Thus the renowned Gujarāt saint, Shāh 'Ālam, who was the eleventh of twelve male children, was familiarly known as Mīyān Manjhū or Miyān Manjhla. (*Mirāt-i-Sikandari*, Tr. Bayley, 138 *Note*). The father of the author of the *Mirāt-i-Sikandarī* was known as Shaikh Manjhū. (Bayley, *Ibid*, 59, 454). The second son [پسر میانکی] of Sultān Nāṣiru-d-dīn Khalji also was known as Miyān Manjhla. (Ṭ. A. 571, l. 1; F. II. 260, l. 5 f.f.). Ni'amatulla has borrowed the whole sentence from the Ṭ. A. and Dorn's rendering of it is undoubtedly wrong, but Sir Henry Elliot's is almost equally exceptionable, as it implies that Sultān Muḥammad was the *Peshwā* and Shaikhzāda Manjhū the governor. This is putting the wrong side foremost. What the Ṭ. A. says is: شیخزاده منجھورا بمحافظت و حراست قلعهٔ چندیری و پیشوائی شاهزاده محمد خان نواسه سلطان ناصرالدین مالوی تعین فرمود. "He entrusted to the Shaikh-zāda Manjhū the watch and ward of the castle of Chanderi *and the Peshwāship* of the Prince Muḥammad Khān, grandson of Sultān Nāṣiru-d-dīn of Mālwa". F. states that 'Machhū' was given the wardenship حراست of the fort and the *Wakālat of the Prince*. It is clear that Manjhū was the *Peshwā*, *i. e.* the executive authority *de facto*, the Prince being only a puppet, figure-head or fainéant. The word *Peshwā* is used here in the same sense as کد خدا and اُستاد are used by Baihaqi and as اتالیق (*lit.* little father) is by the Tīmuride historians, for the guardian, protector, adviser or administrator on behalf of a prince, who on account of his youth, incapacity, or for some other reason is unable or forbidden to manage his own affairs. F.'s statement that Manjhū was the *Wakīl*, *i. e.* deputy, regent or representative of the Prince leaves no doubt that it was he who was the *Peshwā*. Elsewhere,

the Ṭ. A. says that Fatḥ Khān the son of 'Aẓam Humāyūn Shirwāni was appointed as the *Wākil* and *Peshwa* of the Prince Jalāl Khān, brother of Ibrāhīm Lody. (173, l. 3 f. f.).

This usage is of ancient standing. Barani deplores the circumstance that a wretch like Kāfūr became پیشوای ملك 'Peshwā of the Kingdom' and all-powerful minister during the last five years of 'Alāu-d-dīn's reign. (Text, 337, l. 12). Perhaps the error is only clerical or typographical and what Sir Henry wrote was "He gave *him* [Manjhū] the office of Peshwā to Sultān Muḥammad." The insertion of the pronoun will set it right.

V. 109, *l.* 15. *The tribe of Sarwānis, who are no better than sellers of dogs.*

This epithet of revilement is founded on a pun on the tribal designation. The 'Sarbanis' or 'Sarbānis' are so called after their ancestor, Sarban. The original phrase is given in the Ṭ. A. 241, as سربانی سگبانی *Sarbāni-i-Sagbāni*, a vituperative jingle formed by altering only a single letter. Captain Wood says that the Uzbegs as well as the Afghāns "dread above every other opprobrious stigma the epithet of dog-seller." (Journey to the Source of the Oxus, Ed. 1841, p. 291).

V. 112, *l.* 10. *Nearly all were slain with the exception of a very small number of Kipchi horsemen.*

The right reading may be 'Qipc*ha*qi' or 'Qipchāqi'. But it is more probably 'Tipchāqi' or 'Tupchāqi', as at 134 *infra*. *Asp-i-Tipchāq* is generally used, says Mrs. Beveridge, for "well-trained horses of good breed, fine cavalry mounts. 'Tip' is said to mean 'movement' and Erskine thinks that the horses are so called because they are taught special paces. But other meanings are also assigned to the word, *viz.* good roadsters or round bodied or swift horses." (B. N. Tr. 38 note). Jauhar says that "the peculiar quality or virtue of all *Tipuchāk* horses" is that even when severely wounded or hamstrung, they bring the rider safe to the camp, although they afterwards die, and he tells a story in illustration of it. (Memoirs, Tr. Stewart, Ed. 1832, p. 4).

V. 113, *l.* 19. *He sent Khwāja Mu'azzam .....to rescue Begam Mariam Makāni from her dangerous position.*

All this is inaccurate and muddled. Khwāja Mu'aẓẓam was the half-brother of Ḥamīda Bānū or Miriam Makāni—the mother of Akbar—but she had not become Humāyūn's wife at all at this time. She was married to him only in 948 H.—some two years after the battle of Chausa. The lady captured was Bega (or Beka) Begam, afterwards known as Ḥājji Begam. Khwāja Mu'aẓẓam was not in the Emperor's service at this time, nor did he "sacrifice his life" on the occasion. He lived long afterwards, went mad and was imprisoned by Akbar's commands. The men who were killed at this time were Bābā Jalāir and Tardi Beg Kūch Beg. (A. N. I. 159, Tr. 343; 203 *infra* note). The man who helped Humāyūn at Chausa was the water-carrier Niẓām, not Shamsu-d-dīn Muḥammad Ghaznavi, as here stated. The latter came to the Emperor's rescue after

the rout at Qanauj in the year following.

V. 118, *l.* 4 from foot. *Auspicious omens.*

This story is told with variations relating to time as well as place and the order in which the three men were accosted, by later writers. The Ṭ. A. puts the event into 961 H., which is demonstrably wrong, as Khwāndamīr who relates it here died in 942 H. during Humāyuu's return march from Gujarāt. (F. I. 215, l. 3 f.f.). The order of the names in Niẓāmu-d-dīn's account is Daulat, Murād and S'adat, not Murād, Daulat and S'adat as in the text. F.'s version is a mere repetition of Niẓāmu-d-dīn's with all his errors. (I. 241, l. 2 f. f.). Abul Faẓl closely follows the *Humāyūn Nāma* of Khwāndamīr. (A. N. I. 357. Tr. I. 642). Sir Wolseley Haig has been misguided, as usual, by F. (C. H. I. IV. 66).

V. 123, *l.* 6. *According to the different standards of gold, the ranks of all the people ... were divided into twelve orders or arrows.*

Khwāndamīr is referring to the 'Bārahbāni' standard of assaying gold, which Abul Faẓl explains thus. "The highest degree of purity (for gold) is called in Persia 'dahdahī' (*i. e.* ten out of ten), but they do not know over ten degrees of fineness; in India, it is called *bārahbāni*, as they have twelve degrees. Formerly, the *Hūn* which is a gold coin current in the Deccan was thought to be pure and reckoned at ten degrees, but His Majesty has now fixed it as 8½, and the round, small gold *dināṛ* of 'Alāu-d-dīn which was considered to be twelve degrees now turns out to be ten and a half." (*Āīn*, Tr. I. 18). Abul Faẓl means that the standard of purity had been considerably raised by Akbar and the metal refined more thoroughly.

V. 124, *l.* 4. *The Sharbat-Khāna, Sūji-Khāna, the digging of canals etc.....were comprised in the Ābi department.*

Read '*Sūchikhāna*', the Turki synonym for "Ābdār Khāna," 'Water Department'. The *Sūchi* was the officer in charge of the water specially reserved for the use of the sovereign. (B. N. Tr. 335 and 551). The *Sūchi* was sometimes called 'Sharbatdār' or 'Sharbatchi' and both these terms are also employed at times as euphemistical periphrases for the Keeper of the royal Winecellar (or 'Sharābdār)'. Abul Faẓl, however, draws a distinction between the 'Sūchi-khānā' and the 'Sharbat-khāna'. (A. N. I. 360; Tr. I. 647; III 251=Tr. 363).

V. 124, *l.* 2 from foot. *Khawarnaq and Sawīr, the palaces of Bahrām.*

Khawarnaq خورنق and *Sidīr* سدير [not Sawīr] were the names given to the palaces built by N'umān *Ibn* Mundhir for Bahrāmgor. They are described in Niẓāmi's Maṣnavi, called the 'Haft Paikar'. (*Khamsah*, Bombay Lith. 1260 H. Part IV, p. 14). They lay two or three miles to the east of Najaf. 'Khawarnak' is derived by Doctor Andreas from the Avestan *Huvarna*, "with a beautiful roof" and by Vullers from *Khāwārnar*, "Place of Feasting". 'Sadīr' is said to be a corruption of "Ukhaidir." (Houtsma, II, 932; Lestrange, L. E. C. 75).

V. 133, *l.* **10.** *The carriages (gardūn) and mortars (deg) and small guns (topakchiyān) were placed in the centre.*

The true meaning of 'topakchiyān' must be not 'small guns,' but 'matchlock-men' or 'musketeers', or gunners, who are said only a few lines higher up (132 *supra*) to have numbered 5000. The forms, 'Topchi' and 'Tufangdār' occur in 'Abbās (E. D. IV. 416) and Mushtāqi (*Ib.* 551). 'Tūpak' is a diminutive of 'Tūp' and 'Tufang' is a secondary form of 'Tūpak', the 'p' having been changed into 'f' as usual in Arabic.

V. 138, *l.* **3.** *Jauhar was appointed collector of the village of Haibatpūr.*

There are several places called Haibatpūr, but there can be little doubt that this is Haibatpur-Patti, 27 miles north-east of Kasūr and ten miles west of the Biyās. Constable, 25 A b. "The antiquity of the town," writes Cunningham, "is proved by the number of burnt bricks and old wells which lie about the town. The old dry wells were noted more than three hundred years ago by Jauhar and the profusion of bricks struck Burnes, (Punjab and Bokhara, II. 9)." (A. G. I. 201).

Dowson has reproduced here the translation of Major Stewart, but it is not very reliable. Mr. Erskine has some very hard things to say about it in an annotated copy which is in the British Museum. "It is", he remarks, "no translation at all. It is full of errors. It adds, takes away, alters. It is not trustworthy and one does him no injustice in pronouncing him ignorant of the history of the manners of the times, ignorant of the geography of the country, ignorant of the language, ignorant of the duty of a translator." (Rieu, Catalogue, I. 246).

V. 139, *l.* **14.** *He [Rūmi Khān] had a slave named Khalāfat.....whom he so flogged that the weals were visible upon his body.*

Neither Abu-l-Faẓl nor any of the other chroniclers makes any reference to this ruse, and stories of such pretended quarrel and desertion in consequence of ill-treatment are only too common. The oldest example is the Zopyrus tale in Herodotus. (III. 154-8). Sextus Tarquinius is said to have got into Gabii by a similar device (Livy, I. 53) and Julian is credited with the employment of an identical stratagem during his Persian campaign. Alberūni has an analogue in connection with Kanīk or Kanishka. (Sachau's Tr. II, 11; E. D. II, 11) and this is also found in 'Awfi's storehouse of historical and unhistorical anecdotes. (E. D. II. 170). Abul Faẓl speaks of Kāmrān having availed himself of the trick to seize Lāhore soon after the accession of Humāyūn. (A. N. I. 125; Tr. I, 290). Tavernier was told that Daulatābād had been taken by Shāh Jahān only after such a device had been employed (Travels, Tr. Ball. I. 143) and Niẓāmu-l-Mulk Āṣaf Jāh is said to have practised it in his contest with 'Alam 'Ali Khān for the supremacy of the Dekkan in 1720 A. C. (Irvine, A. I. M. 255). Jauhar may have lent too easy credence to some popular rumour and the tale is, most probably, apocryphal.

V. 141, *l.* **18.** *Defeat of Humāyūn at Chūpa-ghāt.*

This heading is not in Stewart, and the place-name 'Chūpa' does

not occur anywhere in his version. Dorn calls the village 'Shūya' (I. p. 118) and the *Makhzan* reads the name as 'Shataya' (E. D. IV. 370 note), but no such place as 'Chūpa', 'Shūya' or 'Shataya' can be now traced on the maps. The exact date of the battle is given only by Abul Faẓl. It was 9th Ṣafar, 946 H. *i.e.* 26th June 1539 A. C. (A. N. I. 159=Tr. 344). Mr. Beveridge gives 7th June, but it must be an inadvertent error or misprint for 27th, which is the date given by Erskine. (H. B. H. II. 173).

V. 144, *l.* **16.** *At length, some of the Camp colour-men who were on the look-out for him tied their turbans together.*

This is Stewart's rendering of the word used, and Dowson finds fault with it on the ground that 'Tūghbānān' means 'nobles of the Tūgh banner.' But this cannot be correct, as Shamsu-d-dīn Muḥammad Ghaznavi—the man who is referred to—was not a noble at all at this time, but a common soldier of no note in Kāmrān's service. He owed his subsequent rise in fact to the service rendered by him on this occasion. Abul Faẓl in speaking of the event says: 'One of the soldiers [سپاهیان] who had been saved from out of the whirlpool came there and seizing His Majesty's sacred hand, drew him up." (A. N. Tr. I. 354=Text, I, 166, l. 17). Compare also the Ṭ. A., 205 *infra*).

V. 145, *l.* **3.** *Battle of Kipchāk.*

The *darra* or pass of Qibchāq is also called 'Chārdār' or 'Chihārdār' and lies south-east of the "Dandānshikan Pass." (Erskine, Memoirs of Bābur, 139 note). The Chahārdār and Dandānshikān Passes are both shown in Constable, Pl. 22 C c and 22 B c. The Chārdār Pass is also marked on Yule's Map to Wood's Journey to the Source of the Oxus and in the I. G. Atlas, 47 E 3.

V. 146, *l.* 21. *From Parwān we proceeded to Kahamrūd.*

Kahmard lies north-west of Kābul in a valley not far from the Dandānshikān Pass. (Erskine, Memoirs of Bābur, 199 note; *Ibid*, H. B. H. II. 384). Kahmard is marked on Holdich's Map to the Gates of India. Parwān lies eight miles north of Chārikār. Kahmard is 5600 feet above sea-level. (Wood, Journey, Ed. Yule, 132).

V. 165, *l.* **8 from foot.** [*Muizzu-d-dīn Muḥammad Sām*] *marched from Peshāwar on Thursday, the 25th of the said month* [*Rabī' I, 602 H.*].

This date is given only in the *Tārīkh-i-Alfi*. As the Julian correspondence of the Ḥisābi date, 9th November 1205 A. C. was a Wednesday, the 25th must be the *Rūyyat* or *Hilāli* date.

V. 166, *l.* **2 from foot.** *The fort of Kālwar* [*was taken by 'Alāu-d-dīn*].

This 'Kālwar' [Kālor or Gālor] is really *Jālor*. The real name of the Rājā was neither 'Kathar Deo' nor 'Nahr Deo', but 'Kanhaṛ Deva' or 'Kānhaḍ Deva'. He was a Chauhān of the Sonigara branch of that tribe. 'Kānhaḍ' is one of the vernacular forms of 'Krishna.' The compiler of the *Tārīkh-i-Alfi* may have heard this story of Gulbihisht from some Rājput bard or Bhāṭ in attendance on Akbar. F. has copied it from the *Alfi* (I.

118, l. 4 f. f.) and Ḥājji Dabīr has also got it. (Ẓ. W. 788, l. 21). It is not quite correct to say (as in the Footnote) that "Barani does not record these events." He does mention Siwāna as well as Jālor in the list of 'Alāu-d-dīn's conquests which is given in the T. F. (323, l. 14).

V. 175, *l.* **6.** *The place was held by Rāi Surjan who had bought it of Hijjāz Khān, a servant of Salīm Khān (Islām Shāh).*

B. calls the slave or servant Sangrām. (II. 31, l. 7; Tr. 25). Abul Faẓl speaks of him as Jajhār Khān (A. N. II. 87=Tr. 133), and Niẓāmu-d-dīn as Ḥājji Khān. (260 *infra*).

V. 178, *l.* **17.** *Khwāja Muqīm Harawi.....was raised to the office of diwān of the household [of Bābur].*

Here Niẓāmu-d-dīn Aḥmad's father is said to have been "Diwān-i-Buyūtāt" under Bābur. Dowson renders the phrase as above. Mr. Beveridge translates "Mīr-i-Buyūtāt" as 'Barrack-master' at A. N. Tr. I. 496, but at page 638 of the same volume, his rendering of the identical expression is 'Officer in charge of buildings', while it is 'Master of Works' and 'Director of Buildings' in his Translation of the T. J. (I. 22, 45 and II. 61). Mr. Irvine, whose opinion on all such questions is worthy of respect states that the "*Buyūtāti* belonged to the *Khān Sāmān's* or Lord Steward's Department, had charge of the Crown buildings and Government town lands (*Nazūl*),....., kept the Lord Steward's account, took possession of confiscated property and escheats and was collector of the *Jizya* or poll-tax." (J. R. A. S. 1910, p. 950).

V. 179, *l.* **7 from foot.** *He [Niẓāmu-d-dīn] accomplished 1200 miles by forced marches. The Waki'āt-i-Mushtāki says that the party completed the distance of 600 Kos in twelves days, i. e. at the rate of 100 miles a day.*

The *Kos* meant is not the *pucca kos* of two miles, but the short one of 1¼ miles. Niẓāmu-d-dīn's march was from Aḥmadābād to Lāhore. The distance between these two places by the not very direct Rājputāna Railway route is about 850 miles. Dehli is about 550 miles by rail from Aḥmadābād and Lāhore is about 300 miles from Dehli. An average of seventy miles a day for picked camels would not be very extraordinary. Lāhore is in Lat. 31°-33′ N., Long. 74°-16′ E. Aḥmadābād in Lat. 23°5′ N., Long. 72°-35′ E., which is a map distance of about 630 miles only and a road distance of about 840.

V. 180, *l.* **19.** *['Ābid Khān] went before Jahāngīr only in two sheets, one wrapped round his waist and the other round his head, as if prepared for burial, accompanied by several Tākiya Mughals.*

"Tākiyā Mughals" has no meaning, and the reading is founded on a misconstruction of the author's words. The statement is really derived from the *Maāṣiru-l-Umarā*, but what is said there is this: او ترک روزگار گفته باجمعی از مغلها طاقیه وکفنی پوشیده بدرگاه جهانگیری آمد (I. 663, l. 3 f.f.).

"He withdrew from worldly affairs and presented himself at the Court of Jahāngīr, with a body of Mughals, wearing only a cap [طاقیه] on the head and with a shroud [wrapped round the body, instead of a turban and the customary garments]." The *Ṭāqia* was a skull-cap worn under or in stead of the turban and the purpose of donning this extraordinary garb was to proclaim his state of utter despair and determination to die rather than submit to such injustice or indignity. This appears to have been a not uncommon practice and we are told elsewhere in the *Maāṣir* and by 'Ābid Khan's father Niẓamu-d-dīn Aḥmad also, that during the Bengal discontents in 989 H., the followers of Bābā Khān Qāqshāl shaved off the hair of their heads, put on 'high [Mughal] caps' طاقیه مغولی and roamed about the city of Gaur. (M. U. I. 392, l. 8; Ṭ. A. 354, l. 7=415 *infra* and *note*; B. II. 280, last line; Tr. Lowe,. II. 288); *vide* also my note on Vol. III. 285, l. 16).

V. 180, *l.* 4 from foot. *Muhammad Sharīf [the son-in-law of 'Ābid Khān] was afterwards appointed* hājīb (*chamberlain*) *of Haidarābād.*

'Hājib' has many meanings and it is used here not for a 'Chamberlain', but for a confidential agent, envoy, diplomatic representative or minister resident at the Court of a feudatory or independent prince. The 'strong fortress' of which Muḥammad Sharīf was appointed governor was that of Anki-Tanki. (M. U. I. 664, l. 5).

V. 186, *l.* 18. *The breadth of Hindustān from Kashmīr to the hills of Barūjh (Broach) .... is 800 Kos Ilāhi ....; the breadth from the hills of Kamāun to the borders of the Dekhin amounts to 1000 Ilāhi Kos. Its length from Hindu Koh to .... Orissa, from west to east, is 1680 kos ..... At the present time, ... Hindustān contains 3200 towns, and upon each town there are dependent 200, 500, 1000 or 1500 villages. The whole yields a revenue of 640 Krors ..... Murādi tankas.*

Here 'breadth' is used for what we call 'length' and *vice versa*, The figures are themselves gratuitous conjectures and of little or no scientific value. The *Ilāhi Kos* of 5000 *gaz* of 41 fingers each has been reckoned at about 2½ miles. (Elliot, Races, II. 177-8, 194; Yule, Hob. Job. *s. v*). 800 *Ilāhi Kos* would be therefore equal to, at least, 2000 miles, 1000 *Ilāhi kos* to 2500 miles and 1680 *legal kos* to, at least, 2100 miles. The exaggeration here is obvious, when it is remembered that the total length of India (*from Peshāwar to Cape Comorin*) is only 1900 miles and the maximum breadth about 1500 miles.

The number of villages is also absurdly over-estimated. Each town is said to have had 100, 500, 1000 or 1500 villages dependent upon it. Even if we take the second of these figures as the mean and leave out the dropsical number 1500, (as it does not occur on some manuscripts), the average total for Akbar's Empire would be 1,600,000. This is incredible, as the

aggregate number of villages in the whole of the Indian sub-continent is only about 730,000. It should be also remembered that only a very small part of Southern India was included in Akbar's Empire.

For the meaning of *Murādi tanga*, see my article in Num. Supp. No. XXVII to the J. A. S. B. (1917), pp. 80-97.

V. 187, *l* **11 from foot.** *Several of the nobles took part with Mahdi Khwāja.*

همگنان بسلام مهدی خواجه رفتند (193, l. 9 f.f.). "They all went to the *Salām i. e.* the levee or Court of Mahdi Khwāja [with the object of paying their homage to him]." Abul Faẓl says that Mīr Khalīfa forbade the Khwāja to appear at the Darbār and also prohibited every one from visiting him. (A. N. I. 117=Tr. I. 277). Mahdi Khwāja was not, as Dowson says, the son-in-law of Bābur, but his brother-in-law, the husband of his eldest sister, Khānzāda Begam. The word داماد is used ambiguously for both these relationships. (See A.N. Tr. I. Additional Notes, p. xii and II. 163 Note).

V. 187, last line. *The Mahdi was considered to be a man of suspicious temperament.*

بشایبه جنون منسوب بود (193, l. 4 f. f.) which means that a suspicion of insanity attached to him. People suspected him of not being quite in his right mind.

V. 188, *l.* **5.** '*O Tājīk, the red tongue uses its sharp point to no purpose.*'

زبان سرخ سر سبز میدهد بباد (193, l. 2 f. f.). "The red tongue gives the green head to the winds." A foolish speech or indiscreet wagging of the tongue results in the ruin of the green-horn who is guilty of it. This proverbial expression occurs also in the T. J. (Text, 326, l. 20; Tr. II. 287). It is an allusion to the fate of the parrot in the *Ṭūṭīnāma* of Nakshabi, a collection of Oriental tales and apologues, founded on the Sanskrit *Shuka Saptati*, 'The Seventy Tales of a Parrot'. Mahdi Khwāja warned Niẓāmu-d-dīn's father that if he blabbed or repeated what he had heard by chance, his head would not stand on his shoulders.

V. 192, *l.* 4. *The imperfectly armed Gujarātīs, through fear of the arrows, dared not venture far from the camp.*

گجراتیان کوتاه سلاح (196, l. 11). The Gujarātis were not *imperfectly* armed. They were armed with swords and daggers, which cannot do any execution from a distance and are of use only in a close combat or hand to hand fight. They were not expert archers or matchlockmen like the Mughals. The Persian کوتاه سلاح correspond, says Mr. Irvine, "to the French '*armes blanche*', which include swords, shields, battle-axes, spears and daggers." (Army of the Indian Mughals, 79). He cites the saying, 'The sword is better than the dagger, the spear better than the sword, and the bow and arrow better than the spear.' (*Ibid*, 90).

"Sūngar" (l. 5 f.f.) is correctly "Songaḍh," 'Golden Fort'. (*Mirāt-i-Sikandari*, 279, l. 9; Faẓlulla's Tr. 191).

V. 193, *l.* **13.** *A person came forward in a friendly way and gave information* [*of the intended nocturnal attack*].

شخصی برسم داد خواهان بر سر راه آمده (197, l. 3). 'A person took his station on the road [along which the Emperor was passing], like one *suing for justice*'. The writer is alluding to داد خواهی or استغاثه, the custom of 'Crying Dohāi' or proclaiming one's grievance publicly and vociferously demanding its redress—'Complaint by Outcry,'—as it is called by the old English travellers in India. (Hobson Jobson, *s. v.* Doai). It is stated by a panegyrist of Sikandar Lody that "if any one who had been oppressed demanded justice when he was out riding, he immediately demanded who the petitioner was, on which the officials in attendance would take him by the hand and do their best to give him satisfaction." (*Tārīkh-i-Dāūdi* in E. D. IV. 448). 'Abbās Khān also states that when Shīr Shāh was besieging Rāīsīn, "the widows of the chief men of Chanderi waited for him on the roadside, and cried out for justice" against Puran Mal, who had "slain their husbands and enslaved their daughters", threatening to "accuse him hereafter on the Day of Resurrection, if he did not redress their wrongs". (*Tārīkh-i-Shīr Shāhi*, *Ibid.* 401-2).

Abul Faẓl's account is that the person who sought redress, was an old woman whose son had been taken prisoner and she gave the information in the hope of obtaining his release (A. N. I. 136=Tr. I. 309) and Gulbadan also calls her عورتی 'a woman'. (H. N. 39=Tr. 132).

V. 194, *l.* 7 from foot. [*Humāyūn*] *repaired with 600 men to this place* [*Chāmpāner*].

The text has سیصد (197, l. 8 f.f.) *i. e. three* hundred and it is correct. (A. N. I. 137=Tr. I. 312). B. cites a contemporary chronogram which shows that the exact date of the capture of Chāmpāner was 9th Ṣafar 942 H. The curious thing about this 'Tārīkh' is that the words نه شهر صفر بود indicate not only the year, as in other chronograms, (50+5+300+5+200+90+80+201+2+6+4=942), but the day and month also. (Text, I. 347).

V. 197, *l.* 13. *Ghazanfar who was one of his* ['*Askari's*] *companions and foster-brother of Kāsim Khān.*

According to the text (198, l. 2 f.f.), he was the foster-brother of the Mirzā ('Askari), himself and the real brother of Mahdi Qāsim Khān, which is correct. See also B. II. 125, l.=129; *Āīn*, Tr. I. 320 *note*. Abu-l-Faẓl says Ghaẓanfar was a servant of Mirzā Yādgār Nāṣir and deserted with 300 horse to Bahādur. (A. N. I. 143, Tr. 320). Dowson renders the words which Ghaẓanfar uttered *sotto voce*, as "So thou art, but not for thyself". But in the Text, they are given as هستی اما خویش نیستی, which really mean: "So thou mayst be, but thou art not thyself", *i. e.* Thou art not in thy senses, thou art drunk.

V. 198, *l.* 19. *Mirzā 'Askari . . . made a show of fighting.*

حرکت الذبوحی کردند (199, l. 3). "Mirzā Askari struggled like an animal which is being slaughtered, made some desperate and unavailing efforts or convulsive movements like those of an animal under the knife of the butcher". The phrase is used in this sense in the *Maāṣir-i-'Ālamgīri* (Text, 268, l. 2 f.f.; 299, l. 3 f. f.). Mr. Irvine says it is used for a feeble and

purposeless attack or defence which is not carried home. (A. I. M. 239).

V. 198, *l.* 25. *But before Mirzā 'Askari retreated from Ahmadābād, the newswriters and reporters had communicated to the Emperor [information about 'Askari's hostile designs].*

The words in the text are سخن سازان و واقع طلبان (199, l, 16).

A سخن ساز according to Richardson, is "a person who makes his words suit his purpose, a deceiver, cheat or knave." The author means that they were backbiters and calumniators. واقع طلبان are not 'reporters', but persons who are waiting or watching for an opportunity of making mischief, strife-mongers, seekers of occasions for creating dissensions, adventurers who find their cue in fishing in troubled waters. The word for 'reporter' is واقع نویس. Niẓāmu-d-dīn writes as a partisan of 'Askari. His father had been 'Askari's Vazīr.

V. 199, *l.* 5. *It is said that Kalān Beg had built for himself a Chinese house of great elegance.*

چینی خانه با زینت تمام ساخته بود (199, l. 6 f. f.). Dowson suggests that this 'Chinese house' was so called because it was built of enamelled tiles. (VIII. xxvii). But it was, more probably, a fine collection of old porcelain vases, jars, etc. The taste for collecting these works of art is of very long standing in the East. Baihaqi says that دویست عدد چینی فغفوری "two hundred vessels of Old Chinese and Faghfūri porcelain" were among the presents sent by Sultān Mas'ūd of Ghazna to the Khalīf. (Text, 516, last line). Barbosa says of the wealthy Moor merchants of Reynel, [Rānder near Sūrat], that in their "well-kept and well-furnished" houses, they have many shelves, all round the front room, which are "filled with fair and rich porcelain of new styles". (Tr. Dames. I. 147-8). Jahāngīr also frequently uses چینی خطائی for Chinaware or Chinese porcelain. (T. J. Text. 100, l. 3 f.f.; 158, l. 17; 187, l. 7 f. f.). We are told in the *Maāṣir-i-'Ālamgīri* also that in 1088 H., Muḥsin Khān was appointed 'Dārogha' or Curator of the *Chīni Khāna, i. e.* of the Imperial Collection of China which successive Great Mughals had assiduously brought together.

V. 199, *l.* 14. *When Sultān Bahādur was defeated, he sent away Muhammad Zamān Mīrzā to Hind, in order that there might be no difficulty about him.*

But what the text says is که رفته خلل اندازد (199, last line), "that having gone there (to Hindustān), he might throw affairs into confusion or create disturbances". And this must be the real meaning, as we are told immediately below, that he actually did so and attempted to seize Lāhor in Kāmrān's absence (cf. also B. I. 348; Tr. 456). Dowson seems to have read اندارد instead of اندازد. Abu-l-Faẓl says that Muḥammad Zamān "went to Lāhor to stir up a commotion there." (A. N. I. 132=Tr. 303).

V. 199, *l.* 7 from foot. *The Emperor [Humāyūn] marched against him [Shīr Khān] on the 14th Safar 942 H.*

The year is wrongly stated. It was 944 H. (F. I. 216, l. 20). The siege of Chunār began very soon after Humāyūn's arrival there on the

14th Sh'abān 944. (See note on Vol. V, l. 139 *ante*). Humāyūn took *Champāner* on 9th Ṣafar 942 H. (See note on V. 194, l. 7 *ante*).

V. 201, *l.* 6 from foot. *The Emperor [Humāyūn].....changed the name of the city of Gaur to Jannatābād.*

All the Tīmūrian chroniclers make this statement and Prof. Qānūngo repeats it (Sher Shāh, 178), but it does not appear to be correct, as the name, Jannatābād appears on the coins of Sultān Ghīyāṣu-d-dīn 'Aẓam Shāh of Bengal, who ruled from 792 to 799 H. (1389-1396 A. C.). (H. N. Wright, I. M. C. II. p. 156; Thomas, C. P. K. D. 153). But it may be said that neither Humāyūn, who ordered Gaur to be called Jannatābād, nor any of his historians knew or could have known anything about the coins of 'Aẓam Shāh or the new name which he had given to his capital. Firishta states that Humāyūn altered the name ناخوش بواسطهٔ تجنیس, because 'Gaur' means 'grave' and had unpleasant or ill-omened associations with death and burial. (I. 217, l. 7). But this explanation is not found anywhere else and seems to be a gloss or conjecture of his own. The real explanation is that he liked the climate so much that he gave himself up to pleasure and dissipation and thought it was a 'paradise'. (Jauhar, Tr. p. 13; A. N. I. 753=Tr. 335).

V. 201, last line. *He [Hindāl] killed Shaikh Bahlol, one of the great Shaikhs of the time and learned in theology.*

که از مشایخ وقت بود و در علم دعوت اسماء اعظم امتیاز داشت (Text, 200, last line). "Who was one of the great Shaikhs of his time and distinguished for his knowledge of [the thaumaturgical science which is founded on] the invocation of the [mysterious] Names of the Supreme Being."

Herklots says of this art that it enables one to command the presence of genie and demons, to cast out evil spirits, to cause the death of an enemy, to obtain victory in battle etc. He devotes to its exposition four chapters, which fill fifty-three pages in the translation of the 'Qanoon-i-Islam,' Second Edition, 201-253; Ed. Crooke, 218-273. See also B. (I. 338, 392), who uses the same phrase, which Ranking renders as 'Invocation of the mighty names'. (Tr. 445, 459 Notes and 504). Mirzā Ḥaidar observes that this 'Shaikh Pūl', as he calls him, taught Humāyūn to look upon incantations and sorcery as the surest means of attaining his objects. He deplores the fact that Humāyūn who had a passion for magic and conjuration had become his disciple. (*Tārīkh-i-Rashīdi.* Tr. 399). Abu-l-Faẓl also states that the Shaikh was held in reverence by Humāyūn, only because the latter was inclined towards magic. (A. N. II. 89; Tr. 135).

The name of the Shaikh is written as 'Phūl' also, but B. (I. 350; Tr. I. 459) and Abu-l-Faẓl (A. N. I. 154-5=Tr. I. 337-8) call him 'Buhlūl.' Erskine speaks of him as 'Bhūl' or 'Buhlūl'. (H. B. H., II. 162). He was the elder brother of Shaikh Muḥammad Ghauṣ and claimed to be a descendant of Shaikh Farīdu-d-dīn 'Aṭṭār. His tomb is at Bayāna. (Beale, Oriental Biographical Dictionary, Ed. 1894, p. 265). The date given for the event, 943 H. on l. 3 f. f., is wrong. It should be 945.

V. 205, *l.* **20.** *I was in hopes he had perished, but he has got off.*

This is not a translation, but a loose paraphrase. What Shīr Shāh said was ارادهٔ ما مات بود اما برد شد (202, l. 5 f.f.). "Our object was Checkmate, but it has turned out to be only a stalemate." It is stated in the *Ghiyāṣu-l-lughāt* that when a player at chess loses all his pieces except the King, it is called برد or half a checkmate.

V. 205, footnote 3. *His [Mirzā Haidar's] advice was that the princes should occupy and fortify the hills between Sirhind and Sārang, while he subdued Kashmīr (Akbar Nāma, I, p. 205).*

Abu-l-Faẓl's 'Sārang' is the name of a person, not of a place. Mirzā Ḥaidar Dughlāt himself explains that 'Sīrang' was "one of the *Sultāns* of the slopes of the hills (کوه پایه) of Hind" (T. R. Tr. 483), and the editor rightly suggests that the reference is to Sultān Sārang Gakkhar. (*Ib.* 479-80 *Note*). See also A. N. (Tr. I. 357 Note) and 278 *infra*. Sultān Sārang Gakkhar is mentioned by Niẓāmu-d-dīn. (279 *infra*). He and Ni'amatulla say that Sārang was flayed alive by Shīr Shāh. (114 *ante*). The *Tārīkh-i-Dāūdi* (E. D. IV. 493) ascribes that act of barbarity to Islām Shāh.

V. 206, *l.* **5 from foot.** *Mirzā 'Askari then crossed the Sind and went to the town of Pātar.*

"Pāt" or "Pātar" was the most productive *Maḥāl* in *Sarkār* Siwistān (Sehwān) in the days of Akbar. (*Āīn*, Tr. II. 340). It is said here to have been 50 *kos* from Luhari (Rohri). It is now called 'Old Pāt' or 'Pāt-i-Kuhna' and is a ruined village in the Kākar *pargana* of Lārkhana district, (Haig. I.D.C. 91), about forty miles north of Sehwān, and ten *kos*, that is, fifteen or twenty miles, west of the Indus. (*Humāyūn Nāma*, Tr. 149 Note).

V. 207, *l.* **19.** *The Emperor now forbade him [Hindāl] to go to Kandahār and directed him to return to Luhari.*

و آن حضرت مرزا هندال را از رفتن قندهار منع فرموده دیگر بار بقصبه لهری رفتند (203, l. 3 f. f.). "And His Majesty [Humāyūn] having forbidden Mirza Hindāl to go to Qandahār, himself went for the second time to the town of Luhari." Abu-l-Faẓl tells us that some time after the marriage, "the territory of Bhakkar (*i. e.* Rohri) was the place of residence" of the Emperor and Ḥamīda Bānū Begam. (I. 174=Tr. I. 364). It was Humāyūn himself who returned to Luhri, not his brother.

V. 211, footnote. *Removing from thence....., he proceeded by Dīwarāwal and Wāsilpur.....thence to Pahlūdi.....and afterwards made three more marches to the tank of Jūki.*

"Dīwarāwal" is the 'Derāwāl', "Wāsilpur" the 'Bīrsilpur' and "Pahlūdi" the 'Phalodi' of Constable's Atlas, Pl. 26, 27. They are all mentioned also in the *Āīn*, (Tr. II. 278, 277, 276). 'Derāwal' is wrongly written there as 'Dewādar'. The 'Tank of Jūki' is called کول جوگی in the A. N. text. It means 'pool, pond or lake of the Jogi' and is now known as

'Jogi Talāo'.

V. 214, *l.* 19. *The Emperor under spiritual guidance,.....gave to the child the name of Jalālu-d-dīn Muhammad Akbar.*

Niẓāmu-d-dīn is referring to a dream of Humāyūn's, in which he is said to have been commanded by the Shaikh Aḥmad-i-Jām Zhanda Pīl or a Voice from the Spiritual World to give the prince about to be born the name of Jalālu-d-dīn. He refers to the matter again at p. 408 *infra*, *q. v.* Note. The story is told by Humāyūn's sister, the Princess Gulbadan also. (*Humāyūn Nāma*, Text 45; Tr. 145). According to her, Humāyūn saw this vision or dreamt the dream at Lāhor and after the defeat at Qanauj. (*Ibid*, 58; Tr. 158). Abu-l-Faẓl also tells the tale and gives the precise date of the vision as 4th Rab'i I. 947 H. (A. N. I. 13; Tr. I. 42). 'Ārif Qandahāri, another contemporary writer, whose work has not been published, also tells the story and gives the same date. (A. N. Tr. I. Errata and Addenda, p. iii). The battle near Qanauj took place on 10th Muḥarram 947 H. and Humāyūn and his brothers and *amīrs* met in council at Lāhor on the 1st of Rab'ī I. (A. N. I. 168=Tr. 356). Shaikh Aḥmad-i-Jām was the ancestor of Akbar's mother, Ḥamīdā Bānū.

V. 215, *l.* 9. *The perfidious Mirzā 'Askari.....sent forward Hawali Uzbek to watch his movements.*

The name of this man is written in a multiplicity of ways, 'Jawānī,' 'Jūi', Jīwi', 'Chūpi', 'Jūki' etc. He is called *Jai* Bahādur here in the A. N. (I. 190=Tr. 391). Mr. Beveridge thinks it may be '*Chūli*' (or Choli) Bahādur," because Abu-l-Faẓl states that Humāyūn afterwards ordered the honorary title of 'Chūli' to be subjoined to the names of all those who had been in attendance upon him in his wanderings through the 'Chol' چول or desert. (A. N. Tr. I. 414 Note). A 'Naẓr Shaikh Cholī' is mentioned at 240, 241 *infra*. The name of Shaikh Yūsuf Chūli also occurs in Abu-l-Faẓl's list of Humāyūn's fellow-sufferers in his perilous journey to Persia. (A. N. I. 223; Tr. I. 450). B. says that the messenger was an Uzbek named 'Chūli Bahādur' (I. 442, Tr. I. 568), though 'Jūki' is given as a variant in the B. I. text. But Jauhar says that when Humāyūn asked him what his name was, he said it was '*Jūy* Bahādur Uzbeq.' (Tr. Stewart). The 'Chūli' theory or explanation seems to be thus invalidated, as 'Jay', 'Jūy' or 'Jūwi' is stated to have been his original name and not a sobriquet subsequently acquired or conferred. 'Jai' does appear to have been a name and a 'Jai' Tawāchi Bāshi is mentioned in the A. N. (III. 30=Tr. 42, 307=Tr. 453 and 458 Note).

V. 217, *l.* 19. *Aḥmad Sultān advised His Majesty to proceed to Irāk by way of Tabas Kīlaki.*

For 'Ṭabas-*G*īlaki', see my note on Vol. II. 193, l. 14. It lay on the road from Sīstān to Qazvīn which was, in Humāyūn's time, the capital of Persia. (A. N. Tr. I. 416 *Note*). 'Pulāk-i-Sūrlīq' (218, l. 18), to which Shāh Ṭahmāsp had removed his camp, must be '*Bailāq*' (camping-ground) or '*Yailāq*' (summer-quarters) of Sūrliq. 'Sūrliq' must have been near the

modern Sulṭāniya, as Abu-l-Faẓl states that Ṭahmāsp proceeded towards Sulṭāniya and Sūrlīq with the intention of going into summer-quarters there. (A. N. I. 215=Tr. I. 436). F. speaks of it as ييلاق قيدار نبي between Abhar and Sulṭāniya (I. 237, l. 15) and in Stewart's Translation of Jauhar, it is called 'the fountain of Savuk Belak'. (1st Ed. p. 62). B. has سو رتق or سو ريق (I. 444, Tr. I. 569 and note).

V. 220, *l.* **3.** *Mirzā Kāmrān sent Mahd 'Ali Khānzāda-i-begam to Kandahār.*

مهد علیا خانزاده بیگمرا . . . . . بقندهار فرستاد (210, l. 9 f.f.). *Mahd 'Aliā*, 'Exalted Cradle, Couch or Litter,' is a title of respect prefixed to the names of Princesses and Royal ladies. Abu-l-Faẓl speaks of Ḥamīda Bānū—Akbar's mother—as Ḥaẓrat or *Mahd 'Aliā*. (A. N. I. 19=Tr. I. 57). A sister of Sultān Maḥmūd Ghaznavi is frequently mentioned in Persian literature as the 'Mahd-i-Chigal.' The sister of Sultān Sinjar the Seljūq who was the mother of Bahrām Shāh Ghaznavi was similarly entitled *Mahd-i-'Irāq*. (Ṭ. N. Text, 23, l. 6=E. D. II. 279). Mu'atamad Khān speaks of the Empress Nūr Jahān as 'Mahd 'Aliā Nūr Jahān, Bādishāh Begam'. (*Iqbāl Nāma*, Text, 57, l. 1). Salīma Sultān Begam is also styled '*Mahd 'Aliā*' in the Ṭ. A. (246, l. 3 f. f.). Khānzāda Begam [not 'Khānzāda-*i*-begam'] was the elder sister of Bābur and the aunt of Humāyūn.

V. 221, *l.* **8.** *Sūfi Wali Sultān Kadāmū.*

قد الو in the lithograph (211, l. 9), but the correct form of the sobriquet seems to be 'Rūmlū'. Abu-l-Faẓl speaks of him as 'Sūfi Wali Sultān, descendant of the Sūfis, Khalifa of the *Rūmlū*' (I. 219=Tr. I. 442), and elsewhere as Wali Khalifa-i-*Shāmlū*. (II. 78-79=Tr. II. 119-120). F. calls him Ṣūfi Wali Sultān *Shāmlū*. (I. 237, 21). 'Rūmlū' signifies 'of, coming from or belonging to Rūm', *i. e.* Asiatic Turkey or Anatolia. Similarly, 'Shāmlū' means 'belonging to Shām' or Syria. These tribes are said to have been brought and settled in Persia by Tīmūr and were among the eight who called Shāh *Ism'aīl* to power. So also 'Taklū', 'Istajlū', 'Āq-qūinlū,' 'Qarā-qūinlū' etc.

V. 222, *l.* **1 from foot.** *The victory was accomplished on the 10th of Ramazān 953 H.....Some place the event in the year 952, but God knows the truth.*

The weight of authority is decidedly in favour of 952. Abu-l-Faẓl gives Wednesday, 12th Ramaẓān 952 H. (A. N. I. 244; Tr. I. 480). Gulbadan, *who was in Kābul at the time*, explicitly states that Humāyūn entered the Bālā Ḥiṣār of Kābul, when five hours had passed of the night of 12th Ramaẓān 952. (H. N. 75; Tr. 177). The *Tārīkh-i-Ibrāhīmi*, another contemporary chronicle, gives 11th Ramaẓān, 952. (E. D. IV. 217). Bāyazid Biyāt (J.A.S.B. LXVII, (1898), p. 299), F. (I. 238, l. 3) and B. (I. 449; Tr. 579), have 10th Ramaẓān 952 H. The 10th or 11th appears to have been the date of Kāmrān's flight and virtual surrender of the fortress. But Humāyūn who was a confirmed believer and supposed proficient in Horary Astrology would not enter the citadel and take possession until

the arrival of the auspicious moment, which is recorded precisely by his half-sister.

12th Ramaẓān 952 H.=17th November 1545 was a Tuesday, but as the Muḥammadan night began at sunset, the week-day is given correctly by Abu-l-Faẓl. Firishta and B. give the contemporary chronogram for the event thus: بیجنگ گرفت ملکِ کابل ازوی, which yields 952. The numismatic evidence settles the question in favour of 952 H. *Shāhrukhis* struck by Humāyūn in Kābul in 952 and 953 are known. (Whitehead, Punjab Museum Catalogue of Mughal Coins, II. Nos. 53-54).

V. 226, *l.* 5. *But Māham Anka..... ...put herself forward and held him [Prince Akbar] towards the enemy (i. e. the garrison).*

This is putting the wrong sideforemost. وماهم انکه خود را پیش میکرد و بجانب غنیم میداشت "Māham Anaga put *herself* in front and held [kept] *herself* towards the enemy." She did not hold the *child* "toward the enemy, or the garrison, but *herself*". She exposed her own person, not the child's. Jauhar's account is that Akbar was not really exposed at all, but Kāmrān only *threatened* to do so. (Tr. Stewart, Ed. 1832, p. 87). Abu-l-Faẓl's silence in regard to this detail has to be noted, but Budāuni corroborates the Ṭ. A. He states that she (خود را سپر تیر بلا ساخته بود) "made herself [her own body] a shield [for him] against the arrows of calamity". He also quotes a couplet, which purports to say that "Even if the sword of the world leaps from its sheath, It cannot sever a vein without Divine permission." (I. 450, l. 7=I. Tr. 580). Mr. Vincent Smith accepts Niẓāmu-d-dīn's statement and "sees no reason to doubt the fact" (Akbar, 24 *note*), but when he says that Māham "held *Akbar* up towards the garrison", he is misled by Dowson.

Kāmrān did not "make his way out" of the fort 'barefoot,' as is stated on l. 1 f. f. He ran away 'hot-foot' and in a hurry, "putting his best leg foremost". The phrase used is جان بتکِ پای بیرون برد (214, l. 13). He saved his life by stirring his legs. It occurs again on l. 11, p. 211, and is rendered by Dowson himself by 'made their escape in hot haste'. (239).

V. 227, *l.* 2. *Kāmrān then called out in the Turki language, 'I have killed your father, Bābā Kashka.' Hāji Muhammad..... when he heard this, retreated.*

The real meaning is very different. "Have I killed your father that you are thirsting for my blood and pursuing me so relentlessly?" Ḥājji Muḥammad felt the justice of the taunt. Bābā Qashqa was put to death several years afterwards by the orders of Humāyūn.

V. 229, *l.* 16. *Kāmrān begged forgiveness for Mānūs Beg.*

مرزا کامران گناه مانوس بیک را درخواست نمود (215, l. 3 f. f.). The name is written '*Nāmūs*' by Dowson on p. 226 *supra*, and 'Mānūs' by F. (I. 238, l. 7 f.f.). It is 'Bāpūs' in the Memoirs of Bāyazīd Biyāt. (J. A. S. B. 1898, p. 299), 'Bābūs' in the A. N. (I. 230, 236; Tr. I. 461, 468) and 'Bāpūs' in Gulbādan (H. N. 76, 83; Tr. 177, 186) and Erskine (H. B. H. II. 342). 'Bābūs' is most probably right, as it is the name of a place also, which is

shown on the Map attached to Ferrier's Caravan Journeys, and lies about twenty-five miles south of Kābul.

V. 234, *l.* 12. *The date of his [Hindāl's] death is found in the words* 'Shahādatash ba talab shud.'

Niẓāmu-d-dīn is quoting the last line of a quatrain, the whole of which is cited by B. The words are تاریخ شهادتش از شبخون بطلب شد (218, l. 16). "And the date of his martyrdom was searched for [or required from] the word *Shab-Khūn*". That word signifies 'a night attack' and its *abjad* value is 300+2+600+6+50=958. Abu-l-Faẓl gives the identical chronogram. (A. N. I. 314; Tr. 585). So also B. (I. 454, l. 6 and 455, l. 3). The exact date of the night-attack is given as Sunday, 21st Ẕī-l-q'ad 958 H. by Abu-l-Faẓl (A. N. I. 312=Tr. I. 482) and F. (I. 240, l. 5 f. f.).

V. 234, *l.* 8 from foot. *Humāyūn crossed the Indus between Dīnkot and Nilāb (5th Safar 962 A.H.=29th December, 1554).*

The Lithographed Text has nothing corresponding to the date given in the parenthesis here. The statement itself is undoubtedly wrong and must be an interpolation. Kāmrān, whose capture was a subsequent event and is recorded afterwards, was blinded towards the end of 960 H. (A. N. I. 328; Tr. I. 604) and Humāyūn is said to have begun his march from Kābul for the reconquest of Hindustān in Ẕī-l-ḥijja 961=November 1554 A.C. (not 1553 as on l. 1, p. 237 *infra*). (I. 340=Tr. I. 620). The date given, Ṣafar 962 H., is that of a quite different and much later event—the arrival of Humāyūn at the Indus after leaving Kābul for the reconquest of Hindustān. (A. N. I. 341=Tr. I. 622; F. I. 242, l. 4).

V. 235, *l.* 12. *The date of this event [the blinding of Kāmrān] has been anticipated a little.*

تاریخ این واقعه به نیشتر یافته اند (219, l. 5). "They have found the date of this event in the word *Nīshtār* (a lancet)." The *abjad* value of 'Nīshtar' (50+10+300+400+200) is 960, towards the end of which year the event occurred. Dowson's Manuscript must have wrongly read پیشتر *Pīshtar* instead of *Nīshtar*. Cf. Abu-l-Faẓl (A. N. I. 328; Tr. I. 604), who also gives the chronogram as 'Nīshtar' and says that it was found by Khwāja Muḥammad Mūmin Farankhūdi; see also B. (I. 391; Tr. 504). F. gives another hemistich چشم پوشیدز بیداد سپهر as the chronogram, which also yields 960. (I. 241, l. 6). The date of Kāmrān's death is given by Abu-l-Faẓl (I. 331=Tr. I. 608) and F. (I. 241, l. 11), as 11th Ẕī-l-ḥijja 964.

V. 238, *l.* 6 from foot. *The Afghāns, 100,000 in number, were defeated, being inferior in courage.*

لشکر افغانان که قریب صد هزار کس بودند از اندك مردی شکست یافتند (221, l. 6). "The Afghān army which approximately numbered 100,000 persons was defeated by a small number of men." The Mughal force which routed them is stated to have been only about 20,000 strong, and it is again stated on l. 15 f. f. to have been only one-fourth as numerous as that of the enemy. The error is due to Dowson having read an *iẓāfat* after اندك.

It is not *Andak-i-mardi*, but *Andak mardi, i. e.* 'a few men'.

V. 239, *l.* 11 from foot. *Kambar Dīwāna .....had taken and plundered Bayāna.*

There is no reference to 'Bāyāna' in the lithograph. بنیادِ غارت و تاراج نهاد (221, l. 8 f. f.). "He began to plunder and destroy". Sambhal is at a very great distance from Bayāna and the latter place-name has crept in by error. It must be a miswriting of بنیاد. Qambar had revolted in Sambhal and afterwards been besieged in Budāun. 'Bayāna' is in another part of the country altogether. Cf. A. N. (I. 353=Tr. I, 636-7) and F. (I. 243, l. 10), where there is no reference to Bayāna. B. who was personally acquainted with the local history of Budāun gives a much more detailed account of Qambar's revolt, but says nothing about his having plundered Bayāna. (I. 464-5; Tr. 598-600). F. says that Qambar plundered the Central Duāb میانِ دواب را آغاز غارت کرد. (I. 243, l. 10). Bayāna is not in the Duāb.

V. 240, *l.* 8. *Shaikh Jūli was sent to the Punjāb to summon Prince Akbar.*

The right reading is most probably, 'Chūli'. Abu-l-Faẓl calls the man Naẓr Shaikh Chūli (I. 364, Tr. I. 657 and note) and so also B. (I. 466; Tr. 601). For the exact date of the death of Humāyūn, see my Historical Studies in Mughal Numismatics, pp. 264-5. It was 13th Rab'i I, not 15th, as stated here.

V. 240, *l.* 16. *All the wealth of the Hindustān would not have sufficed to maintain his generosity.*

The words in the text are جمع هندوستان وفاکردی (222, l. 5), which really mean 'the estimated or actual revenue accruing to the state from all the territories comprised in Hindustān.'

V. 242, *l.* 7 from foot. *The hostile forces [of Tāj Khān and 'Adali] met near Chhatrāmau, forty Kos from Āgrā and thirty from Kanauj.*

Recte, Chhibramau, which is now in Farrukhābād district and lies about 18 miles south-west of Fatḥgarh and 80 miles east of Āgra. (Th.) Lat. 27°-9′ N., Long. 79°-32′ E. (I. G. X. 204). Constable, 28 A b.

V. 242, *l.* 5 from foot. *He took possession of several local treasuries belonging to 'Adali.*

بعضی اعمالِ خالصهٔ عدلی بدست آورده (240, l. 11). اعمالِ خالصه does not mean 'local treasuries', but 'officials appointed to manage the *Khālisa* or Reserved Lands which were administered, not by *Jāgīrdārs* or *Ijārdārs* (Fief holders or Farmers of the Revenue), but directly by the *Dīwān-i-Wazārat*, the Sovereign's Chief Revenue Minister at headquarters. The passage has been copied by 'Abdulla in the *Tārīkh-i-Dāūdi* and is translated thus at E. D. IV. 506: "On his way thither, he [Tāj Khān] had seized various provincial officers of 'Adali and obtained from them whatever he could, either in money or goods."

V. 244, *l.* 20. *Sikandar Khān, ruler of Bengal, now raised the standard of rebellion.*

The name is wrongly given. The Bengal ruler was known as *Muḥammad* Khān [Gauriya] and the correct designation is given on the very next page, where his defeat and death are recorded. He is called Muḥammad Khān Sūr by Abu-l-Faẓl, who says that he was "nearly connected with Shīr Khān". (I. 339; Tr. I. 618). F. calls him Muḥammad Khān Sūr or Muḥammad Khān Gauriya. (I. 235, ll. 3 and 13). He styles himself Shamsu-d-dīn Muḥammad Shāh on his coins. (I.M.C. II. 180).

V. 245, *l.* **12**. *Hemū fought with Muhammad Khān Gauriya at the village of Chhaparghatta, fifteen Kos from Āgra.*

The *Tārīkh-i-Dāūdi* states it was *eleven Kos*, not from Āgra, but from *Kālpi*. (E. D. IV, 507). B. (I. 432=Tr. 555) and F. (I. 235, l. 13) put it at *fifteen Kos* from Kālpi. This latter statement is undoubtedly the correct one. Thornton says that 'Chuppurghatee' is in Cawnpore district, on the route from Allāhābād to Etāwa, 74 miles south-east of the latter. Lat. 26°-10′ N., Long. 79°-59′ E. Kālpi is in Lat. 26°-7′ N., Long. 79°-48′ E. As Āgra is in Lat. 27°-10′ N., Long. 78°-5′ E., it is clear that Chhaparghatta cannot be only fifteen *Kos* distant from it. Chapparghaṭṭa is mentioned by Finch.

V. 248, *l.* **7 from foot**. *Rājā Rām Chand, Rājā of Nagarkot.*

So also in B. (II. 12=Tr. II. 4), but Abu-l-Faẓl (A. N. II. 20, l. 7; Tr. II. 35), and F. (I. 244, l. 19), have *Dharma Chand*, which is the right name, as it is in accordance with the Dynastic List compiled from local Hindu sources. (Duff, C.I. 306 *apud* Cunningham, Arch. Surv. Rep. Vol. V. 152). A Hindi poetical history of the Rājās of Nagarkot written in the reign and under the patronage of this Rājā and called *Dharma Chand Nāṭaka* after him is extant. See my note on Vol. III. 319, l. 13.

V. 251, *l.* **2 from foot**. *Khwāja Sultān 'Ali and the Mīr Munshi and the Khanjar Beg of Tardi Khān.*

باخنجر بیك خویش نردی بیگ خان (245, l. 2). "With Khanjar Beg, a relative (or son-in-law) of Tardi Beg Khān." (See also B. II. 14=Tr. 7; A.N. II. 32 =Tr. 52). The word خویش must have been absent in Dowson's Manuscript. Khanjar Beg's name is mentioned by Jauhar. He was one of the five men who were ordered to blind Kāmrān. (Stewart's Tr. Ed. 1832, p. 105). The Mīr Munshi's real name was Muḥammad Aṣghar and he was afterwards entitled 'Ashraf Khān'. (A. N. II. 30.=Tr. 48 and note).

V. 252, *l.* **7 and footnote 3**. *Hemū had sent on his artillery which was obtained from Turkey, "Az Mamālik Rūm nishān mī dād" (Faizi Sirhindi).*

Faiẓi Sirhindi's words که از ممالکِ روم نشان میداد do not mean that "the artillery was obtained from Turkey", but that it was "so formidable that it reminded one of Rūm or that it was made in the style or on the model of that of Rūm." No Indian ruler is known to have imported cannon from Rūm. Abu-l-Faẓl merely says of Hemū's park of artillery and heavy guns at Pānipat that it was great both in quality and quantity. (II. 35. Tr. II. 58). Elsewhere, he states that "there was nothing

like it except in Turkey". (II. 42; Tr. II. 69). Niẓāmu-d-dīn ascribes to Rūmi Khān the statement that Bahādur Shāh's artillery was such that بجز قیصر روم دیگر مثل آن توپخانه ندارد "no other potentate save the Emperor of Rūm possessed anything like it." (Text. 196, l. 5=191 *ante*).

V. 254, *l.* **12.** *The Royal forces pursued him* [*Sikandar Sūr*] *to Dīsawa.*

Dowson notes several variants without fixing the locality, but the place intended is almost certainly Desūya, which lies 25 miles north-west of Hoshiārpur town, Punjāb. (I. G. XI. 194). Constable, 25 A b. Raverty contends that the correct form is 'Dosūya' دو سویہ and that it means 'on both sides', but this savours of meaning-making. The name is written 'Desūya' or 'Deswaha' in the *Āīn*, (II. Tr. 316, 110). 'Dihmiri' with which it is associated by B. (II. 18=Tr. 10) and A. F. is the old name of Nūrpūr near Kāngra, which is about forty miles north-east of Desūya. It is now called 'Dhaner'. 'Chamyāri' which is said by B. to have been the site of Khiẓr Khwāja Khān's discomfiture still exists near Ajnala in Amritsar, about 35 miles north-east of Lāhore.

V. 256, *l.* **16.** *Khān Khānān was married to Sultān Begam, daughter of Mirzā Nūru-d-dīn, who was the son of the sister of the late Emperor Humāyūn.*

The actual name of the lady, which was Salīma, has been left out in the translation, though it is given in the Lithograph. (246, l. 4 f. f.). She was the daughter of Humāyūn's sister and was married to Akbar himself after the assassination of Bairam Khān. The statement that her father was the "son of the sister of Humāyūn" is founded on a misconstruction of the text. (246, l. 3 f.f.). Her mother was a sister of Humāyūn. Her father, Mirzā Nūrū-d-dīn was a Naqshbandi Sayyīd of Chaghāniān. (A. N. II. 64=Tr. 97; Gulbadan, H. N. Tr. 176; *Āīn*, Tr. I. 309, 618).

V. 257, *l.* **7.** *Infatuation of Khān Zamān for one of the royal troopers.*

The man had been one of the *Qūrchis* of the *Emperor Humāyūn*, whose after-death title is *Jannat-āshiyāni.* در سلك قورچیان حضرت جنت آشیانی انتظام داشت (247, l. 7). "The *Qūr* was the collective name of the flags and ensigns displayed, along with a supply of spare weapons, at the door of the audience-hall and at the entrance to the Emperor's encampment or carried before him on elephants .....The men who carried these things were called *Qūrchis* and they were under the orders of a responsible officer called the *Qūrbegi*. See *Āīn*, Tr. I. 109-110". (Irvine, A. I. M, 51, 205).

V. 258, *l.* **4.** *His temper now became so arrogant and perverted, that for some days, he would not come out of his house.*

و مزاج او از جادۂ اعتدال منحرف گشت چند روز از خانه بیرون نیامد (241, l. 16). "His constitution (*i.e.* health, physical temperament) having become disordered (*lit.* diverged from the path of equability), he did not come out of his house for some days". He was ill. It was his body which was suffering from some disease, not his mind or his temper. A. F. (II. 86=II. 131)

and B. (II. 20=II. 27) both declare that he was ill. The word عیادت which is used immediately below means "visiting the sick".

V. 258, *l.* **13.** *The Pīr made the excuse that the slave did not know him. Khān Khānān asked him how he knew what the slave thought.*

خانِ خانان گفتند شما ما را چه قدر شناختید که او شناسد (248, l. 7 f. f.). "Khān-i-Khānān said: 'How much (or how little) have you recognised us (or our position)? How then can he (be expected to) do so? How can he be expected to know who I am, what I am, and what I have done for you, when you yourself do not seem to do so?'" Lowe's rendering is, "When Pīr Muḥammad apologized, saying 'Forgive me, my porter did not know you', the Khān-i-Khānān answered, 'Nor you either'." (Tr. II. 20; Text, 27). Pīr Muḥammad's excuse really aggravated his offence and Bairam practically said so. Cf. the proverb بهانه بد تر از گناه است 'The excuse (apology) is worse than the fault'.

V. 259, *l.* **14.** *His Majesty used often to read with him ghazals in mystic language.*

غزلهای لسان الغیب پیشِ میر می خواندند "He [Akbar] used to read the *Ghazals of Ḥāfiẓ* with the Mīr ['Abdul Laṭīf Qazvīnī, his tutor]." B. says that Akbar had "taken some lessons in the *Dīwān* of Ḥāfiẓ from 'Abdu-l-Laṭīf." (III. 98, l. 5 f.f.).

'Lisānu-l-Ghaib" is a laudatory epithet of Ḥāfiẓ. It means "the tongue which uttered [spiritual] mysteries or hidden secrets of the unseen world".

V. 260, *l.* **3 from foot.** *He had reached the town of Sīri.*

The spelling is uncertain. B. has 'Sipri'. (II. 35=Tr. II. 29). The A. N. has a variant 'Seopuri'. (II. 90). 'Sipri' and 'Sheopuri' are towns in Gwālior State. Sipri is 65 miles *south* of Gwālior fort. (Th.). Constable, 27 C c. Sheopuri or Shivpuri is about 75 miles south-west of it.

V. 261, *l.* **4 from foot.** [*Akbar*] *reached the town of Sikandra, half way to Dehli.*

'Half way to Dehli' has nothing corresponding to it in the Lithograph. The place meant is 'Sikandra Rāo', which lies about twenty-three miles S. E. E. of 'Alīgarh town. (Th.). Constable, 27 D b. The distance between Āgra and Dehli is about 134 miles. (*Chihār Gulshan* in I. A. xcviii). Sikandra Rāo is only 45 miles north-east of Āgra.

V. 263, *l.* 4. [*Shihābu-d-dīn Aḥmad was*] *all the while exerting himself to set the attendants of the Emperor against the minister.*

آوازه تغیرِ مزاجِ بندگانِ حضرت از خانِ خانان در انداخت (251, l. 1). "He spread the report of the alienation of the mind (temper) of the Emperor from the Khān-i-Khānān". بندگانِ حضرت does not mean "attendants of the Emperor", but is a courtly phrase for His Majesty himself. (Cf. Lowe, II. 231). Shihābu-d-dīn did not instigate the *attendants* of the Emperor against Bairām. He told people that the Emperor himself was seriously displeased or offended with the minister and had lost all confidence in him. بندگانِ حضرت (Text, 265, l. 10) is again mistranslated at 293 *infra*.

V. 263, *l.* 16. *And the messengers [of Bairam Khān] were sent back.*

The text has a negative and it is correct. The messengers could *not* obtain leave to return مراجعت نیز رخصت نیافتند (251, l. 6). The A. N. says that they were *not* allowed to leave the Court (96, Tr. 196) and so also B. (II. 37; Tr. 31).

V. 264, *l.* 18. *Husain Khān, his Bairam's sister's son and his son-in-law Mahdi Kāsim Khān.*

حسین خان خواهر زاده و داماد مهدی قاسم خان (251, l. 7 f. f.). "Ḥusain Khān who was the sister's son and also the son-in-law of Mahdi Qāsim Khān". This Ḥusain Khān was Budāuni's admired Ḥusain Khān Tukrīya. He was the nephew of Mahdi Qāsim, but neither he nor his uncle was related to Bairam. Ḥusain Quli Beg or Khān, the sister's son of Bairam, was a different individual and he is mentioned separately on the preceding line. (Blochmann, *Āīn*, Tr. I. 372, 329). See also B. (II. 38; Tr. 38-43=Tr. 31 and 85=Tr. 86). Wali Beg Ẕū-l-Qadr, *Ḥusain Quli's* (not Ḥusain Khān *Tukriya's*) father had married Bairam's sister.

V. 264, *l.* 9 from foot. *Abul M'aāli attempted to overtake His Majesty.*

درآن مردم شاه ابو المعالی سواره خواست که حضرت را دریابد (251, l. 2 f. f.). "Among those men, Shāh Abu-l-M'aāli wanted to salute [*lit.* embrace] His Majesty from his own horse's back, *i. e.* without dismounting".

This was a gross breach of Court etiquette, an act of presumption and impertinence which was instantly punished with imprisonment. Abu-l-Faẓl says that "that headstrong and disrespectful one offered the Kornish on horseback." آن بد مست بی ادب سواره آمده کرنش کرد (II. 103, l. 11; Tr. II. 156 note). Bābur says that on one occasion he and his cousin Mirzā Muẓaffar Ḥusain saw each other without dismounting سر سواری در یافته (B. N. Tr. 297). The rule was that when an inferior met a superior out riding, the inferior made his *Kurnish* after dismounting. Abu-l-Faẓl states that Humāyūn, on a certain occasion, conferred upon his brother Hindāl some extraordinary favours and one of them was the privilege of paying his respects on horseback. (A. N. I. 275=Tr. I. 527). He has taken the statement from Jauhar who states that when Hindāl, on seeing Humāyūn afar off, wanted to alight from his horse, the Emperor, as a mark of special condescension, asked him to keep his seat. (Tr. Stewart, 131). It is also said of Shaikh Gadāi Kambu that his ascendancy and arrogance during Bairam Khān's Protectorate reached such a height, that he once dared to bow to Akbar from on horseback and the young Emperor had to put up with the affront. سواره بعرش عاشیانی مصافحه می نمود (M. U. II. 551, l. 2). The same author notes the fact that an Amīr called Faẓlulla Khān was kindly given permission by Aurangzeb to make his 'Mujrā' or 'Kurnish' from the saddle, but this special consideration was shown only because this person was suffering from elephantiasis. (*Ibid.* III. 29, l. 6 f. f.). See also the *Shajratu-l-Atrāk* (Tr. Miles, 250) for another instance.

V. 266, *l.* 9. *When the royal forces reached the town of Dagdār and proceeded to the pargana of Konā.*

'Dagdār' is said to have been in the vicinity of Jālandhar, between the Sutlej and the Biyās (A. N. II. 111; Tr. II. 169; *Āīn*, Tr. I. 317 note and II. 316), but the name is spelt 'Dakha' in a Ms. of the A. N. (Tr. II. 169 note) and it may be 'Dakha' which lies a few miles north of Ludhiāna town, but there is also a variant 'Dārdak'.

The Lithograph reads the second name as کوناور 'Konāwar' (252, l. 8 f. f.), and Faiẓi Sirhindi speaks of it as "Konāchūr, a village in the *pargana* of Rāhūn." Blochmann fixed the reading as 'Gūnāchūr' which lies south-east of Jālandhar'. (*Āīn*. Tr. I. 317 and 619). B. calls the place 'Kanūr Phillaur' (II. 40=Tr. II. 35), which looks like an error for 'Kanjūr Phillaur'. A village called *Gūnāchaur* still exists and its Branch Post Office is registered in the P. O. Guide. It lies a few miles north-east of Phillaur, near Banga. Banga is shown in Constable, 25 A b.

V. 267, *l.* 16. *He reached the neighbourhood of Talwāra, a district in the Siwālik.*

Abu-l-Faẓl says it was a strong place in the hills. (A. N. II. 116=Tr. 178). Elsewhere (II. 166=Tr. II. 261), he speaks of Rājā Ganesh of Talwāra as "the Rājā of Nāndūn [Nādaun] which is in the hill-country between the Bīyas and the Sutlej". In the *Āīn*, Talwāra is placed in the Bāri Duāb, along with Pathān, Dahmīri, Goler, Kotla, Kāngrā, Mau etc. (Tr. II. 318). Nādaun lies 20 miles south-east of Kāngra town and is now in the Hamīrpur *taḥṣīl* of Kāngra district. Lat. 31°-46′ N., Long. 73°-19′ E. (I. G. XVIII. 272). Constable, 25 B b. Talwāra is about 35 miles north-west of Nādaun and 25 miles south-west of Kāngra. It is shown on the Survey of India Map of the Punjāb.

V. 268, *l.* 5 from foot. *He went to the Kolābi (lake), a place within sight of the city and famous for Sahasnak.*

روزی بکولابي که بظاهر پتن واقع است و بسهسیلنگ اشتهار دارد (253, l. 20). It was famous *as* 'Sahaslang', *i. e.* the *Sahasralinga* Tank, the 'Tank with a thousand *Lingas*' [Phalli or symbols of Mahādeva]. It was built by Siddharāja Jaysinha about 1134 A. C. (B. G. I. i. 177, 179). "The excavation made for the reservoir is still pointed out at Puttun, but of the fabric itself nothing remains ..The name was derived from the numerous shrines of Muha Dev encircling it, similar to those which still remain around the Meenul Surovar of Veerumgam." (Rās Mālā, I. 109-110).

V. 268, *l.* 5 from foot. *They call it in the Hindi language 'Narā.' A temple, Rānāmand, like a thousand temples stood there and gave it celebrity.*

There is nothing corresponding either to 'Nara' or to 'Rānāmand' in the lithograph, from which a line appears to have been left out by the copyist. But the corresponding passage in F. (I. 250, l. 3) is evidently transcribed from the T. A. and gives a clue to the solution of the puzzle. وسهس بزبانِ هندي هزار را گویند ولنگ بتخانه را خوانند و چون یك هزار بتخانها در آن کولاب واقع شد باین نام مو سوم گشته. In explanation of the name 'Sahaslang', Niẓāmu-d-dīn must have stated that *Sahas* is the Hindi word for 'thousand',

and an idol-temple is called '*Linga*' and as there were 1000 temples [*Lingas*] in that lake, it came to be known by this name of '*Sahaslang*'. 'Rānāmand' is due to the Persian words رانا ماند having been misconstrued as a proper name.

V. 269, *l.* **4.** *The words, 'Muhammad Bairām' contain the date of his murder.*

The *abjad* value of محمد بیرام would be only 345. The words of the chronogram are given correctly in the Lithograph as *Shahīd Shud Muḥammad Bairam* (253, l. 4 f. f.), which stand for 967. Cf. also B. who cites the *Rubā'i* in which the words of the *Tārīkh* are incorporated. (II. 45=Tr. 41).

V. 269, last line. *The marriage of Muhammad Bāki Khan was celebrated with a lady whose family connections have been explained in another place.*

کدخدائی محمد باقی خان پسر ماهم انکه که کیفیت قرب آن مخدره در اوراق سابق بتحریر پیوست (254, l. 8). What Niẓāmu-d-dīn really says is that Muḥammad Bāqi Khān was married [to the daughter of Bāqi Khān Baqlāni] and that Muḥammad Bāqi was "the son of Māham Anaga—the chaste lady whose intimate relations with the Emperor have been described [*lit.* committed to writing] in the foregoing pages." Abu-l-Faẓl mentions the marriage of Adham Khān—another son of Māham—to Bāqi Khān Baqlāni's daughter in the chronicle of the 4th year of the reign. (A. N. II. 85=Tr. 129). The marriage of Muḥammad Bāqi—Adham's elder brother—to another daughter of the same person is recorded by him in the annals of the 5th year. (A. N. II. 132=Tr. 204-5). The "lady whose family connections have been explained in another place" was Muḥammad Bāqi's *mother*—not his wife. The mistake must be due to some fault in the Manuscript used.

V. 274, *l.* **11.** *He performed the distance, one hundred and twenty Kos, in a day and night.*

The words in the text درشبان روز (256, l. 13) are most probably an error for دوشبان روز, *i. e. two* days and nights. The actual distance between Ajmer and Āgra is about 228 miles. (See A. N. Tr. II. 510 note). Abu-l-Faẓl states that this journey was completed in *less than three days* and he records the exact date of arrival at Āgra as Friday, 8th Jumādi II, 969 A. H. (A. N. II. 158=Tr. 244). F. says the distance was traversed in *three* شبانروز nights and days.

V. 278, *l.* **10.** *When they came to the pargana of Sarūt in the Duāb.*

Dowson says this must be 'Saror' in Qanauj (see his Note in Vol. VIII, Geographical Index, p. xli), but this cannot be right. The objective of the fugitives was Kābūl, as Mun'im's son Ghani Khān was governor there and they are said to have "gone over the Jumna and destroyed the bridge by which they crossed". The place meant must be *Sarwart, Sarwat* or *Sarot*, the old name of Muẓaffarnagar. The village of 'Sarwat' still exists, about a mile north-east of the present town of Muẓaffarnagar, which was founded in 1623 by Khān-i-Jahān Muẓaffar Khān. (Elliot, Races, II. 130; I. G. XVIII. 93). The crossing of the Jumna and the destruction of

the bridge are mentioned in the *Tārīkh-i-Alfi* also. (A. N. Tr. II. 279 *Note*).

V. 279, *l.* 21. [*Kamāl Khān received*] *a grant of the parganas of Haswa, Fatḥpūr and Karra-Manikpūr.*

The lithograph has "the *parganas* of Haswa, Fatḥpūr etc. *belonging to the Sarkār of* Karra-Mānikpur". (258, l. 4 f.f.). Haswa lies on the route from Allahābād to Fatḥpur, seven miles south-east of the latter. Lat. 25°-51′ N., Long. 80°-53′ E. 'Fatḥpūr-Hanswa' is registered as a *Maḥāl* in the *Sarkār* of Karra, *Ṣūba* Ilhābād in the *Āīn*. (Tr. II. 168). Fatḥpūr and Haswa are now two distinct *parganas* in Fatḥpur *Taḥṣīl*. (I. G. XII. 83). As there was a Fatḥpūr-*Bihīya* in Balliā district and another Haswa also, in Bihār, 44 miles north-east of Sherghāti, this place was called Fatḥpur-*Haswa* to distinguish it from them. Abu-l-Faẓl says that Kamāl Khān was given fiefs *in* the *Sarkār* of Lakhnau and the *parganas* of Hanswa and Fatḥpur. (A. N. II. 192; Tr. 297).

V. 279, *l.* 23. *Sher Khān, the son of Salīm Khān, attacked 'Ali Quli Khān.*

Sic in the lithograph also (258, l. 5 f.f.), but it is an error. This Sher Khān was the son of Sultān Muḥammad 'Ādil. Cf. what Niẓāmu-d-dīn himself says at p. 272 *ante*. See also A. N. II. 138=Tr. 215; B. II. 48=Tr. 44. Salīm Khān's only son Firūz was murdered by 'Adali.

V. 281, *l.* 1. *Tūlak Khān then went to the village of Māmā Khātūn.*

Māmā Khātūn is the name of a place on the road from Kābul to Istālīf. (B. N. Tr. 405 note; Masson's Journeys in Balūchistan, Afghanistan and the Punjab, III. 145).

V. 282, *l.* 13. *And* [*Mun'im Khān*] *defeated and scattered her forces at the first attack.*

What really happened was just the reverse. It was Mun'im whose forces were routed and scattered and who was obliged to decamp from Kābul and return to the court at Āgra. (Text, 259, l. 9). B. says that "Mun'im Khān on the first attack met with a repulse" (Text, II. 57, Lowe, II. 55) and Abu-l-Faẓl states that "defeat fell upon him and he himself would have been taken captive, if the enemy had not been engaged with the spoil". (A. N. II. 188=Tr. 292).

V. 282, *l.* 4 from foot. *Khwāja 'Abdūlla, who was a distinguished man among the Khwājas.*

خواجه عبد الله که بخواجگان خواجه اشتهار دارد (259, l. 6 f.f.). "Khwāja 'Abdulla who is generally [or better] known as *Khwājagān-Khwāja* (Khwāja of the Khwājas)". 'Khwājagān-Khwāja' was his familiar designation or title, just as his father, whose real name was Nāṣiru-d-dīn 'Ubaidulla, was generally called 'Khwāja Aḥrār'. (A. N. II. 21=Tr. 37; 127=Tr. 195; 194=Tr. 301; Blochmann, *Āīn*, Tr. I. 539).

V. 283, *l.* 5. *Hazrat Husain Kuli Beg, son Wali Beg Zū-l-Kadar..... having been admitted to the order of nobility, received a grant.*

حضرت حسین قلی بیک ولد ولی بیک ذوالقدر قرابتِ بیرم خان را که بواسطهٔ خدمات

پسندیده در زمرهٔ امرا انتظام یافته و بخطاب خانی سرفراز گشته جاگیر مرزا شرف الدین باو عنایت فرمودند (259, l. 2 f. f.). "Haẓrat, *i. e.* His Majesty, granted *to* Ḥusain Quli Beg, son of Wali Beg Ẕū-l-qadr, the relative (قرابت) of Bairam Khān, who, on account of approved service, had been admitted to the order of nobility and made a Khān, the *jāgīrs* of Sharafu-d-dīn Ḥusain." Ḥusain Quli Beg was the son of Bairam's sister. (A. N. II. 196=Tr. 304; Blochmann, *Āīn*, I, 329). '*Ḥaẓrat* Ḥusain Quli Beg' is an absurdity.

V. 284, *l.* 15. *The brother of Abu-l-M'aāli, who was.....also called Shāh Lūndan.*

Recte, 'Shāh-i-Lawandān', which means 'Prince of libertines, rakes, debauchees, lewd men.' Richardson says 'Lawand' means 'a libertine who is afraid of neither God nor man'. Lowe calls him 'King of libertines'. (259, l. 2 f.f.; II. 56). His brother, Abul M'aāli also, was a profligate wretch and an unprincipled adventurer, who murdered his benefactress and mother-in-law.

V. 285, *l.* 2. *He had a slave by name Koka Fūlad.....who at all times secretly did everything in his power to injure the Emperor.*

It was at Sharafu-d-dīn's instigation that the slave did so. کوکا فولاد نام غلامی خود را برین داشت که گاه بیگاه در کمین بوده بهروجه که تواند بحضرت آسیبی رساند (261, l. 3). "He [Sharafu-d-dīn] instigated a slave of his own named Koka Fūlād, to lie in wait (lit. ambush) in season and out of season, and do everything in his power to hurt the Emperor." Abu-l-Faẓl calls him قتلق Qutluq Fulād, the slave of Sharafu-d-dīn's father. (A. N. II. 202=Tr. 314). His real name was probably Qutluq, and he may have been called 'Koka' because his mother had been the Mirzā's nurse.

V. 285, *l.* 11 from foot. [*His Majesty*] *mounted his royal litter.*

Dowson says in the footnote that "the word in the original is سکاسن and that it must be meant for the Hindi 'Singhāsan', Throne." This is not correct. سکاسن is really '*Sukhāsan*', which is very different from '*Singhāsan*' and it is defined by Abu-l-Faẓl as 'a litter, the boat of dry land'. (A. N. II. 202=Tr. 315). Elsewhere, the same authority says of the people of Bengal, that "they employ for land travel, the *Sukhāsan*. This is a crescent-shaped litter, covered with camlet or scarlet cloth and the like.....It is conveniently adapted for sitting or lying at full length or sleeping during travel." (*Āīn*, Tr. II. 122). *Sukhāsan* is one of the Hindi words used by Amīr Khusrav in the '*Ashīqa*.' When Dewal Rānī was captured somewhere near Deogīri, he writes:

نشاند اندر سکهاسن آن پریرا — چون گردون در ز ازو مشتري را (Text, 142, last couplet).

Elsewhere, Abu-l-Faẓl states that when Mun'im Khān was wounded in the battle of Tukaroi, he was carried for some days in a *Sukhāsan, i. e.* litter. (A. N. III. 130; Tr. III. 185 and Note). Briefly, the *Singhāsan* was a throne, the *Sukhāsan* was a 'pālkee.'

V. 286, *l.* **9 from foot.** *Mirzā Muhammad Hakīm sent a person to Mirzā Sulaimān.*

مرزا محمد حکیم تیرکش خود نزد مرزا سلیمان فرستاده. According to the lithograph, what he sent was not one of his men [کس], but his تیرکش or quiver. (262, l. 2). He did so because it was not possible for him to write a letter. The quiver was a symbol of authority, just like a ring, seal or signet. The historian Sikandar *bin* Manjhū tells us that when Mandū was sacked by Humāyūn, he delivered to Bakhshū, the favourite musician of Bahādur Shāh of Gujarāt, his own quiver, in order that the singer might secure immunity of life and property, not only for himself, but for all his friends and connections. (*Mirāt-i-Sikandari*, Text, 281, l. 1; Tr. Bayley, 389. See also Whiteway, Rise of the Portuguese Power in India, 279 note). Budāuni states that when the great officials in the Provinces met together to hear the orders of Islām Shāh Sūr read out in public, a pair of shoes and a *Quiver* which Islām Shāh had given to the Sardār was placed on the throne to symbolise the presence of the Sultān. (I. 385; Tr. 497). Similarly, Akbar gave an arrow from his own quiver to Ḥusain Khān Tukriya, as a token of authority or Royal Warrant. (B. II. 185, l. 3=Tr. 188; A. N. III, 110= Tr. 154). Mir M'aṣūm also declares that when Shāh Beg Arghūn's army sacked Ṭhaṭṭa in 927 H., the massacre was stopped only by the intercession of Qāẓi Qāẓan, the most learned man of the time. As several members of the Qāẓi's family also had been taken prisoners, Shāh Beg gave one of his own arrows to the Qāẓi to be shown to the rapacious Mughals as his voucher and authority. (Tr. Malet, 80; Kalīch Beg's History of Sind. II. 65). An earlier parallel will be found in an anecdote about the Sāsānian Emperor Bahrām Gaur and the Shepherd's dog in the *Siyāsatnāma*. (Ch. IV. Bombay Lith. Part i. 30, l. 11).

V. 288, *l.* **3.** *Ghāẓi Khān Sūr, formerly one of the nobles of 'Adali... took flight and went to the country of Panna.*

In B. (II. 66=Tr. 65) and the A. N. (II. 182=Tr. 281), the *Nisba* is given as 'Tanūri' تنوری. Mr. Beveridge explains it as *Tanwari*, 'strong-bodied.' (A. N. Tr. II. 148 and 229 Notes). I venture to suggest that it is "Tonwar" or "Tonwari." He was a *Tonwar* Rājput converted to Islam or the descendant of one and was proud of his lineage. Such persons deliberately affixed the designation of their tribe to distinguish themselves from the converts drawn from the inferior Hindu castes and to indicate that they were nobly born.

The author of the *Maāṣiru-l-Umarā* also calls him Ghāzi Khān *Tanwar* (تنور) and says that he fled to Rāmchand, Rājā of Bhata, who, when defeated, took refuge in Bāndhu. (II. 135). The name of the country to which Ghāzi Khān fled is wrongly written by Niẓāmu-d-dīn as well as by Abu-l-Faẓl, though the name of the Rājā is rightly given as Rāmchand. B. has هتیه 'Hatya' (II. 66=Tr. 65), but the right reading is 'Bhata', as in the *Maāṣir* (*vide* my note on Vol. IV. 462). Mr. Beveridge is in error when he says that 'Panna *is another name for* Bhata'. The two places are

quite distinct. Panna is in Bundelkhand. Bhaṭa or Bhaṭghora is the old name of Bāghelkhand, now Rewā. Ghāzi Khān had fled to this country of Bhaṭa, the Rājā of which Rāmchand was called upon to seize and send him to Court. (A. N. II, 148=Tr. II. 229). This Rāmchand was Rāmchand Bāghela, the ruler of Bhaṭa.

Many other Musalman converts of Rājput descent took care to append the designation of their original clan to their personal name, *e. g.* Ḥasan Khān Bachgoti (B. II. 25=Tr. 18; Ṭ. A. in E. D. V. 582), Sulaimān Khān Panwār (A. N. III. 136=Tr. 192), Tāj Khān Panwār (A. N. III. 140=Tr. 193, 198). Shīr Khān *Tūnwar* (*Maāṣiru-l-Umarā*, I. 120, 163), whose original name was Nāhar Khān, was governor of Gujarāt, and died in the fourth year of Shāh Jahān's reign. Ghāzi Khān *Sūr*, the father of Ibrāhīm Sūr [the brother-in-law of 'Adali), had been put to death some years before in 962 H., by Ḥaidar Muḥammad Chaghatāi, who sent his head to Humāyūn. (B. I. 463=Tr. 597; A. N. I. 354=Tr. 638).

V. 289, *l.* 13. [*Akbar*] *halted at Rawar.*

The lithograph reads نرور Narwar (263, l. 4), which is also the reading in the A. N. (II. 222) as well as in B. (II. 67; Tr. 66) and is no doubt correct.

V. 290, *l.* 6. *The imperial forces pursued him as far as the country of 'Ali on the borders of Gujarāt.*

This 'country of 'Ali' comprised two small Hindu chiefships, called 'Ali Mohan and 'Ali Rājpur. 'Ali Mohan is now better known as Chhotā Udaipur. The chiefs are Chauhāns—descendants of Rāwal Patāi, who took refuge in the hills after the sack of Chāmpāner by the Gujarāt Sultān, Maḥmūd Begaḍa. Mohan is a hill fort which occupies a most advantageous position for commanding the passes. Chhotā Udaipur is shown in Constable, 27 A d. 'Ali Rājpur is 44 miles south of Dāhod or Dohad. They are both in the Rewā Kāṇṭhā Political Agency now. (I. G. V. 223; X. 331. See also *Āīn*, Tr. II. 251). On l. 15, *Ẓī-l-ḥijja* 791 H. is a misprint for *971* H.

V. 291, *l.* 11 from foot. *He* [*Akbar*] *often rode out to Kākrāni.*

None of the four variants mentioned in Dowson's footnote gives the right name, which is *Kakrāli*. The village of Kakrāli still exists within the boundaries of Qabūlpur, seven miles south of Āgra. (Fanthome's art. on 'A Forgotten City' in J. A. S. B. 1904, p. 276).

The village of 'Nagarchain' was in existence and known as such, even in the reign of Shāh Jahān, as it is stated that when the Tāj Maḥal was completed, thirty villages belonging to the Ḥaveli of Akbarābād [Āgra] and the *pargana* of 'Nagarchain', with an annual revenue of one lakh of rupees, were granted as an endowment for its maintenance. (*Bādshāhnāma*, II. 330, l. 4; M. U. I. 160, l. 15).

V. 293, *l.* 11. *Upon reaching the river Mārān, Mirzā Sulaimān learnt.*

'Bārān' in the Lith. (264, l. 12) and also in the A. N. (II. 238; Tr. 360). The Āb-i-Bārān is another name of the better-known Kābul river.

V. 293, *l.* 6 from foot. *On reaching Jalālābad, they* [*the Imperial com-*

manders] *sent Mirzā Kasān into the place to summon Kambar.*

مرزا کسانرا نزد قنبر ..... فرستاد (264, l. 8 from foot). 'Mirzā Kasān' is an imaginary entity. The real meaning is that the "Mirzā [Muḥammad Ḥakīm] sent *some persons* [کسان] to Qanbar". Their names are not given here, but Abu-l-Faẓl states that they were Sāqi Tarnabi and 'Ārif Beg. (II. 240; Tr. II. 362). The word کسان is used in the sense of 'persons' repeatedly on p. 274, ll. 18, 22, 24, 25 of the Text and Dowson's rendering there is 'messengers'. (311 *infra*).

V. 296, *l.* **5.** *Ibrāhīm Khān is a much greater man than I.*

ابراهیم خان بس از ما کلان است (266, l. 1). "Ibrāhīm Khān is much older [in years] than ourselves." He is said to have been "like an uncle to them" at 302 *infra*. According to Abu-l-Faẓl, Iskandar Khān said that Ibrāhīm Khān was their *'Aq Siqāl'*, lit. 'Grey-beard', *i. e.* the senior member of their family. (A. N. II. 249; Tr, 376: *Ibid.* 260=Tr. 388). B. says that Ibrāhīm Khān "was senior to the others." (II. 75, l. 3=Tr. 76).

V. 296, *l.* **9.** *They went to the town of Sarāwar, which was in the jāgīr of Ibrāhīm Khān.*

B. has 'Sarharpur' (II, 75, l. 4=Tr. 76) and so also the A.N. (II. 249=Tr. 376). 'Sarharpur' was a *Maḥāl* in *Sarkār* Jaunpur, *Ṣūba* Ilhābād. (*Āīn*, Tr. II. 164). It is 'Sarharpur' in Lat. 26°-16′ N., Long. 82°-26′ E. *q. v.* Vost, J.R.A.S. 1905, p. 135 Note. It lies in Faiẓābād district on the route from 'Aẓamgarh to Sulṭānpur, 46 miles west of the former and 32 south of the latter. B. puts it at 18 *Kos'* distance from Jaunpur. (II. 23, l. 9.=Tr. 16). See also A. N. Tr. II. 127 Note. It cannot be 'Sarwār' which is a vague geographical expression for the country on the other side of the Sarjū. Sarwār is, in fact, a short form of Sarjupār.

V. 296, *l.* **2 from foot.** *They were obliged to..... shut themselves up in the fort of Namīkhā.*

'Nim Kahar' in B. (II. 75, l. 9; Tr. 76), and 'Nimkha' in the A. N. (II. 250; Tr. II. 377). Nimkhār is now in Sitāpur district, Oude. Constable, 28 P b. See my note on V. p. 5, l. 12, *ante*.

V. 299, *l.* **8.** *He* [*Akbar*] *sent Husain Khān Khazānchi and Mahāpātar who was an accomplished master of Hindi music.*

B. calls him 'Mahāpātra Bādfarosh', *i.e. Bhāṭ* and states that he had been a favoured courtier of Shīr Shāh and Islām Shāh, and was an unrivalled Hindi poet and musician. (II. 76, l. 5 f. f.=Tr. 77). Abu-l-Faẓl bears similar testimony to his gifts. (A. N. II. 254; Tr. 381). Modern research enables us to say that his real name was Narhari Sahāi, not Mahāpātar. He was a native of Asni in the Fatḥpur district of Allahābād. Akbar is said to have given him the village of Asni in *Jāgīr* and the title of *Mahāpātar*, saying that other poets were 'guṇ kā pātra', 'vessels of virtue', but that he was a 'Mahā pātra', 'a *great* vessel of virtue'. ([Sir G.] Grierson, The Modern Vernacular Literature of Hindustan in J. A. S. B. 1888, Special Number, 38-39. See also Blochmann, *Āīn*, Tr. 611 Note). But this tale

and the derivation of *Mahāpātar* seems doubtful. Mr. Crooke (Tribes and Castes, II. 22) states that *Mahāpātra* is the designation of one of the seven endogamous sub-castes among the *Bhāṭs*, the others being Bhāradwaja, Brahma, Jāga, Dasaundhi, Gajbhīm, and Keliya. As B. also explicitly declares that he was a *Bhāṭ*, it would appear that that 'Mahāpātra' was not a *title* especially bestowed upon him by Akbar, but the by-name or sobriquet by which he was generally known at the Court. Akbar was an inveterate punster and inordinately fond of such conceits and the saying attributed to him may be a *jeu de mots* on the designation of the sub-caste to which Narhari Sahāi belonged.

V. 300, *l.* **1.** *Āṣaf Khān intended to proceed to Garha-Katanka.*

Garha town lies on the right bank of the Narmadā, about four miles south of Jabalpur. Lat. 23°-7′ N., Long. 79°-58′ E. Katanka is "Katang*i*", 22 miles north-west of Jabalpur. Lat. 23°-27′ N., Long. 79°-50′ E. It is now a station on the G.I.P. Railway. European writers speak of this kingdom as that of Garha-Māṇḍla.

The sobriquet of Fatḥ Khān which has been read on l. 18 as 'Tibati' تبتی is really بتنی 'Batani' as in the Lith. (268, l. 15).

V. 301, *l.* **17.** *'Ali Quli Khān sent his brother to the country of Sarwār.*

Dowson's proposed identification of 'Sarwār' with 'Sarharpur' is more than questionable, as 'Sarwār' is called a *Wilāyat*, or 'country, province or district' and Sarharpur is only a town. On p. 303, l. 1 *infra*, 'Sarwār' is again denominated a *Sarkār* or large territorial division. 'Sarwār' is really 'Sarjūpār', the tract beyond the river Sarjū. The river itself—the Sarjū or Sarū—is called 'Sarwar' at p. 307 *infra*, Text, 271, l. 2 f. f. Sarwār included the modern district of Gorakhpur. (E. D. I. 56 note).

Narhan (l. 4 f. f.) may be the place of that name in Kharīd, Ballia district, on the north side of the Sarū. (B. N. Tr. 674, 676, 677). It cannot be Narhan in Sāran, forty miles W. N. W. of Chupra. (Th.). But there is a Narhi, twenty-nine miles north-east of Ghāzipur and about two miles from the left bank of the Ganges (Thornton).

V. 302, *l.* **15.** *It was determined that Khān Zamān should send his mother, 'Ali Khān and Ibrāhīm Khān his uncle to court.*

The names are muddled in the translation. که خان خانان وخواجه جهان والدهٔ علی قلی خان و ابراهیم خان که بمنزله عم او بود بدر گاه پرده در خواستِ تقسیرات او نمایند (269, l. 15). "That the Khān Khānān [Mun'im Khān] and Khwāja Jahān [the officials who had been sent by the Emperor to secure Khān Zamān's submission] should take the mother of 'Ali Quli Khān [*i. e.* of Khān Zamān himself] and Ibrāhim Khān who stood to him in the position of an uncle, to Court and solicit the forgiveness of his offences." Cf. B. II. 79, l. 14 =Tr. 81; A. N. II. 260; Tr. 388.

V. 303, footnote. *Todar Mal.....was a native of Lāhor.*

This statement is now known to be wrong, though the error is found in many otherwise well-informed writers. Todar Mal was a Khatri and was born, not at Lāhor, but at *Lāharpur* in Sitāpur district, Oude. (Pro-

ceedings, A.S.B. 1871, p. 138; *Ibid*, 1872, p. 35. [Sir George] Grierson, *loc. cit* 34; Blochmann in *Āīn*, Tr. I. 620). There is still near Lāharpur, a village called Rājāpur, because it was founded by *Rājā* Todar Mal and a tank built by him there is also extant. Lāharpur lies seventeen miles north-east of Sitāpur town. Lat. 27°-42′ N., Long. 80°-55′ E. (I. G. XVI. 95).

V. 306, *l.* 8 from foot. *Orders were given for Ashraf Khān, Mīr Bakhshi to go to Jaunpur.*

Recte, Mīr *Munshi*, as in the Lith. (271, l. 8 f. f. See also 251, 272 *ante* and 330 *post*; B. II. 83, l. 7=Tr. 84).

Muḥammadābād (l. 18) is Mau-Muḥammādābād in 'Aẓamgarh. Constable, Pl. 28 C c. Niẓāmābād is also in 'Aẓamgarh district, eight miles west of 'Aẓamgarh town and 32 miles east of Jaunpur. Lat. 26°-5′ N., 83°-5′ E. (N. W. P. Gazetteer, XIII. 177-8).

The name 'Karāk Khān Turkomān' (last line) should be read as *Qazzāq* Khān, قزاق خان as in B. (II. 161, l. 2 f. f.=Tr. 165). Abu-l-Faẓl speaks of his son as J'afar Khān Taklū. (A. N. I. 207=Tr. I. 422; II. 265=Tr. 395). Qazzāq Khān was the son of Muḥammad Khān Taklū who had entertained Humāyūn in Herāt. (A. N. I. 207=Tr. I. 422; *Āīn*, Tr. I. 426, 508).

V. 308, *l.* 10 and footnote. *He sent Mirzā Mūbārak Rizwi to court.*

The Lith. has *Mīrak* (272, l. 12) and so also B. (II. 84, l. 6; Tr. 85). He was one of the Raẓawi Sayyids, *i. e.* a descendent of the Imām Raẓā. He was subsequently ennobled with the title of 'Raẓawi Khān', (*Ibid*. Tr. 250, 275, 289), not 'Mubārak Khān', as is stated in the footnote. Abu-l-Faẓl also gives his name as 'Mīrak Riẓvi'. (A. N. II. 268=Tr. 398).

V. 310, *l.* 4 from foot. *He himself went with Khwāja Hasan Naqshbandi and the army into the valley of Ghorband.*

با تفاق خواجه حسن نقشبندی بشکردره و غوربند برفت (274, l. 13). "He went along with Khwāja Ḥasan Naqshbandi to *Shakardarra* and Ghorband." Abu-l-Faẓl says that "he went off to Shakardarra and Ghorband." (A. N. II. 273=Tr. 407). Dowson seems to have read بلشکر instead of بشکر and tacked the latter part of the name (دره) to Ghorband. 'Shakardarra' is a well-known place north of Kābul. Istālif and Shakardarra are both in the *Tumān* of Dāmān-i-Koh (Skirt of the Mountains). (Raverty, N. A. 67; Wood, Journey, 112). Shakardarra is shown in the I. G. Atlas, 47 E 3.

V. 312, *l.* 8. *In the Pass of Sanjad-darra they overtook* [*the Mirzā's men*].

سنجد 'Sinjid' means 'red jujube', *Zizyphus jujuba*. The valley or Darra of Sinjid lies on the route from Kābul to Istālīf near Khwāja Sihyārān. (B. N. Tr. 196, 406). Qarābāgh, which is mentioned on l. 11, p. 311, lies about twenty-five miles north of Kābul near Istālīf. (A. N. Tr. I. 491 note; B. N. Tr. 196). It is shown in the I. G. Atlas, 47 E 3.

V. 313, *l.* 8. *Upon coming into the neighbourhood of the city, he* [*Mirzā Muḥammad Hakīm*] *began to plunder.*

The Lithograph has بهرا *Bhīra*, for which Dowson has wrongly read

شهر 'city'. But 'Bhīra' must be right, as it is specifically mentioned in the same connection in Dowson's own translation at 314 *infra*. The A.N. also reads 'Bhīra' (II. 296, Tr. 410) and so too B. (II. 90, l. 5 f. f.; Tr. 92).

V. 316, *l.* 10. *Pargana of Aazampur in Sambal.*

This is Thornton's 'Azumpoor' in Bījnor district, 28 miles east of Mīrat. Lat. 29°-0′ N., Long. 78°-14′ E. Sambhal is in Lat. 28°-35′ N., Long. 78°-39′ E.

V. 318, *l.* 16. *Many of them* [*the Hindu pilgrims*] *threw themselves into the water* [*of the Tank at Thānesar*].

What the author really says is that "they [the pilgrims] give gold, silver, jewels and cloths to the Brahmans and some throw *them* [*their gifts*] into the water". از طلا و نقره و جواهر و پارچه بیرهمنان میدهند و بعضی در آن آب می اندازند (279, l. 2). B. also states that the "Hindu people.....give away both publicly and privately gold and silver and jewels.....and linen and valuable goods..... and *secretly cast gold coins into the water*." (II. 93, l. 7; Tr. 95). Tieffenthaler mentions the Hindu belief that if gold is thrown into the tank or pool at Thānesar, it increases in weight. He drily remarks that it must be a fable, because no one who has thrown it has ever recovered it.

V. 319, *l.* 13. *Khān Zamān was besieging Shergarh, four kos distant from Kanauj.*

The destruction of the old city of Qanauj and the foundation, by Sher Shāh, of a new one, about four *Kos* further off from the Ganges, on the spot where he had gained the victory over Humāyūn, is mentioned by 'Abbās. (E. D. IV. 41*n*). Coins struck by Islām Shāh and Muḥammad 'Adali at Shergarh-Qanauj (or Shāhgarh-Qanauj) are extant. (H. N. Wright, C. M. S. D. pp. 345-50; 386-389).

V. 320, *l.* 14 and footnote 2. *Āsaf Khān and all the Ātkas were on the right.* (*The word* Atka *is taken from Badāuni.....The word used in the Mss. of the Ṭabakāt is doubtful*). (*Footnote*).

The doubtful word referred to by Dowson is written یکہا in the Lithograph. (280, l. 2). It is used synonymously with 'Aḥdi' and must be right, as there is no reference to the Ātkas—the relations of the Ātka Khān—Shamsu-d-dīn Muḥammad, in what follows. There is no mention of the *Ātka Khel*, in the counterpart passage in the A. N. also. (II. 293; Tr. 430). The reading آتکہ in B. (II. 96, l. 2), looks like the desperate conjecture of some copyist who was unable to decipher or understand the word [یکہ ا] in the manuscript lying before him.

V. 321, *l.* 11 from foot. *This battle was fought in the village of Mankarwāl, one of the dependencies of Josi and Payāg.*

So also in B. (II. 98, l. 4=Tr. 100), but 'Sakrāwal' in the A. N. (II. 296; Tr.=434). Cunningham (Arch. Sur. Rep. X, pp. 5-6), identified it with

Mankuwār, a village standing on a ruined site about ten miles south-south-west of Allahābād and Mr. Vincent Smith agrees with him. (Akbar, p. 80 note). But Sir Wolseley Haig opines that they are wrong, because Akbar is not stated to have crossed the Jumna. He thinks that the battle must have been fought in the Duāb itself and fixes the site at a village called Fatḥpur—Parsaki, seven miles south-east of Karra. He admits that there is no resemblance between 'Mankarwāl' or 'Sakrāwal' and 'Parsaki', but he lays stress on the point that the village was ordered to be called Fatḥpur after the contest and 'Parsaki' is the only village in the neighbourhood bearing the name of Fatḥpur. (C. H. I. IV, 96 *note*).

V. 325, *l.* **1.** *Then he proceeded onwards to Mū-maidāna.*

This obscure place lies about eight miles south-east of Gāgrūn and ten miles north-east of Jhālrāpaṭṭan. It is said to have been the first capital of the Khichis. Cunningham thinks that it was called Maū 'of the Maidān or Plain', to distinguish it from other places called Maū, *e. g.* Maū or Mhow which is in Mālwa, Maū-Chhatrapur and Mau-Rānipur which are in Bundelkhand etc. (Arch. Surv. Rep. II. 293-4), but this is not very convincing.

V. 328, *l.* **16.** *His Majesty started for the capital on Tuesday, the 25th of Sh'abān.*

Sic also in the Lith. (284, l. 4 f. f.) and B. (II. 104 last line; Tr. 107). But the date must be wrong. Niẓāmu-d-dīn has just said that the assault was delivered on the night of Tuesday, the 25th of Sh'abān, that Akbar entered the fortress on the following morning and stayed in the camp for three days after returning to it. According to the A. N., the Emperor started on the return journey on *Saturday, the 29th*, four days after the sack (II. 324=Tr. 476), and this must be correct. Lowe also noticed the error in Budāuni, who has copied it from the Ṭ. A., but he could not rectify it. As 29th Sh'abān *Hijābi* 975—28th February 1568 A. C.—*was* a Saturday, Abu-l-Faẓl must be right.

V. 329, *l.* **16.** *The Emperor fired a second time and brought him down.*

It is manifest from what follows that the tiger was *not* 'brought down' by the Emperor. What is really said is آن حضرت در مقام آن بودند که تفنگی دیگر انداخته او را از پا در آرند (285, l. 14). "His Majesty was *preparing* to fire the musket once more, *with a view to bring him down*." Abu-l-Faẓl says that Akbar was "endeavouring to discharge another bullet....but the tiger was on the watch and a fitting opportunity for shooting did not present itself". (II. 328=Tr. 482).

V. 331, footnote 2. *The fort was held by Rustam Khān, a Turki slave, in whose house the sister of Changīz Khān had taken refuge. (Akbar-nāma, Vol. II, p. 418).*

Mr. Beveridge's rendering is just as literal and misleading. (A.N. II. Tr. 486). She was not a fugitive or suppliant who had taken shelter or sanctuary with Rustam Khān, but *his wife*. She was married to him. Niẓāmu-d-dīn himself says elsewhere that the sister of Sultān Muḥammad

Tūghlaq was in the house of Shaikhzāda Bistāmi و خواهر سلطان محمد در خانهٔ او بود (Text, 105, l. 3). The Emperor Jahāngīr tells us that Rājā Mānsinha's aunt, *i. e.* Raja Bhagwāndās's sister and Bhārmal's daughter was in "his father's house", *i. e.* was his father's wife. چنانچه عمهٔ او در خانهٔ پدرم بود (T. J. 7, l. 6; Tr. I. 15). So also Khwāfi Khān states that one of the daughters of Shāh Nawāz Khān Ṣafavī was married to Aurangzeb and another was "in the house of" *i.e.* the wife of Muḥammad Murād Bakhsh. درخانهٔ محمد مراد بخش بود (Text, II. 63, l. 5=E. D. VII. 238). Elsewhere, he states that the sister of the Empress Mumtāz Maḥal "was in the house of Saif Khān", *i. e.* was married to him. (I. 392, l. 2 f.f.).

V. 332, *l.* 13 from foot. *He [Akbar] made a hasty journey to pay a visit to the tomb of* Fāizu-l-anwār *Khwāja M'uinu-d-dīn Chishti.*

متوجه طواف مزار فائض الانوار خواجه معین الدین چشتی گشته (287, l. 8). 'Fāizu-l-anwār' signifies 'abounding in spiritual lights' and qualifies the shrine, not the name of the saint. Richardson says فائض النور means 'luminous'. Elsewhere, Niẓāmu-d-dīn states that Akbar visited the مزار فیض آثار 'the spiritually glorious mausoleum' of his father Humāyūn. (339, l. 11). Abu-l-Faẓl also speaks of the "illustrious shrine of the Khwāja" (A. N. Tr. II. 243, 496) and F. calls it his روضه منوره. (I. 263, l. 5 f.f.).

V. 332, *l.* 10 from foot. *He arrived [at Āgra] on Wednesday, 4th of Zī-l-q'ada 976.*

The date should be the *24th*, as it is in the Lith. 287, l. 10. If the 3rd of Shawwāl was a Wednesday, as Niẓāmu-d-dīn himself states, (l. 14), 4th Ẕī-l-q'ad could not have fallen on the same week-day.

V. 332, *l.* 27. *His Majesty went into [Darbār] Khān's dining hall.*

در مجلس طعام او تشریف بردند (287, l. 12). He really did the dead man the honour of being present at the funeral feast which is given either on the 3rd or the 40th day after death, when "friends and relatives as well as the poor partake of food, after the repetition of prayers", *q. v.* Herklots, Ed. Crooke. 106-7. As Darbār Khān is said to have died sometime before Akbar's return to Āgra, it must have been the 'Chihlum', not the 'Ziārat' or 'Tija', *i. e.* the third day's feast. Darbār Khān was the story-teller [قصه خوان] of Akbar. His father had filled the same office in the court of Shāh Ṭahmāsp.

V. 333, *l.* 1 footnote. *Rājā Rām Chandar had purchased the fort [Kālanjar] from Bijilli Khān.*

Dowson says in the note that Rāmchandar was the Rājā of Panna, but this is demonstrably wrong. He was the Bāghelā Rājā of Bhaṭa or Bhaṭghora, *i. e.* Rewā. Mr. Beveridge again writes "Panna" here (A. N. Tr. II. 499), but it is erroneous. Mr. Vincent Smith has it correctly *here* and speaks of Rāmchand as Rājā of Bhaṭha or Rīwā. (Akbar, 100). On page 447, l. 16 *infra*, Rāmchand is called 'Rājā of Bittiah', which is another perversion of 'Bhaṭa'.

V. 334, *l.* 12. *The date of the birth* [*of Prince Salīm*] *is found in the words* Shāh-i-Al-i-Tīmūr.

The correct chronogram is given in the Lith. 288, l. 11, as *Shāh-i-Āl-i-Tamar* (not *Tīmūr*). 300+1+5+1+30+400+40+200=977. The *abjad* value of شاه ال تيمور would be 993—sixteen too many.

V. 334, *l.* 21. *Pilgrimage on foot to the shrine of Murādu-l-anwar... .....Khwāja M'uīnu-d-dīn Chishtī.*

پیاده بزیارت مزار مورد الا نوار حضرت خواجه تشریف فرمایند (288, l. 17). Here also, the epithet applies to the *shrine* and not to the saint. مورد [*Mawrid*] is "a *place* whence a person comes or through which he passes, hence a *station* or *quarter*." (Richardson). The phrase therefore signifies "station (or starting-point or source) of [Spiritual] Lights [or Illumination]." Cf. 332 *ante*, where the same mausoleum is styled فائض الا نوار 'Overflowing with [Spiritual Lights].' *Murādu l-anwar* has no meaning at all.

V. 338, *l.* 2 from foot. *His* [*Sultān Maḥmūd of Bhakkar's*] *men were obliged to seek refuge in the fort of Mānila.*

A mistake for 'Mātila', *i. e.* Māthelo in Sind, a very old town and fort lying about six miles south-east of Ghotki station on the North-Western Railway. The name is correctly spelt as 'Matila' in the A. N. (II. 362. Tr. 527), and the *Āīn*, (Tr. II. 329). See my note on I. 231, l. 7 f.f. The reading in the Lith. is ماهله (291, l. 6 f.f.), which must be a slip for ماتهله.

The date of Sultān Maḥmūd of Bhakkar's death is given as 983 H., at p. 339, l. 14 *infra*=Text, 292, l. 2, but Niẓāmu-d-dīn himself puts it into the XIXth year of Akbar's reign (Ẕī-l-q'ad 981-Ẕī-l-q'ad 982 H.) at 384 *infra*. (Text, 323, l. 15). 982 H. is given by F. (II. 323 last line), Abu-l-Faẓl (A. N. III. 91=Tr. III, 128) and B. (II. 176, l. 3 f.f.; Tr. 179).

V. 341, *l.* 3. *He dismissed them with his own hand.*

He did not dismiss them "with his own hand"—whatever that may mean. "He gave them *with his own hand* the 'betel of leave' [پانِ رخصت] as is the custom of the people of Hind". The packet of betel was the token of permission to leave the room or outward sign of the termination of the interview and dissolution of the *Darbār*. Abu-l-Faẓl's words are: پانِ رخصت که قاعدهٔ اهلِ هند است بدستِ خود میداد "he was giving *pān* to each and bidding them adieu, in accordance with the Indian custom." (A. N. III. 4; Tr. 7).

V. 341, *l.* 3 from foot. *H. M. resolved to send one of his officers.....to keep the road of Gujarāt open, so that none of the Rānās might be able to inflict any loss.*

راه گجرات را روان دارد که از رانا کیکا بکسی مزاحمت نرسد (293, l. 9 f.f.). "So that no person should be molested by Rānā Kika." Cf. Lowe, B. II. 144. 'Rānā Kikā' is the familiar or contemptuous nickname by which Rāṇā Pratāp of Chitor is mentioned by the Mughal writers. 'Kikā' was the name by which he was called in childhood in his own family circle. An only son is still spoken of as 'Kikā' (or Kukā) and an only daughter as 'Kiki' in Gujarāt households. 'Kikī' literally means 'the pupil of the eye'.

See Kavīrāj Shyāmal Dās's Note in Graf Von Noer, Akbar, I. 245.

V. 342, *l.* 4. *Yār 'Ali Turkomān..... ...came as an ambassador from Sultān Muhammad Mirzā and from Shāh Tahmāsp.*

The ambassador was not sent by Shāh Ṭahmāsp himself, but by the Shāhzāda, Sultān Muḥammad [Khudābanda], who was Governor of Khurāsān on behalf of his father at this time. (A. N. III. 5=Tr.7-8). He was the eldest son of Shāh Ṭahmāsp and had been the nominal governor of Herāt when Humāyūn passed through it in his flight to Persia. (*q. v.* 217 *ante*).

V. 342, *l.* 2 from foot. *'Itimād Khān.....Mīr Abu Tūrāb, Saiyid Ahmad Bukhāri,..... ..... Malik Ashraf and Wajhu-l-Mulk.....came in to wait upon the Emperor.*

The Lith. has the names more correctly and reads 'Ḥāmid' for 'Aḥmad', 'Maliku-sh-Sharq' for 'Malik Ashraf' and 'Wajīhu-l-mulk' 'for Wajhu-l-mulk'. (294, l. 5). Cf. also B. (II. 141, Tr. 145) who gives the names rightly. See also *Ibid* II. 219, l. 13; Lowe. 223. The reading of the second name in the Bibl. Ind. Text of the A. N. (III. 7) is Malik 'Mashriq' and Mr. Beveridge thinks it must be 'Ashraq' (Tr. III. 10 note), but both forms are wrong and this person is correctly called 'Maliku-sh-Sharq'—'Malik of the East'—in the *Mirāt-i-Sikandari* (Text, 377, 398=Tr. Faẓl-ulla, 270, 285) and also in Abu Turāb's *Tārīkh-i-Gujarāt.* (56, l. 6). It seems preferable to rely on the provincial historians, as they were contemporaries who had seen and known the man personally. Ḥājji Dabīr also spells the name as 'Maliku-sh-Sharq' and states that his real name was Muḥammad Jiu Bābū. He describes him as a friend and protege of 'Itimād Khān who afterwards deserted him. (Z. W. 299, 391, 392, 431, 435). He is called 'Malik-us-Sharq' in the *Mirāt-i-Aḥmadi* also. (Pt. i, 116, l. 13; 120, l. 3). Malik-us-Sharq was a title given to nobles by the Sultāns of Mālwā also.

V. 343, *l.* 15. *Saiyid Mahmūd Khān Bārha and Muhammad Bukhāri brought their wives into the royal camp.*

The ladies whom these nobles brought were not their own wives, but those of the Emperor. مخدّرات سرا پردهٔ عفت بپایه سریر اعلي آوردند (299, l. 14). "[They] brought the veiled ones of the pavilion of chastity (the Emperor's harem) to the foot of the exalted throne." Lowe has translated the phrase correctly. (II. 145; Text, II. 141). The embassy which is mentioned on the line following was sent, not to *a* Rānā, but to *the* Rānā, *scil,* of Chitor. 'Aḥmadnagar' (l. 7 f. f.) is not the place of that name in the Dekkan, but Aḥmadnagar or Himmatnagar [as it is now called], which lies 20 miles south of Idar. It is mentioned again at 353 Note and 360 *infra.*

V. 344, *l.* 5 from foot. *Ibrāhīm Husain Mirzā was in the town of Sarnāl on the other side of the river (Mahindri).*

The B. I. text of the A. N. calls it the river of 'Sakāner' or 'Bīkānīr' (III. 13=Tr. 18 and note), but the right reading must be بنکا نیر

*Ban*kāner, *i. e.* Wānkāner. The river is the Mahi or Mahindri. Dowson suggests that 'Sarnāl' must be a mistake for 'Sinnole' [or Sīnor], but Sinor is an entirely different place from Sarnāl. The latter is a village, five miles east of Thāsrā, which lies on the Mahi, about thirty *Kos* south-east of Aḥmadābād. (*Mirāt-i-Aḥmadi*, Text, Pt. II. 130, l. 2 f.f.). Mr. Beveridge says (A. N. III. Tr. 19 note) that Sarnāl is not marked on the maps and seems to have disappeared, but this also is not correct. Sarnāl still exists about five miles east of Thāsrā in Kaira district and twenty-three miles north-east of Nariād. (B. G. I. i. 265). Thāsrā is a station on the Ānand-Godhrā branch of the B. B. and C. I. Railway, twenty-four miles from Ānand. It is shown in Constable, 27 A d. Sīnor is mentioned in the *Āīn* as a *pargana* in the *Sarkār* of Barodā and it is explicitly said there that the Narbadā (nott he Mahi) passes under the *pargana* town. (Tr. II. 255). It is now in the Gāikawāḍ's territory. Sarnāl was in Akbar's *Sarkār* of Aḥmadābād (*Ibid*, II. 253) and is now in British India.

V. 345, *l.* 15. *Some of the enemy whose blood was up made a stand in the street.*

چند از آن گروه خون گرفته (295, l. 2). "Some of that body of men whose hour of doom had struck," 'some of those doomed ones'. They were men who had been caught in the toils of Fate and were doomed to perish.

V. 346, *l.* 8 from foot. *The princes and the ladies of the harem..... were filled with joy enough to last them their lives.*

سرخ چون خبر فتح رسانید از شاهزادها وحضرات سرایردهٔ عفت.....چندان رعایت یافت که تا آخر عمر بی نیاز بود (296, l. 5 f. f.). "When Surkh brought the news of the victory, he got so many gifts or presents from the princes and their Highnesses of the Imperial Harem, that he was enriched (*lit.* was without want) for the rest of his life."

V. 348, *l.* 4 from foot. *There was near at hand in Sūrat a tank called Goli-tālāb.*

Recte, '*Gopi* Talāo,' as in the A. N. (III. 18=Tr. 25). *Gopi* was an Anāvlā Brahman who was the minister of Sultān Maḥmūd Begaḍa and Muẓaffar II. of Gujarāt. He is frequently mentioned in the *Mirāt-i-Sikandari*. (Text, 153, l. 7; 198-200; Tr. Faẓlulla, 96, 131-3; Tr. Bayley, 249, 295-7). The Indo-Portuguese historian De Barros also speaks of him as 'Melique Gupi.' (*Decadas*. II. ii. 9). Alfonso Albuquerque calls him 'Melcupi' (Commentaries, IV. 60 f. f.) and Duarte Barbosa 'Milocoxim.' (Tr. Dames, I. 149). A very interesting contemporary Sanskrit poem written in his honour has been recently discovered at Barodā and published in the Journal of the Barodā Library Association. The Gopi Talāo is now only a hollow used as a garden. It was certainly built by him, but the other local legends about his having founded Sūrat and first called it Sūrajpur appear to be unhistorical. (B. G. II. (Surat), p. 70).

V. 350, note. *The plural is here used, but it would seem that only one gun was taken to Junāgarh.*

The plural seems to be used correctly and emendation is uncalled for. *Two* big guns can be still seen in the Uparkoṭ at Junāgaḍh. Major Watson tells us that near the mosque built by "Sultān Mahmūd Begaḍa in the Uparkot, there is a large cannon left by the Turks at Div and brought to Junāgadh by Malik Eiāz by order of Sultān Bahādur Shāh. It is.....seventeen feet long, seven and a half feet in circumference at the breech and the diameter of the muzzle is nine and a half inches..... *Another large cannon called Chuḍānāl, also from Dīv,* is in the southern portion of the fort. It is thirteen feet long and has a muzzle fourteen inches in diameter." (B. G. VIII, (Kāthiāwār), 488). "An inscription on the first gun gives the name of the maker as Muhammad Hamza, who lived in the reign of Sultān Sulaimān, the son of Salimkhan." (*Ibid*). See also Mr. Beveridge's note to A. N. (III. Tr. 41), where it is said on the authority of a MS. of the *Akbarnāma* in the British Museum, that "*some of the guns* were left in Junāgarh." Budāuni says that *most of the guns* were brought into the fort of Sūrat by Khudāwand Khān and the *remainder* [آنچه ماند] were dragged by the Governor of Jūnāgaṛh into his castle." (II. 146; Tr. II. 150). In his account of the siege of Junāgaḍh by the Khān 'Aẓam in 1000 A. H., Abu-l-Faẓl states that the "garrison" every day fired several times, a hundred guns, some of which shot shells weighing 1½ *mans.*" (A. N. III. 620; Tr. 948-9). Some of these must have been those left behind by the Turks.

V. 353, *l.* **8.** *He* [*'Aẓam Khān*] *sent..... ...some Amīrs to M'amūrābād.*

This place is not easily identified, as no such name is now known. All that B. says of it is that it was on the Mahindri, *i. e.* the Mahi, (II. 333, Tr. 344). But it is stated in the *Mirāt-i-Aḥmadi* (Pt. I. 21, last line) to have been the Musalman *alias* of كهتال. This 'Khatnāl' must be an error for 'Kaṭhlāl', which is now a railway station, seventeen miles north-east of Naḍiāḍ. Elsewhere, the author of the *Mirāt* states that M'amūrābād was twenty *Kos* east of Aḥmadābād and had a fort on the spot where the Wātrak and the Majham unite. (II. 132, l, 10). Naḍiāḍ is 29 miles south-east of Aḥmadābād by the railway. Kaṭhlāl is entered in the Post Office Guide.

V. 353, *l.* **6 from foot.** *At the town of Haibatpur, one of the dependencies of Pattan,.....he* [*Akbar*] *dismissed 'Azam Khān and the other amirs to their jāgīrs.*

'Sītāpur' in the Lith. (300, l. 5 f.f.). See also 369 *infra*, where 'Sītāpur near Kari' is again mentioned. But the A. N. has 'Siddhpur' (III. 33; Tr. 48) and so also the *Mirāt-i-Aḥmadi.* (Pt. I. 127, l. 4). Mr. Beveridge thinks that it is right. Siddhpur is about 12 miles north-east of Pāṭan. Pāṭan or Anhilwāra is 63 miles north of Aḥmadābād (Th.).

V. 353, *l.* **4 from foot.** *Muzaffar Khān (late King of Gujarāt) received the Imperial bounty. The sarkārs of Sārangpur and Ujjain were taken from the Rāni and given to him.*

There is great confusion here. The words in brackets are not in the text (300, l. 4 f.f.) and are an unwarranted and misleading interpolation. The *jāgīr* of two *Krors* and a half *dāms* in the Sarkārs of Ujjain and Sārangpur was not bestowed on the quondam Sultān of Gujarāt, but upon a namesake, *viz.* Muẓaffar 'Ali Turbati (*q. v.* 237, 17), one of Akbar's Vazīrs. Cf. what Niẓāmu-d-dīn himself says at 370 *infra*. Muẓaffar Khān had been, some time before this, appointed governor of Mālwā. (A. N. III. 34=Tr. III. 48=E. D. VI. 42). B. states that Sultān Muẓaffar Gujarāti was given a monthly pension of only thirty rupees. (II. 149; Tr. 153 and 329, l. 6=Tr. 339). There is even worse in what follows. The Sarkārs of Sārangpur and Ujjain were not 'taken from any *Rāni*' before being given to Muẓaffar Khān Turbati. The words of the text are حکومتِ سرکارِ سارنگپور و اجین از بلاد مالوه ارزانی داشتند (300, l. 4 f. f.). "He *bestowed* upon him [Muẓaffar Khān] the government of Sārangpur and Ujjain which belong to Mālwā." ارزانی has been wrongly read as از رانی.

V. 355, *l.* 9 from foot. *A party of Jhīls who are fishermen dwelling about Multān, made an attack upon him.*

The A. N. reads 'Balūchis' (III. 38; Tr. 53), but in the B. I. text of B. they are called جهپل (*Chahpal*) (variant, جهبل *Jhīl*). Lowe speaks of them as "Jhīls, a low class of Multān peasants". (II. 158; Tr. 162). The real name seems to be *Jahbel*, who are said to be "a fishing and hunting tribe of vagrant habits, living on the banks of the Sutlej in Multān district." (I. G. XVIII. 29). Mr. H. A. Rose also writes that the "*Jhabels* are a fishing tribe found in the Multan and Muzaffargarh districts..... They live mainly by fishing and gathering *pabbans* (seeds of the water-lily), say they came from Sindh and of all the tribes of the district, alone speak Sindhi". (Glossary of the Tribes and Castes of the Punjab, II. 380).

V. 857, *l.* 12. *On arriving at the fort of Kutīla, he pitched his camp.*

This 'Kūtila' or *Kotla* is situated on a steep ridge about thirteen miles eastward of Nūrpur and twenty-two miles north-west of Kāngra or Nagarkot. (Dr. Hirānand Shāstri in the Journal of the Punjab Historical Society, (1912), p. 141). 'Kotla' is registered as a *Maḥāl* in the Bāri Duāb *Sarkār*. (*Āīn*, Tr. II. 319). The name of the Rājā of Nagarkot was not 'Badi' Chand as it is given at 356 *supra* or 'Bidai' Chand as it is written in the C. H. I. (IV. 103), but *Vriddhi* Chand. (Duff, C. I. 306 *apud* Arch. Surv. Rep. Vol. V. 152).

V. 358, *l.* 2. *He encamped by a field of maize near Nagarkot.*

قرب بیاغ چوگانِ راجه رامچند که قریب نگرکوت است فرود آمد (303, l. 8). "Near the Chaugān garden of Rājā Rāmchand which is near Nagarkot". Dowson's Manuscript must have read باغِ جو 'garden of barley'. But who plants barley or maize in a garden? The name of the fortress of 'Bhūn' (l. 3) which had an "idol temple Mahāmāi" must be pronounced 'Bhavan', which means a temple dedicated to Shakti, also called Mahāmāya, Vajreshwari, or Devīshankar. (E. D. II. 445 and my note on Vol. IV. 544). The suburb of Kāngra in which the temple is situated is still known as 'Bhavan'.

V. 358, *l.* 2 from foot. *The army was suffering from great hardships and the dogs in the fortress were anxious for peace.*

This is a grotesque perversion of the real meaning. سگان [Sagān] has been read instead of سکان [Sukkān], 'inhabitants, residents,' of the lithograph. (303, l. 4 f. f.).

سکان in this sense of 'inhabitants', 'occupants', 'tenants' is used by F. (II. 307, l. 3 f.f.; 312, l. 15). It is the plural of ساکن (Richardson). It is used in this sense of 'residents' in the *Ẓafarnāma* of Yazdi also. (II. 86, l. 4 f. f.; 123, l. 3 f. f.).

V. 360, *l.* 18. *Hasan Khān Karkarah, the Shikkdār ..... fled to Ahmadābād.*

Recte, 'Karkarāq', which is made up of two vocables. 'Kurk' or 'Kurg' is the fine short wool of the goat nearest the skin. It also means, 'fur.' (Blochmann, *Āīn*, Tr. I. 616). 'Kurk' and 'Barak' are also the names given to "certain soft, warm fabrics which are made of such wool or hair. Both 'Barak' and 'Kurk' realise high prices, but the latter is finer in texture and consequently dearer." (I. G. Art. on Afghānistān, Vol. V. 56). یراق 'Yarāq' signifies 'garments, accoutrements'. *Karkirāq* thus signifies "woollen garments" and then "wardrobe" in general. See also Hawkins. (E. T. I. 109). The sobriquet means that Ḥasan Khān, who is also called *Khazānchi*, had been formerly employed in the Wardrobe department.

V. 362, *l.* 3 from foot. *He [Akbar] took a short rest at Hans Mahāl.*

This place lies on the route from Āgra to Ajmer, a little north of Sāngāner, which is about seven miles south-west of modern Jaipur. (A. N. II. 242 Note). Toḍa, the immediately preceding stage, is Toda *Bhīm*, about 40 miles east of Jaipūr. Constable, 27 C b.

V. 363, *l.* 11. *The night was bright moonlight.*

But what the lithogreph says is تمام شب قمر وار جهان نور دیده اند (306, l. 16). "He [Akbar] travelled all night just like the moon". A similar phrase occurs in the *Ẓafarnāma* of Yazdi, who says that Tīmūr تمام شب ماه کردار از سیر نیاسود (II. 68, l. 3). "All night, he [Tīmūr] took no rest [continued to travel] like the moon." As Akbar left Fatḥpur on Sunday, the 24th of Rab'i II (A. N. III. 44; Tr. 62) and left Ajmer on the night of Tuesday the 27th, *i. e.* towards the end of the last quarter of the moon, there could have been no 'bright' moonlight. For 'Āsaf Khān Koka' (l. 10) read '*Saif* Khān Koka'. The name is correctly given at 366 *infra*.

V. 363, *l.* 6 from foot. [*Muḥammad Khān was directed to join the party at*] *Bālīsāna, five Kos from Pattan.*

This should not be confounded with 'Mehsāna', which lies *eighteen Kos* south-east of Pāṭan. (*Āīn*, Tr. I. 486). 'Balisāna' is said to have been only five *Kos* from that town. It is really 'Bālisna' in the Kaḍi division of the Gāikawāḍ's territories. (I. G. *s. v.*). The Bibl. Ind. Text of the A. N. has the variants "Māliyana" and 'Pālitāna' (III. 47, l. 20), both of which are wrong. Mr. Beveridge is for reading 'Maisāna,' (Tr. III. 66 note), but

he cannot be right, for the reason already stated. The *Mirāt-i-Aḥmadi* also reads 'Bālīsāna', (Pt. I. 130, l. 1).

Muḥammad Quli Khān's *Nisba* should be read as 'Tuqbāi', as in the A. N. III. 54=Tr. 77, not 'Tūghbāni' as on l. 12. 'Tūqbāi' was the name of an Afghān tribe. (Blochmann, Tr. *Ā'in*, I. 403).

V. 365, *l.* 19. *The feeling ran through the royal ranks, that it was unmanly to fall upon an enemy unawares.*

زبان الهام بیان رفت که بر سر بیخبران وغافلان راندن شیوهٔ مردان نیست (308, l. 4).

"It was said by the inspired tongue [of the Emperor] that it was not proper for the brave to attack people who were ignorant and unaware" [of their approach]. It was the chivalrous sentiment or declaration of the Emperor himself, not the "feeling" of his followers. Cf. Text, 317, l. 5, where the phrase زبان الهام بیان is again used and it is said that "things happened exactly as the *inspired tongue* [of Akbar] had uttered".

V. 367, *l.* 4. *His Majesty returned triumphant to his couch, which was placed at the edge of the battlefield.*

آن حضرت بر بالای پشته که برکنار جنگگاه بود نزول اجلال فرمودند (309, l. 6).

"His Majesty alighted triumphantly on the top of a *hillock* which was situated on one side of the battle-field." B. says that Akbar "ascended *a hill* which skirted the field of battle." (Lowe, II. 171). Abu-l-Faẓl states that Akbar took up his position on "a *high ground*, one *Kos* from the river." (A. N. III. 53; Tr. 76). F. also speaks of it as a پشته or mount, which was in the vicinity of the battle-field. (I. 261, l. 12 f. f.). It is absurd to speak of a 'couch' in this connection. The پشته or "hill, upon which the royal standard was planted" is again mentioned a few lines lower down (l. 4 f. f.) on this identical page (Text, 309, l. 16) and again on 368, l. 12 *infra*. Dowson must have read بستر *bistar* for پشته *pushta*.

V. 367, *l.* 14. *Among the prisoners was a man named Mard Azmāi Shāh.*

But this is an impossible name. He is called *Shāh Madad*, the *Majẓūb* in the lithograph (309, l. 10) and in the A. N. also. (III. 59; Tr. 84). He was "the Mirzā's Koka and a partner with him in disloyalty." (*Ibid*).

V. 369, *l.* 5 from foot. *Village of Pūna, three Kos from Sāngāner.*

The right reading is, probably, نیوته as in the A.N. (Text. III. 65, l. Tr. 91). It is mentioned also in Abu-l-Faẓl's account of Akbar's first journey from Āgra to Ajmer, as the next stage after Sāngāner. (A. N. II. 351; Tr. 510). Mr. Beveridge's conjectural identification of it with 'Lūni' or 'Būnli' near Ranthambor is, as a glance at any map will show, inadmissible. Sāngāner is about seven miles south-*west* of Jaipūr. Ranthambor is, at least, 75 miles south-*east* of it. (Th. 835). 'Būli' lies near Ranthambor. Akbar is said to have arrived at Hans Maḥal after leaving 'Newata.' (A.N. III. *Ibid*). Hans Maḥal lies a little north of Sāngāner. (See my Note on V. 362 *ante*.

V. 371, *l.* 22. *He [Akbar] remained till the 20th in the village of Dāīr.*

B. also calls it 'Dāīr' (II. 171, Tr. 174). But the spelling is 'Dābar' in the A.N. (III. 145, l. 2 f. f.) and 'Dāyarmau' in the T. J. (259, l. 4; Tr. II. 64). B. locates it at four *Kos* from Fatḥpur Sikri, with which Jahāngīr's account agrees. Mr. Beveridge votes for Dāīr (A.N. III. Tr. 206 note), but I am informed by a local authority that the correct form is "Dābar". It is now in the State of Bharatpur.

V. 372, *l.* **13.** *Sulaimān Kirāni.....died while the Emperor was engaged in his Sūrat campaign in the year 981.*

The exact date of Sulaimān's death is not found anywhere in the published literature relating to the reign of Akbar, but it is said to be given as 1st Ābān of the XVIIth year or 6th Jumādi II. 980 (about 14th October 1572) in three MSS. of the *Akbarnāma* which are in the India Office and another which is in the British Museum. (Beveridge's note, A. N. III. 5). Niẓāmu-d-dīn states (348-50 *ante*) that the siege of Sūrat began about 18th Ramaẓān 980 (22nd January 1573) and that the fort capitulated on 25th Shawwāl (28th February 1573). The three statements are not compatible with one another and the real date is difficult to determine, but 981 H. must be an error.

As the tribal designation of Sulaimān is written in various ways as, كرانى, كرزانى, فرانى and كردانى it may be worth while to state that on the coins of Dāūd, the spelling is كردانى. (Wright, I. M. C. II. 128).

V. 373, *l.* **14.** *Lodi .....sent Dāūd this message....."You have never given me any good wishes or advice, but still I am willing to advise you."*

It is obviously pointless, if not preposterous, to put into the mouth of Lody any such declaration as is made in the first part of this sentence. Lody was the *doyen* of the Elder Statesmen of the Realm, Dāūd a youth of twenty, born in the purple, but without any knowledge or experience of affairs. What he really said was و چون هرگز خیر خواهی و نصیحت از شما باز نگرفته ام اکنون باز نصیحت میکنم (314, l. 19). "And as I have never been sparing of devotion to your welfare and never withheld good counsel, [in the past], I again give you (the following) advice." B. says that "Lodi, knowing death to be certain, did not withhold his advice from Dāūd". (Tr. II. 177). See Dowson's own rendering of Budāuni at 512 *infra*.

V. 375, *l.* **1.** [*Akbar stopped at the*] *village of Ratambh, one of the dependencies of Āgra.*

رنبنه in the Lithograph. (315, l. 11). The place intended is probably رنکته "Runkuta" which lies about ten miles from Āgra on the road from Āgra to Allahābād. It is now a station on the G. I. P. Railway, about nine miles north-west of Āgra. As Akbar left Āgra on Sunday, the last day of Ṣafar and reached 'Ratambh' on the first of Rabī' I, 'Runkuta' which Jahāngīr also speaks of as the first stage and five *Kos* from Āgra (T. J. Tr. I. 139=E. D. VI. 316), would fit in very well. See also the *Āīn* (Tr. II. 180), where it is said to be a much-frequented place of pilgrimage near Āgra. Religious fairs are still held there on certain days of the Hindu

calendar. (N. W. P. Gazetteer (1884), Vol. VII, 764).

V. 375, *l.* 16. *On the 28th [Ṣafar], he reached the village of Kori, a dependency of Sayyidpur, at the confluence of the Gūmti and Ganges.*

The A. N. reads 'Godi' and 'Saiyidpur'. (III. 88; Tr. 125). Dowson says "Budāuni has Jaunpur and he is probably right." But he seems to be mistaken. Akbar reached *Yaḥyāpur*, one of the dependencies of Jaunpur, on the 2nd of Rab'ī I, not on 28th Ṣafar. The Ṭ. A. (306, l. 10 f. f.) and B. both say so. (B. II. 176=Tr. 179). Saiyīdpur is 23 miles north-east of Benares and about as many west of Ghāzipur, on the left bank of the Ganges near its confluence with the Gomti (Godi). Lat. 25°-30′ N., Long. 83°-18′ E. See also I. G. XXI. 384. *s. v.* Saidpur. Constable, 28 C c.

V. 376, *l.* 11. *His Majesty directed Saiyid Mīrak Ispahāni.....who was learned in charms, to seek an augury in his books.*

و دائم دعوی دانشرِ علمِ جفر کرد (317, l. 11). "Who was perpetually making a pretence of proficiency in the science of *Jafr*." 'Jafr' has nothing to do with 'charms', incantations or amulets. It is really a Kabalistical method of vaticination, a 'Numerological' or Gematriacal system dependent on the combination and mutations of letters and numbers. *Vide* my note on IV. 124, l. 2 f. f. *ante*. At A. N. III. 93, Tr. 131, the soothsayer is called "Sayyad Mīraki, the son of 'Abdu-l-Karīm *Jafari* (diviner) of Ispahān".

V. 376, *l.* 19. *'Isā Khān was slain by Lashkar Khān, one of the Emperor's men.*

The lithograph states more correctly that the man who killed 'Isā Khān was not Lashkar Khān himself, but یکی از غلامانِ لشکر خان one of his slaves. (317, l. 16). So also B. (II. 178; Tr. 181) and A. N. (III. 93; Tr. 131).

Gangdāspūr (l. 7) cannot be traced. What Abu-l-Faẓl says is that the boats anchored at *Dāspūr which is on the banks of the Ganges* (III. 93, Tr. 130), but 'Dāspūr' also cannot be located.

V. 377, *l.* 17. *Rājā Gajpati who had many armed adherents, was directed to support Khān 'Ālam.*

و چروه و پایك بسیار همراه داشت (318, l. 10). "And had a large number of *Cherūhs* and foot-soldiers in his train." B.'s words are, حشري چون مور و ملخ و ماهك [پایك *Recte*] بسیار و جرده [چروه *Recte*] (II. 180, l. 2), that is, "his followers were numerous as ants and flies and *Cherūhs* and *Pāiks*." The B. I. text is corrupt and Lowe has wrongly rendered it as "a multitude of horses and mares." (Tr. II. 183). In the *Nafāisu-l-Maāṣir*, a 'Taẓkira' or 'Lives of the Poets' written by 'Alāu-d-daula Qazvīni about 979 A. H., it is explicitly stated that Gajpati assisted in Akbar's invasion of Ḥājipur with a body of two thousand *Cherūhs*. (See Mr. Beveridge's Art. in J. A. S. B. 1905, p. 237. See also Rieu, Persian Catalogue III. 1022). These early references to this aboriginal tribe are interesting.

V. 380, *l.* 10. *He increased his [Khān-i-Khānān's] military allowances twenty-five or thirty per cent.*

ده سی و ده چهل اضافه کردند (320, l. 11). *Iẓāfeh-i Deh-si wa Deh-chahl*

really means 'an increment in the ratio of 10 to 30 and 10 to 40', that is, three-fold or four-fold. B. uses the same words and Lowe renders them correctly, as "in the proportion of 10: 30 and 10: 40". (B. Tr. II. 185). Abu-l-Faẓl states elsewhere that the allowances of all persons employed in Bengal were raised 50 per cent and 100 per cent. (A. N. III). See also my note on II. 76, l. 20.

V. 380, *l.* 8 from foot. *Muzaffar Khān ..... was sent with Farhat Khān, one of the late Emperor's slaves.*

فرحت خان که از غلامان فردوس مکانی بود (320, l. 4). "Farhat Khān who was one of the slaves of *Firdaus Makāni*". 'Firdaus Makāni' was the after-death title, not of the late Emperor, Humāyūn, but of the latter's father, Bābur. Farhat Khān's original name was Mihtar Sakāi.

V. 381, *l.* 2. *He reached Fatḥpur Sahīna, which is twenty-one Kos distant from Patna.*

The lithograph has فتحپور پتنه (Fatḥpur-Patna). (321, l. 1). The A. N. reading is the same and Akbar is said to have crossed here the Son which was in flood at the time. The next stage was Chausa. (III. 105; Tr. 146). The place meant must be 'Fathpur-*Bihiya*' now in Ballia district, U.P., on the direct road from Arrah to Buxar. Bābur also halted here and mentions it in his Memoirs. (B. N. Tr. 662, 667 notes). Fatḥpur-Bihiya was a *Mahāl* in *Sarkār* Rhotās, *Ṣūba Bihār*, in Akbar's days. (*Āīn*, Tr. II. 157). It "included the *Duāba* or tongue of land between the Ganges and Ghoghra rivers." (Beames, Art. Geography of India in the Reign of Akbar, J. A. S. B. 1885, pp. 180-1). Bāyazid Biyāt says that the Ujjainiya Rājā Gajpati held Bhojpur and *Bihiya* as his Jāgir. (Memoirs, Tr. in J. A. S. B. 1898, p. 315). This Bhojpur is the place of that name in Shāhābād, Bengal. Constable, 28 D c. 'Behea' is now a station on the East Indian Railway, between Arrah and Buxar, 44 miles west of Patna. Bihiya is shown in the I. G. Atlas, 29 B 2.

V. 381, footnote 3. [*Khān Khānān had taken Sūrajgarh and Mungir*] *with the help of Rājā Sangrām of Gorakhpur and Puran Mal of Kīdhūr (Akbar-nāma).*

Sangrām was the Rājā, not of 'Gorakhpur,' but of *Kharakpur*, (A. N. III. 107; Tr. 150). Kharakpur is in the Monghyr sub-division of Monghyr district and is now part of the Darbhangā Estate. Lat. 25°-7′ N., Long. 86°-33′ E. (I. G. XV. 246.) Constable, 29 B c. Puranmal was the Rājā, not of 'Kidhūr,' but of *Gīdhaur* (A. N. III. 107; Tr. 150), which is also in Monghyr district. (I. G. Atlas, 29 C 2).

V. 382, *l.* 6 from foot. *He* [*Akbar*] *presented to the nakāra-khāna of the Khwājā* [*of Ajmer*] *a pair of drums which had belonged to Dāūd.*

Some large drums are to be still seen in the shrine and it is stated in the I. G. (V. 171), in accordance, perhaps, with some local legend, that they were "taken by Akbar at the sack of Chitor." But doubt is thrown on the averment by the incidental but explicit testimony of Niẓāmu-d-dīn, and

its corroboration by B. (II. 185; Tr. 188). Mr. Vincent Smith, copying from Tod, (A.A.R. Ed. Crooke, I. 381-2) says that some 'Nakkāras,' eight or ten feet in diameter, and several massive candelabra were *carried off* by Akbar, from the shrine of the Great Mother at Chitor, (Akbar, p. 90), but he does not assert that they were given to or placed in the Khwāja's mausoleum.

V. 384, *l.* 11. *Grain rose to the price of 120 tankas per man.*

The lithograph reads تنکهٔ سیاه "*Black* Tangas." The monetary denomination 'Tanga' represents so many coins of widely divergent values and is used so loosely by the chroniclers, that it is very difficult to say what it stands for in a particular case. But this *tanga-i-sīyāh of Gujarāt* was, most probably, the copper coin of the Sultāns of Gujarāt which weighed about 144 grs. and was valued at the hundredth part of an Akbari rupee. (Bayley, Tr. *Mirat-i-Aḥmadi, loc. cit.* p. 6 and my paper on the 'Coins of the Gujarāt Salṭānat' in J. B. B. R. A. S. 1922, pp. 46-8).

V. 385, *l.* 4. [*When Rājā Todar Mal*] *reached Madāran.*

This is Bhitargarh-Madāran, eight miles north of Ārāmbāgh, in the Jahānābad *pargana* of Hugli district. It lies between Burdwān and Midnāpur, and as it was the frontier town on the Orissā border, it was the scene of much fighting in the 15th and 16th centuries. (Blochmann in J. A. S. B. XLII. 1873, p. 223 note: I. G. Vol. V. 398). It may be the مردن او or ارمردن which is said by Minhāj to have been one of the chief towns of Jājnagar, but the situation of which has not been determined.

V. 386, *l.* 7. *From Madāran, they marched to Jitūra.*

"Jitūra" is an error for چتوه, Chatūa. It was a *Maḥal* in *Sarkār* Madāran according to the *Āīn.* (Tr. II. 141). 'Chitui' or 'Chitūa' is now in Midnāpore [Medinīpur] near Ghattāl. (Beames, J. R. A. S. 1896, p. 107). Constable, 29 B d. It lies a little to the E. N. E. of Midnāpore town.

'Ẓarbzan', which is translated as 'swivels' on l. 5 f.f., seems to be really used here for a large field-piece. At p. 131 *ante* also, guns discharging stone-balls weighing 500 *miṣqāls* (about five pounds) and requiring four pairs of bullocks to drag them are called 'Ẓarbzan.' At pp. 175 and 350 *ante*, the same word is used for great "pieces which required 200 pairs of bullocks to drag them." B. calls "pieces of ordnance carrying balls of five to seven mans in weight" by the same name. (II. 107, l. 13=Lowe. Tr, 111).

V. 390, *l.* 6 from foot. *The Emperor had from his early youth found pleasure in the assemblies of.....men of imagination and genius.*

اصحاب وجد و حال (322, last line) means "men who have themselves experienced the state of transport, rapture, or ecstasy, of union with the Deity"—mystics who had been able to attain to the union of the Individual Soul with the Universal. He means great *Sūfis* and *Yogis.*

V. 391, *l.* 20. *The members of the assembly used to select a number of the most worthy among those present.*

This is likely to convey a fallacious and misleading impression to the modern reader. The phrase used for 'the most worthy' is ارباب استحقاق. It had a technical signification, which is not coincident with our connotation of 'worthy'. We have the authority of Abu-l-Faẓl for saying that "it included four classes of persons, *viz.*, (1) Inquirers after wisdom who had withdrawn from worldly pursuits; (2) Recluses and ascetics; (3) those who are weak and needy *and* poor; (4) Individuals of gentle birth who are unable to provide for themselves by taking up a trade". (*Āīn*, Tr. I. 261). The three first classes included not only many really 'worthy' persons, but also the tens of thousands of mendicants and vagabonds of all sorts who preyed then and do so even now, in the name of religion, on the exiguous resources of the community and constitute a social nuisance. The fourth was, for the most part, made up of genteel beggars, sycophants and parasites of good birth, who sponged upon the State, because they were dependents and connections of the Emperor and his favourites or of other persons who were or had been formerly in power. Many of them were in the receipt of huge pensions and led lives of luxury and self-indulgence, if not vice and dissipation.

V. 395, *l.* 16. *At the end of ten days, in the month of Safar, 983 H., he [the Khān-i-Khānān] departed this life.*

The month is wrongly stated. It was *Rajab*, according to the lithograph (331, l. 6) as well as B. (II. 217; Tr. 221). See also 390 *ante*, where Mun'im is said to have reached Tānda on the 10th of Ṣafar 983 H. (21st May, 1575 A. C.). The resolve to shift the capital to Gaur was taken subsequently, in the rainy season of that year (394 *ante*), with the disastrous results described in this paragraph. Bāyazīd Biyāt gives *Monday*, 18th Rajab 983 H. (A. N. Tr. III. 226 Note) and F. (I. 262, l. 4 f. f.). has 19th Rajab 983 (23rd or 24th October 1575 A. C.) as the day of Mun'im Khān's demise. Abu-l-Faẓl says that it was the 15th day, Khūr, Māh Ābān of the Twentieth regnal year. (Text, III. 160, l. 1; Tr. 226). But if 18th, (or 19th) Rajab is correct, fifteenth (پانزدهم) must be an error for یازدهم (*eleventh*). The 11th day of Ābān was the 228th day of the Ilāhi calendar, the initial day of which was 10th (or 11th) March. It would be the 297th day of the Julian reckoning (228+69) and correspond with 24th October which *was* a Monday, as Bayazīd states. (Ind. Ephemeris). 15th Ābān would be 28th October which was a Friday.

V. 398, *l.* 8 from foot. *Rānā Kikā.....came out of Ghāti Haldeo.*

Haldi-ghāṭ lies about seven *Kos* from Gogūnda, which is about sixteen miles north-east of Udaipur. (I. G.). The local derivation of the name is *Haldi*, turmeric, and supposed to be allusive of the yellow colour of the soil. A. F. locates the exact site of the battle at the village of Khamnaur (or Khannaur), which lies at the mouth of the Haldi defile, a few miles north of Gogūnda. (A. N. III. 174; Tr. 245). See also Noer. (Akbar, Tr. I. 247). Gogūnda is shown in Constable, 27 A c. A village named 'Kamnor' is shown north of Gogūnda on the map prefixed to Tod's *Rajasthan*.

V. 399, *l.* 2. *The enemy lost Rāmeswar Gwāliari and his son.*

رام شاه Rāmshāh [Sāh] in the Lith. (333, l. 5), which is correct. Both Rām *Sāh* and his son Shālivāhan are mentioned in the Dynastic List of the Tomar Rājās of Gwālior, which is inscribed at Rhotās. (Duff. C. I. 306). Rām Sāh and his three sons Shālivāhan, Bhān Sinha and Pratāp Sinha are all stated by Abu-l-Faẓl to have been killed in this battle, at Haldighāt. (A. N. III. 175; Tr. 246). B. says that Rām Sāh was the grandson of the famous Rājā Mān [sinha]. (II. 232; Tr. 238).

V. 400, *l.* 17. *Dāūd, being left behind, was made prisoner.*

داود درچهله معطل شده گرفتار گشت "Dāūd, having been obliged to remain stock still in a quagmire (or morass), was taken prisoner." Lowe says "his horse stuck fast in a swamp" [خلابی] (II .245; Text 238, l. 13) and so also does the A. N. (Text, III, 162; Tr. 255).

V. 403, *l.* 4. *He went along with Kalyān Rāi, a merchant (bakkāl).*

Mr. Vincent Smith calls him a 'grain-dealer' and Mr. Beveridge, 'a shopkeeper' (A. N. Tr. III. Tr. 276 note), but he was really neither, and "Baqqāl" here really signifies that he was, by caste, a 'Baniya' Guj. *Wānia*, [of the *Lād* section]. Hemū also is called a *baqqāl*, *q. v.* my note on V. 241, l. 10 *ante*. Kalyān Rāi is mentioned also by Jahāngīr in his account of Cambay. (T. J. 206, l. 6 f.f.; Tr. I. 417). See my paper on 'The Old Parsi Settlement of Cambay' in the Journal of the K. R. Cama Oriental Institute, No. 8, pp. 6-14).

V. 405, *l.* 12. *They attacked Muzaffar Husain Mirzā in the pargana of Nandarbār,.....who then went to Kambay.*

The reading in the lithograph is 'Nariād,' (337, l. 4), which is correct. B. has 'Petlād' (II. 249; Tr. 249), which also serves to show that 'Nariād' is the place meant, as the two towns are in close proximity to and only twelve miles distant from each other. Abu-l-Faẓl says that Bāz Bahādur came out with a force somewhere near Baroda. (III. 207; Tr. 292). Nariād is 35 miles north-west of Baroda by the railway.

V. 407, *l.* 4. *The land of this place [Manoharnagar] was an ancient possession of Rāi Lon Karan.*

Mr. Beveridge hazards the conjecture that 'Lonkaran' was not the real name of the Rājā, but a jocose nickname signifying 'Salt-maker', which was given to him, because he was the ruler of Sāmbhar, the site of the great Salt Lake in Rājputāna. (A. N. III. 295 *note*). But this is an instance of fanciful meaning-making, which is contradicted and disproved by concrete facts. *Lūṇkaran [or Nūṇkaran]* is a Rājput personal name which was borne by the Bhaṭṭi Rājā of Jaisalmir who was contemporary with Humāyūn and who is said to have tried to obstruct his passage through the Rājputāna desert. (A.N. I. 181=Tr. 375; Tod, A.A.R., Ed. Crooke, 1224-5; Duff. C.I. 291). It was also borne by a Raṭhoḍ Rājā of Bikāner who reigned from 1504 to 1526 A.C. (Tod, *Ibid*, 1132; Duff, C.I. 268, 273, 277). Lūnkaran Shaikhāvat was the elder brother of Akbar's favourite, Rāi Sāl Darbāri. (Tod. *loc. cit.* 1383).

V. 407, *l.* 7. *The town was called Manoharnagar after that child.*

The original village, Mulathān, was a dependency of Amber. The town founded by Akbar still exists and lies about 28 miles N. N. E. of Jaipur. (I. G. XVII. 200). There was another 'Manoharnagar' in *Sarkār* Nāgor, *Ṣūba* Ajmer, (*Āīn*. Tr. II. 277), while this 'Manoharnagar' was included in the *Sarkār* of Ajmer itself. (*Āīn*, Tr. II. 277 and 272). Abu-l-Faẓl states that the place near Mulathān in Amber was called *Mūl* Manohbāragar, Old Manoharnagar, to distinguish it from its namesake near Nāgor. (III. 221; Tr. 311). Thornton's 'Manoarpoor', which was 132 miles south-west of Dehli and in Lat. 27°-19′ N., Long. 76°-1′ E., is the 'Manoharnagar' founded by Akbar. Jaipur is in Lat. 26°-56′ N., Long. 75°-55′ E. Thornton says that it had, in his time, a large bazar and was adequately supplied with water, though much decayed.

Manohar's pen-name is wrongly given by Dowson as 'Tānsani' on l. 9. It was really توسني, Tausani, from توسن, a war-horse, a high-blooded noble steed. (B. II. 252; Tr. 259; see also *Ibid*, Text, III. 201, l. 3). It has nothing whatever to do with Tānsen, the celebrated musician and poet. The town founded by Akbar is shown as 'Manoharpur' in Constable, Pl. 27 B b.

V. 407, *l.* 12. *A comet appeared in the sky toward the east.*

Recte West, غرب as in the lithograph. (339, l. 4). B. (II. 240; Tr. 248) and Abu-l-Faẓl both say that the comet appeared in the West. (A. N. III. 224=Tr. 316). This is the comet about which Tycho Brahe discovered that it had no parallax and thence inferred that it must be situated at a greater distance than the moon. (Fergusson's Astronomy, Ed. Brewster, II. 355). It passed its perihelion on 26th October 1577 A. C. (*Ibid*). Abu-l-Faẓl gives the date as 25th Ābān *Ilāhi* of the 22nd year of Akbar's reign, which would correspond to 6th or 7th November 1577. 25th Ābān is the 242nd day of the *Ilāhi* calendar which would correspond to the 310th or 311th of the Julian.

V. 407, *l.* 5 from foot. *He next halted at the Sarāi of Bāwali [after leaving Dehli].*

Recte, 'Bā*dl*i'. The 'dāl' has been wrongly read as a 'wāv'. The name is correctly written on E. D. VIII. 320, and incorrectly on *Ibid*, 271. There was a great Serāi here which is frequently mentioned in the old Itineraries. (*Chihār Gulshan* in I. A. xcviii; Hearn, Seven Cities of Dehli, 168). Bā*dl*i Ki Serāi is now a railway station, nine miles from Dehli Junction. Mr. Beveridge's conjectural identification of it with 'Bāwal' in Rewāri (A. N. Tr. III. 322 note) will not bear examination. There is a Branch Post Office in the village of Bā*dl*i (Post Office Guide).

V. 407, *l.* 5 from foot. *He [Akbar] was waited upon by Hāji Habībulla, who had gone to Europe and had brought with him fine goods and fabrics.*

حاجی حبیب الله از ولایتِ فرنگ نفائسِ امتعه و اقمشه واسبابِ آن ولایت از نظر اشرف گذرانید (339, l. 13). The original statement is somewhat loosely worded, but there is nothing like the categorical assertion that he had *gone to Europe*.

The fact is that he had been sent only to Goa by Akbar, in the Twentieth year (982-3 H). Abu-l-Faẓl states that he was "ordered to take with him a large sum of money and the choice articles of India *to Goa* and to bring for His Majesty's delectation, the wonderful things of that country." (A. N. III. 146, l. 9; Tr. III. 207). His return in the Twenty-second year, (985), is also recorded by the Imperial historiographer, who reiterates the fact that he had been sent to the *port of Goa*. (III. 228, l. 13; Tr. 322). As Budāuni has copied the Ṭ. A. and his translator, Lowe, also speaks of the organ having been brought along with other curiosities by Ḥabību-lla 'from Europe', (Tr. II. 299), it is necessary to stress the fact that the Ḥājji had gone only as far as Goa. ولایتِ فرنگ is used here for the territory occupied by the *Firingis* in India, *i. e.* the Portuguese possessions on the West Coast. Elsewhere, Abu-l-Faẓl writes that one of the events of the 24th year of Akbar's reign was the "appointing of an army to capture the European ports" [بندر فرنگ]. (III. 280; Tr. 409). He means Daman and the ports near Sūrat which had been seized by the Portuguese.

V. 408, *l.* 13. *The Maulūdnāma or horoscope of His Majesty.*

This is an important passage and it would have been better if Dowson had given a translation, instead of this summary dismissal in a single line, as it has some bearing on the question of the date of Akbar's birth and his *laqab*, which has been recently revived by Mr. Vincent Smith. The purport of the passage is that Mīr 'Ali Akbar Mashhadi presented to the Emperor a document in which the exact time and place of his birth was recorded in the handwriting of Qāẓi Ghiyāṣu-d-dīn Jājarmi, a man of great learning, who had been for many years in the service of Humāyūn. In this *Maulūdnāma*, it was also stated that Humāyūn had a dream on the night of Akbar's birth, in which he had been directed to name the child Jalālu-d-dīn. (Text, 339, l. 8 f. f.). A very similar story is told by Gulbadan (H. N. 48, l. 7 f. f.; Tr. 145) and by Abu-l-Faẓl (A. N. I. Tr. 42).

V. 409, *l.* 9. *In these days, there was a reservoir.....twenty* gaz *long by twenty broad and three* gaz *deep.*

This must be the *Anūp* Talāv of B. (II. 201, 208, 215; Tr. 204, 212, 219) and the A. N. (III. 246; Tr. 354). Jahāngīr mentions a similar tank, called *Kapūr* Talāv, (T. J. Text, 260, l. 26; Tr. II. 68-9), but he gives the dimensions as 36 cubits [ذرع] in length, 36 in breadth and 4½ in depth, while Abu-l-Faẓl makes it twenty *gaz* by twenty, but twice a man's height in depth. The site of the Tank is consequently uncertain, though there is a tank at Fatḥpur-Sīkri, the dimensions of which exactly agree with those given by Jahāngīr, viz. 95 feet and 7 inches square, which would be just equivalent to 36 Ilāhi *gaz* at 31.8 inches to the *gaz*. $(95 \times 12) + 7 = 1147$ inches. $1147 \div 31.8 = 36$. (Arch. Surv. Rep. XVIII. 1894).

V. 410, *l.* 5 from foot. *Hakīm Abu-l-Fath and Patr Dās* [*were*] *to discharge jointly the office of Dīwān.*

According to the Lithograph, (341, l. f.f.), the Ḥakīm was appointed 'Ṣadr,' Chief Judge and Almoner, while Patr Dās *and Mīr Adham* were

nominated Joint Diwāns. B. (II. 267; Tr. 276) and the A.N. (III. 265; Tr. 386) are in agreement with the lithograph.

Patr Dās's name is written wrongly in the Ṭ. A. as well as the A. N. It was really 'Tipar Dās', which is a short form of Tripurāridās, 'Servant of Tripurāri' (or Tripurahara), an epithet given to Mahādeva, who is said to have destroyed the Asura, Tripura. He is the 'Tipperdas' of Ralph Fitch, "England's Pioneer to India," who passed through Patna in 1586 and writes of him thus, "He that is Chief here under the King (Akbar) is called *Tipperdas* and is of great account among the people." (Ryley, Ralph Fitch, p. 110; Foster, E. T. I. 24). The name is written correctly as تپرداس with ت for the initial letter no less than four times, in the Bibl. Ind. Text of Budāuni. (II. 281, ll. 3, 5, 8, and 282, l. 3). It is true that Lowe calls him 'Patr Dās' (Tr. II. 289, 290) and says 'Tapar' is wrong, but it is quite right.

V. 413, footnote. *See Inshā-i-Abu-l-Fazl, Daftar IV.*

Dowson says that the Letter to 'Abdulla Khān is printed in the *Fourth* Volume of Abu-l-Faẓl's *Inshā* or Letters, but only three volumes or *daftars* are known to have been published. It is true that Amīr Ḥaidar Ḥusaini Wāsiṭi Bilgrāmi, the author of the *Sawāniḥ-i-Akbari* (*q.v.* E. D. VIII, 193) speaks of four *daftars* of the *Inshā* and notes also that the fourth is exceedingly rare, (Rieu, III. 930), but no copy of it is extant and Dowson is not likely to have seen any. Mr. Beveridge states that the letter under notice which was sent with Mirzā Fulād and Khwāja Khaṭīb is not found any where in the Lithographed Edition of the *Inshā*. (A. N. Tr. III. 394 Note).

V. 414, *l.* 16. [*Muẓaffar Khān*] *demanded the* dāgh (*brand-tax*) *and brought old practices up again.*

طلب داغ و باز یافت معاملات کہنہ درمیان آورد (344, l. 2 f.f.). "Enforced the regulations relating to the branding (of all horses brought to the muster) and demanded the reimbursement of all past arrears or outstandings, [the payment of old debts and settlement of old accounts, *i. e.* refunds of the excess revenues of their Jāgīrs]. (Cf. B. II. Tr. 288; Text, 280). According to the A. N., he "made up all accounts from the beginning and instituted heavy demands" (III. 293; Tr. 431) for arrears and outstandings. The 'dāgh' was not a 'tax' but the 'brand' or 'system of branding.'

V. 414, *l.* 20. *The pargana of Jalesar.....was taken away from him.*

It is also called 'Jaleshwār' [God of the Waters] and 'Jellasore'. Medinīpur [Midnāpore] was included in the *Sarkār* of Jalesar. (*Āīn*, Tr. II. 126 n. and 142). The town is 49 miles south of Midnāpore and contains an old mosque and also a ruined mud fort of great extent. Lat. 21°-46′ N., Long. 87°-14′ E. (Th). It is now in the Bālāsore district. (I. G. XIV. 7). Constable, 29 B e.

V. 415, *l.* 2 from foot. *M'asūm Kābuli, who after the insurrection, obtained the name of 'Asi.*

The point of the word-play, the credit of which is ascribed to Akbar, (A. N. Tr. III. 471 Note) is not clearly brought out in the translation. It turns on the antithesis between معصوم *M'aṣūm* and عاصی *'Āṣi*. The first means "sinless, innocent, guileless, saintlike"; the second "sinful, guilty, rebellious, seditious". He is called 'Āṣi M'aṣūm' at 416 *infra* and 'Āṣi Kābuli' at 417, l. 20.

V. 416, *l.* **1.** *M'aṣūm Kābuli (and).....'Arab Bahādur and Sufaid Badakhshi resolved to rebel.*

سعید 'S'aīd' in the Text (345, l. 8 f. f.) and B. (II. 282; Tr. 290). He is called *Sa'īd* at 426 *infra*, and also in the A.N. (III. 285; Tr. 418; 305; Tr. 451). Mr. Beveridge thinks that 'Safed' must be right, as "in the couplet quoted by B., the name of Bahādur's father is given as 'Isfed,' which is another form of Sufed." (A.N. III. 549 note). But Budāuni himself always calls him *Sa'īd* (II. 196; Tr. 199; 282, Tr. 290), and also confesses his doubts about the genuineness of the distich. The statement about his father having been a 'Sultān' is, moreover, such an impudent and mendacious vaunt that the 'Bait' (B. II. 297; Tr. 308), must be a fake.

The *nisba* of 'Jān Muḥammad', (line 20), should be read as 'Bihsūdi' not 'Bihbūdi'. (A. N. III. 304, Tr. 449). Bihsūd is a small town which is also called 'Basāwal' and 'Deh-i-Ghulāmān'. (Raverty, N. A. 45). It lies north of Jalālābād on the opposite side of the river and is shown in the I. G. Atlas, Pl. 47, F 3. He is wrongly called *Khān* Muḥammad Bahsūdi at E. D. VI. 40. The first name is *Jān*. Lowe has *Jān* Muḥammad Khān Bahbūdi, (B. Tr. II. 290), but it must be an error.

V. 417, *l.* **12 from foot.** *Rājā Todar Mal had no confidence in the cohesion of the adventurers composing the enemy's ranks.*

The 'adventurers' were the mercenaries and free lances *in his own army*, who were ready to turn coats at any moment. راجه تودرمل برسیاهیان بنگله که واقع طلبی جبلی ایشانست جنگ مناسب ندیده درقلعه منگیر تحصن جست (346, l. 5 f.f.). "Raja Todarmal did not think it advisable to fight, and fortified himself in Mongyr as he knew that opportunism [factious fortune-hunting] was ingrained in the nature of the Bengal soldiers [on whom he had to depend]." Lowe puts it correctly thus in his translation of B. "The Rājā could not quite trust his army, which was on the look out for the slightest change of fortune". (Tr. II. 291; Text 283). Cf. also A. N. (III. 308; Tr. 453).

V. 418, *l.* **9.** *'Arab Bahādur.....seized upon the city [Paṭna] and appropriated the treasure.*

He did nothing of the sort. He merely marched towards Paṭna [متوجه پتنه شد] in the hope of capturing the city and the treasury by a coup, but was overreached and had to raise the siege and beat a hasty retreat. See B. (II. 283; Tr. 292) and also Abu-l-Faẓl, who says that 'Arab "took to brigandage and *tried* to plunder the treasure which Chaudhri Kishna was conveying to the Imperial army, but was foiled by the Chaudhri, who

arrived safely at the fort of Patna." (A. N. III. 321; Tr. 470).

V. 419, *l.* 9 from foot. *The sharp practice of the Diwān [Shāh Manṣūr] having been repeatedly mentioned to His Majesty.*

سخت گیري او در معاملات مکرر بعرض حضرت رسید (348, l. 5). " His exacting severity in connection with financial transactions had been repeatedly brought to the notice of His Majesty." Abu-l-Faẓl says that Shāh Manṣūr was " always laying hold of trifles in financial matters and displaying harshness". (A.N. III. 342; Tr. 501). B. states that Todar Mal complained of the exactions of Manṣūr who had "written exceedingly harsh and threatening letters " to M'āṣūm Khān and others, demanding large sums as arrears due from them. (II. Tr. 295). There was nothing " sharp " about his " practices." The real complaint against him was that he had cut down by half the extra allowances which had been granted to the officers serving in Bengal and Bihār and made exacting and vexatious demands for the refund of all amounts in excess of the *reduced scale* of allowances, which they had drawn from the *Jāgirs*.

V. 420, *l.* 18. *Niyābat Khān [rebelled in] his jāgir of Jausa and Prayāg.*

Recte ' Jhūsi', which is also called ' Hādiābās.' The lithograph has it right. (348, l. 6 f. f.). It has nothing to do with ' Jausa ' or ' Chaunsa ' near Buxar. It lies just opposite to Prayāg or Allahābād. (Constable, 28 C c).

For ' Kantal, one of the dependencies of Patna' on l. 6 f. f., read "*Kantit*, one of the dependencies of *Bhaṭa*", *i.e.* Bhaṭghora, the old name of Bāghelkhand or Rewā. See my note on Vol. V. 94, l.11 *ante*. B. reads 'Gasht', گشت (II. 289; Tr. 298), which is due to a dislocation of the *nuqṭas* of Kantit. کنتت. Mr. Beveridge says (A. N. III. 636 Note) that ' Bhaṭh ' is " another name for ' Panna ' in Bundelkhand ", but this is an error. The two places are quite distinct.

V. 422, *l.* 7 from foot. *Malik 'Ali brought him a letter to the following effect.*

The context which follows clearly indicates that there is some error or inadvertent omission here. What Malik 'Ali said, *when handing over the papers*, had no reference to their contents. It related only to the circumstances under which the packet containing the letters had come into his possession. The paragraph beginning " When my scouts were coming to ' upto ' brought to me ' (p. 423, l. 3) expresses what Malik 'Ali, who was the *Kotwāl* or Chief of Police, said by way of preamble or introduction. He had not read the missives. It is explicitly said that they were sealed and afterwards opened by the Secretary. (423, l. 3 *infra*).

V. 423, *l.* 16. *So the Emperor gave the orders for his [Manṣūr's] execution and he was hanged next morning.*

B. says that Shāh Manṣūr was hanged near the *Manzil* [Stage] of Kacha Kot. (II. 293; Tr. 301). Abu-l-Faẓl calls it the Serāi of Kot Kachhwa. (A. N. III. 343; Tr. 503). Thornton mentions a village called ' Kotekutch-

wah', on the road from Karnāl to Ludhiāna, about 45 miles north-west of the former. Lat. 30°-17′ N., Long. 76°-53′ E. (See also Sarkār, I. A. p. c.).

Monserrate, Abu-l-Faẓl and Firishta speak of Manṣūr's guilt, as if it had been proved to their satisfaction, and ignore the allegations in regard to the spuriousness of the letters. Niẓāmu-d-dīn and Budāuni appear to have been convinced that the last letters, which sealed his fate, were forged, even if the earlier ones were genuine. Among modern authors, Von Noer, in spite of his almost Boswellian admiration and partiality for Akbar, admits that the Emperor "unwittingly committed a judicial murder (Akbar, II. 55)", while Mr. Vincent Smith believes that Manṣūr had been really "guilty of sending letters of invitation to Muḥammad Ḥakīm in 1580 and that he actually was the head of the treasonable conspiracy, as stated by Monserrate." (Akbar, 197). In the Note appended to his translation of the A. N. published in 1913, Mr. Beveridge had taken up a non-committal attitude and merely stated that "the story of Shāh Manṣūr was a sad one and threw a lurid light on the morals of Akbar's officers." (A. N. Tr. III. 504-5). But he appears to have subsequently changed his mind and arrived at a positive opinion in favour of his acquittal. (J. A. S. B. New Series, XI. 1915, p. 203 ff.). Sir Wolseley Haig says that "there can be no doubt of his guilt, *for* Akbar fully appreciated his past services and deeply regretted his execution" (C. H. I. IV. 127), but this looks like a *non sequitur*. Nobody says that Akbar did not believe him to be guilty when he gave the order. The point is, was that belief justified by the *real* facts.

V. 424, *l.* 4 from foot. *Mirzā Muḥammad Ḥakīm issued forth to the city of Khurd Kābul.*

Khurd Kābul lies about twenty-two miles east of Kābul, on the road to Attock. (*Chihār Gulshan* in I. A. ciii). The distance from Attock to Jalālābād, which is said to have been traversed by Niẓāmu-d-dīn Aḥmad in one night and a day and reckoned as 75 *Kos* (l. 18), is really about 120 miles. (*Ibid*, cii-iii). This shows that the *Kos* is the *Kachchā Kos* of about 1½ miles.

V. 425, *l.* 13. [*Akbar*] *remained there* [*at Kābul*] *for twenty days.*

The lithograph reads هفت 'seven'. (351, l. 15). B. has هفته 'a week' (II. 294; Tr. 303) and F. also makes it seven days. (I. 264). The A. N. states that Akbar entered Kābul on 29th Amardād and left it on 6th Shahrīvar. As Amardād had 31 days, he must have stayed for seven or eight days only. (III. 367=Tr. 539). Monserrate also declares that he stayed for seven days. Dowson's Ms. must have read بیست instead of هشت, a common error.

V. 429, *l.* 5. *It was known that 'Asi Kābuli was in the country of 'Aisi.*

معلوم شد که عاصی کابلی در ولایتِ عیسی میباشد (354, l. 4). This *'Aisi* is not the name of a place, but that of a person, and should be pronounced as *'Isā*. 'Īsā Khān, the ruler of Bhāṭi, was one of the *Bārā Bhūiyās*, the twelve great Zamīndārs or territorial rulers of Bengal.

V. 430, *l.* 1. *'Itamād Khān was ordered to take away the country of Sirohi from Sarmān Deori and to give it to Jagmāl, his*

brother.

The lithograph has سرتان دیوره (355, l. 11). '*Sartān Deoḍa*' was the Rājā of Sirohi. The Deoḍas are a branch of the Chauhāns. At A. N. III. Tr. 278, 545, 614, he is called Sultān, but the real name was 'Sartān.' The phonetic resemblance between this and the Arabic 'Sulṭān' is delusive. Jagmāl was the brother of Rāṇā Pratāp of Chītor and not of Sartān Deoḍa. (A. N. III. 413; Tr. 613; Tod, A.A.R. Ed. Crooke, I. 384-5).

Qanbar Beg is called 'Ishang Ākā,' on l. 6, but 'Aishīk' or 'Ishīk Āqā' would be more correct. He was "Lord or Keeper of the Gate," *i.e.* Chamberlain. See my note on IV. 231, l. 9 f.f. *ante*. On l. 12, 'Aghzan Khan' is a mistake for '*Ghazni* Khān' [Jālori]. See Text, 355, l. 14; B. (II. 345; Tr. 346).

V. 430, *l.* 5 from foot. *He [Shihābu-dīn] told me that.....they would receive no encouragement or help from me.*

بسخن من تسلي نخواهند شد واز من امداد نیز متصور نیست (355, l. 4. f.f.). "They [his mutinous troops] will not be conciliated or pacified by any words of mine and it will be also impossible [lit. inconceivable, unimaginable] for me [Shihābu-d-dīn] to give him ['Itimād Khān] any assistance." Lowe also has misunderstood the passage. (B. II. Tr. 337). He puts the answer wrongly into the mouth of 'Itimād Khān and says that he "would not accept the assistance of Shihābu-d-dīn, who had the means of quieting these people."

V. 430, footnote. *Abul Fazl says he [Muẓaffar] was an obscure individual named Tannū.*

The original name of Sultān Muẓaffar III is written in at least three other ways, *viz.* 'Nannū' or Nanhū. (A. N. II. 370; Tr. II. 507; III. 409; Tr. 603; *Mirāt-i-Aḥmadi*, Pt. i, 101, ll. 10, 13). Abu Turāb (Text, 52, ll. 8, 13, 15), Jahāngīr calls him Nabū (T. J. 212-3; Tr. I. 429, 431) and Blochmann, 'Nattū' or 'Natthū'. (*Ā'īn*, Tr. I. 325). Whichever is right, 'Tannū' is wrong. According to Jahāngīr, 'Itimād Khān afterwards confessed to Akbar that Muẓaffar was the son of a carter, (بهلبان) (*loc. cit.*). Abu Turāb states that his father was a گوبان [blacksmith?] and tells a queer story about his birth in the palace of Sultān Mahmūd III. which is neither worthy of credit nor of repetition. Budāuni avers that the Kāṭhi who gave him shelter were his mother's relatives. (II. 327=Tr. 337).

V. 431, *l.* 15. *He left his own son with Amīr M'asūm Bakhari and my son and started.*

Recte, '*Mīr* M'aṣūm Bhakkari.' He was not an 'Amīr,' but a 'Mīr', an honorific title reserved for descendants of the Arabian prophet. Mīr M'aṣūm, the author of the *Tārīkh-i-Sind*, was descended from the famous saint Ḥasan Abdāl and the Sayyids of Sabzwār. (E. D. I. 239 and my note).

On l. 5, the word translated as "Some Kāthīwār people" is کاتهیان *Kāthīān*, in the original. (356, l. 1). It means '*Kāṭhīs*' which is the specific name of one only of the numerous tribes who occupy the province. They constitute a very small part of its population. Lowe commits the same error, (B. Tr. II. 338).

V. 432, *l.* 21. *He sent forward his men to the town of Jhotāna, twenty Kos from Pattan.*

Mr. Beveridge, relying on Blochmann (*Āīn*, Tr. I. 518), says this should be '*Cho*tāna' (A. N. Tr. III, 9 note), although the *Bibl. Ind.* Text of the A. N. also has '*J*otāna' repeatedly. (III. 6, 7, 418). But the correct form *is* '*Jho*tāna.' It is now a station on the Mehsāna-Viramgām-Waḍhwān Railway line and lies about twelve miles from Mehsāna Junction. The name is spelt *Jhotāna* in the Post Office Guide also.

V. 433, *l.* 8 from foot. *Then, at the instigation of Tarwāri, Zamīndār of Pipla, he [Quṭbu-d-din Khān] was put to death.*

B. speaks of the chief as 'Nawāri' and the place as '*Rāj*pīpla' (II. 331, l. 3; Tr. 341), but the Lithographed Text of the Ṭ. A. reads ترواری (357, l. 14). The designation 'Tarwāri' has not been elucidated either by Noer, Beveridge or Vincent Smith. The clue to a solution is found in the dynastic history of the Rājās of Rājpīpla or Nāndod. They are Gohel or Gehlot Rājputs descended from Mokherāji Gohel of Pīram island, who was a contemporary of Sultān Muḥammad Tughlaq. (Bombay Gazetteer, VIII. (Kāthiāwār), p. 388; Forbes, *Rās Mālā*, I. 307-9). When Udayasinha of Chitoḍ fled before Akbar, he sought shelter in Rājpīpla and Bhairavsinhji, the Rājā, gave refuge to the head of his house in defiance of the Emperor. Bhairvasinha was succeeded by Prithvirāj, a weak and inefficient ruler who left the administration solely in the hands of a Sūrat Brāhman, named Ganpatrām *Travāḍi*. Travāḍi [Trivedi] was the surname of this all-powerful minister and as the Rājā himself was a puppet whose authority had been usurped by this Travāḍi, the Mughal chroniclers mistook the matter and have confused the *Dīwān* with the *Rājā*. (Narmadāshankar, History of Sūrat in *Narma Gadya* (Gujarāti); [Sir] Manubhāi N. Mehtā, Hind Rājasthān, 737).

V. 434, *l.* 20. [*Muẓaffar left*] *the charge of the fort of Broach to Naṣīr, his brother's son, and Charkas Rūmi.*

Naṣir was his *wife's* brother برداارزن (Text, 358, l. 4). B. (II. 332, 334; Tr. 342, 344) spells the second name as 'Jarkas', which may be also read as Jargas, Jargis, or Jurgis, and may be forms of the Greek 'Georgeos'. Abu-l-Faẓl calls him Charkas Khān in the chronicle of the 18th year and states that he was in the service of Akbar. (A. N. III. Tr. 34). He had afterwards deserted and joined Muẓaffar. He also makes Naṣīr the brother of Muẓaffar's wife. But 'Charkas Rūmi' may mean that he was originally a "Circassian from Rūm".

The reference to Pāyanda Muḥammad Khān on l. 7, as one of the commanders under Mirzā Khān in this expedition is interesting. He may be Pāyanda Muḥammad Ghaznavi, who translated the first part of the Memoirs of Bābur into Persian in or before 994 H. Pāyanda Muḥammad Ghaznavi was the brother's son of Ḥājji Muḥammad, the son of Bābā Qashqa Mughal. (A. N. Tr. I. 390 Note).

V. 435, *l.* 10. [*Muẓaffar's force again rose to*] *ten thousand men.*

The number is given as 'two thousand' in the lithograph (358, l. 7 f.f.) and B. (II. 334, Tr. 344). As the A. N. also has 'two thousand' (III. 428, Tr. 940), 'two' must be the right reading.

"Wāsad" [باسد] (l. 15), is written as باسد, 'Basad' in the A. N. and Mr. Beveridge thinks it must be 'Waso' (III, 640, note), another town in the same part of the country. But as 'Wāsad' is explicitly said to be *on the Māhi* and 'Waso' is not so situated, he cannot be right. Wāsad is about 13 miles north of Baroda and 10 south of Ānand. The river Mahi is crossed near it by a great bridge built by the B. B. and C. I. Railway Company. Vāso is 15 miles from Petlād, and is a station on the Gāikwāḍ's Baroda State Railway.

V. 438, *l.* 5. *He* [*Muẓaffar*] *gave a similar sum to Jām Marsāl, Rājā of Jhālāwar.*

"Tarsāl" in the lithograph. (356, l. 6). Both forms are wrong. The Jām's name was '*Sa*tarsāl' and he was the ruler, not of Jhālawār, جالاوار but of *Hālāwār* خالاوار or Hālār—the province or division of Kāṭhiāwāḍ ruled by the *Hālā* clan of Jāḍejā Rājputs, to which the Jāms of Nawānagar belong. B. (II. 370; 373, Tr. 384) gives 'Satarsāl,' which does not merely look correct, as Dowson says in his Note, but is undoubtedly so. Jām Satarsāl is mentioned as 'Jām *Sihtā*', at E. D. I. 268, l. 21, *q. v.* my Note. He reigned from 1569 to 1608 A. C. (B. G. VIII, (Kāthiāwār), 567-9).

V. 439, *l.* 3. *Muzaffar.....proceeded to a place called Othaniya, which is situated between the Sābarmati river and the mountain defiles.*

Othaniya or 'Asniya' (B. II. 359; Tr. 371) which is said to be four *Kos* from Parānti [j] and thirty *Kos* from Bījāpur [Vaijāpur] cannot be identified. Bījāpur (l. 11) was a *Māḥal* in *Sarkār* Pattan. (*Āīn*, Tr. II. 254). It is now a Railway station 39 miles distant from Kālol. It is shown on Bayley's map about twenty miles north-west of Parāntīj.

This Haḍāla (l. 7), is not Haḍāla in Kāṭhiāwāḍ, but Haḍāla Bhāl, which is a Railway station, thirteen miles distant from Dhandhūkā and about sixty from Aḥmadābād.

V. 440, *l.* 2. *Supported by the people of Kāthīwār and the Zamīndars, he* [*Muẓaffar*] *collected an army.*

Here again, the word in the text is کاتهیان (361, l. 4), *i.e.* Kāṭhīs. When Niẓāmu-d-dīn says on l. 7, that he himself marched to *Sūrath*, he uses that toponym in its original and *narrow* sense of the district round about Junāgaḍh and Bāntwa (B. G. VIII. 4, 6), and not the later one of the whole of the Peninsula. Muẓaffar's principal adherent and devoted protector was Lumbhā Kāṭhi, the zamīndār of Kherḍi, a village eight miles east of Rājkot. (B. G. VIII. 513). Lumbha was his personal name.

This may indicate that Budāuni's statement about the Kāṭhis having been his mother's relatives (خویشان مادری) is not without foundation. This man's name appears in the perverted form of 'Lonikathis' in the A.N.

(Text. 410, 434; Tr. 608, 633). Mr. Beveridge's suggestion that "the name refers to their living near the sea and making salt" (A. N. III. 608 Note) stands in no need of comment and may be safely dismissed as untenable.

V. 440, *l.* 15. *Muẓaffar.....crossed the Ran, which is an inlet of the sea, and took the road to Jessalmīr.*

The lithograph says that Muẓaffar went to Kachh بولایت کچهه رفت (361, l. 12). But Budāuni states that he "crossed the marsh of the Ran, (which is separated from the salt sea by a distance of from ten to thirty *cosses* and *entering the sandy desert of Jaisalmīr* there, loses itself), and came into the district of Kachh." (II. 344, l. 10; Tr. 355). This shows that the blunder about "taking the road to Jessalmīr" is due to some words having been missed out by the copyist. The entrance into 'the sandy desert of Jaisalmīr' is predicated of the Raṇ and not of Muẓaffar.

V. 443, *l.* 16. *A feud arose between Rāyāt and Sāyat, nephews of the Chief of Khengār.*

Delete "of". Khengār is not the name of a place, but that of the Rājā or Rāo who was ruling in Kachh at this time. He died in 993 A. H. 1585 A. C. (A. N. III. 472; Tr. 711). 'Sāyat' is written 'Ṣāḥib' صاحب in the lithograph (363, l. 7) and also in the A. N. (III. 464; Tr. 700). 'Rāyat' is called *Jasā* in the B. I. Text, but 'Rāyib' in the Ṭ. A. and in some Mss. of the A. N. (Tr. *Ibid*, Note).

On line 3 f. f. کاتهیان is again translated wrongly as "people of Kāthiāwār." On page 445 *infra*, Dowson himself speaks of 'Kāthis and Jhārejas'. See also B. II. 359; Tr. 371 and Note.

V. 444, *l.* 19. *His opponents found their opportunity and encouraging their followers, they drew near him.*

They did not 'encourage' their own followers; they *corrupted* his [Rāisinha's] adherents by bribery and made them traitors to their master. در این میان آن مرد همراهان او دلاسا کرده بجانب خود کشیدند (363, l. 9 f. f.). "Meanwhile, those men [his enemies] won over his associates (or followers) and brought them over to their own side". Abu-l-Faẓl's account of Rāi Sinha Jhālā's adventures differs in several details from Niẓāmu-d-dīn's, but is in substantial agreement with it. (III, 464; Tr. 700). For the local version of Rāi Sinha's adventures, see B. G. VIII. 425-6.

V. 444, *l.* 15. [*Muẓaffar*] *came to Amarūn, where the tomb of Dāwaru-l-Mulk is.*

'Āmbran' lies about 8 miles north-east of Bālambha and 16 north-east of Joḍiā in Nawānagar or Jāmnagar State. Dāwaru-l-Mulk was a noble of Sultān Maḥmūd Begaḍa, who was assassinated by a Rājput in 1509 A.C. and is now regarded as a martyr or saint. (B. G. VIII. (Kāthiāwār), 356; *Mirāt-i-Sikandari*. Text, 135-8; Tr. Bayley, 231-233).

On l. 10 f.f., the Jām is said to have "sent his son to make excuses for his cruel treatment of Rāi Singh", but the real meaning seems to be that he pleaded in justification of his destruction of Rāi Sinha, the latter's violent [outrageous or iniquitous] behaviour. از بی‌اعتدالی رای سنك عذرها

خواست (363, l. 2 f. f).

V. 445, *l.* 12. *Muẓaffar had gone to the village of Akhār, which was four Kos [from Bīramgām].*

This village still exists and is called 'Aghār.' A local authority informs me that it lies about five miles from Vīramgām town.

'Jhajūsa' (l. 23) which is said to have been situated near the water of the Raṇ of Kachh, is spelt as جنجونیه 'Janjvania' or 'Jajvania'. (Text, 364, l. 14). It must be 'Vavaniya', a seaport now belonging to Morbi, situated on the Gulf of Kachh, which is about twelve miles south-west of Māliā and twenty-four miles north-west of Morbi. (B. G. (Kāthiāwār), VIII. 684). It should be noted that the 'Māliā' mentioned here and also on the page following, is not Māliā Hāṭṭinā, but 'Māliā Miyāna.' It is situated on the west bank of the Machhū river, about 24 miles south of the Raṇ. (*Ib.*539). Māliā Hāṭṭinā is about 32 miles south of Junāgaḍh.

V. 445, *l.* 10 from foot. *The Zamīndārs of Kach collected a force under the command of Jasā and Bajāin, nephews of Khangār.*

بجاین is a misreading of پچانن 'Pachānan,' [Panchānana], which is the name given by Abu-l-Faẓl. (A. N. III. 524; Tr. 799 and 530; Tr. 808). Another man of the same name is mentioned as an auxiliary in A. F.'s account of the expedition against the Yūsufzais. (A. N. III. 475; Tr. 716 and 611; Tr. 934). In Hindu mythology, 'Panchānana' is one of the epithets of Mahādeva. The god's image has five faces and in each face, there are three eyes. (Ward, View of the Religion of the Hindus, 3rd Edition, 1817, I. 232; Wilkins, Hindu Mythology, 236-7). Pachān or Pachānan is a not uncommon name even now in Kāthiāwāḍ.

V. 446, *l.* 2. *We burnt and destroyed Kari and Katāria, two well known places in Kachh.*

"Kari" [کری] is really 'Gedi,' [گیدی], a village in the north of Vāgaḍ. It is one of the oldest towns in Kachh and is mentioned in an inscription of V. S. 1328, 1271 A. C., as 'Ghrita-*ghadya*,' and described as the principal place of a large district under Māldeva, viceroy of Arjundeva, the Chālukya king of Gujarāt. There is a reference to it in another epigraphic record also, dated V. S. 1533 A. C. 1476. (B. G. Cutch, Vol. V. p. 23).

'Kaṭāria' is on the south-east coast of Vāgaḍ, about eleven miles north-west of Māliā. It contains a ruined Jaina temple about five hundred years old and other monuments of the 17th century. (*Ibid*, 225).

V. 446, *l.* 11 from foot. *Sīdī Rihān .....with Nokīn Gohil.....separated from the insurgents.*

The lithograph writes the second name correctly as نوگهن Noghan. (365, l. 4). The reading in the A. N. is even more corrupt than Dowson's, as the man is called 'Lokhan Karhal' or 'Khokhan Jain'. (III. 531; Tr. 809; 620; Tr. 948). 'Noghan' is an old Rājput name which occurs frequently in the indigenous chronicles of Kāṭhiāwāḍ and it was borne by more than one of the Chuḍāsamā rulers of Junāgaḍh. (B. G. VIII, 493; Raṇchhoḍji

Amarji, *Tārīkh-i-Sorath*, Tr. Burgess, 127-129; *Rās Mālā*, I. 432-3).

'Bīr Khān Singh' (l. 9 f. f.) is an impossible collocation. The Lith. has 'Pīr Khān Sakna' [Sakta?] پیر خان سکنه.

V. 447, *l.* 15. *At this time, Zain Khān Koka, Rājā Rāmchandar, Rājā of Bittiah..... came to wait upon the Emperor at Fathpur.*

Insert "through" between 'time' and 'Zain'. Zain Khān was the courtier who introduced Rājā Rāmchand to the Emperor. 'Bittiah' is بتیه in the lithograph (365, l. 11 f.f.), and is another instance of a constantly recurring error. B. writes the place-name correctly as *Bhata* (بهته). (II. 335, l. 3; Tr. 345). He adds that Bīrbar had at one time been in Rājā Rāmchand's service. Zain Khān and Bīrbar were sent to summon the Rājā to Court, so that he might be compelled to make *Kurnish*, which he had never done hitherto. He kept the envoys with him and then came in their company to Fatḥpur. (See also 538 *infra*).

V. 449, *l.* 2. *The Mirzā [Muḥammad Ḥakīm] was the Emperor's own brother.*

The Lith. has a negative, which has been overlooked in the translation and the author's meaning turned upside down. Niẓāmu-d-dīn explicitly states that Muḥammad Ḥakīm was *not* the Emperor's own brother برادر اعیانی حضرت نبود (367, l. 11). The name of Akbar's mother was Ḥamīdā Bānū, Muḥammad Ḥakīm's Māh Chūchak.

V. 451, *l.* 13. *When they reached the Pass of Karāgar, a person said to Rājā Bīrbal.*

This Pass is on the north side of the Swāt river between Swāt and Buner (A. N. III. 478; Tr. 720) and lies east-south-east of Chakdarra, which is in Lat. 35° N., Long. 72° E. It is marked on the map prefixed to Mr. Winston Churchill's 'With the Malakand Field Force.'

Bīrbal's name is always written more correctly as بیربر *Bīrbar*, by the Mughal Chroniclers. B. says that he was a begging Bhāṭ named Brahma Dās, (II. 161, l. 10), but other authorities state that his name was Mahesh Dās. (Grierson. *loc. cit.* 34). Mr. Vincent Smith's explanation of the former form is that 'Bīrbal' wrote poems under the name 'Brahm Kabi', when he was in the Jaipur service. (Akbar, 237 Note). But 'Brahm Kabi' itself is only a pseudonym or pen-name and may have been assumed because Bīrbar was a *Bhāṭ* of the *Brahm* sub-section, one of the nine groups into which the *Bhāṭs* are divided. The title 'Bīrbar', Sans. *Vīra Vara*, 'best warrior', is not common and its origin or the reason for its bestowal upon a 'begging' [گدائی] Bhāṭ has not been elucidated. It may be therefore permissible to offer the suggestion that Akbar borrowed it from the *Vetāla Panchavinshati* or *Baital Pachīsi*, 'The Twenty-five Tales of the Vampire.' In the third story of this collection, a man named *Vira Vara* offers his services to the king and fully earns the extraordinarily high pay allowed to him, by giving undeniable proofs of his loyalty and devotion to his master. (Kincaid, Tales of Vikrama, p. 28; Burton, Vikram and the Vampire, 106).

Rājā 'Dharm Singh' (l. 7 f.f.) is called 'Rājā Dharmangad' in the Lith. (369, l. 7), but 'Dharmakand' [*recte*, Dharmakānt?] in the A. N. (III. 485=Tr. 732).

V. 451, *l.* 2 from foot. *He dismissed these commanders.*

They were not dismissed from service. The Emperor declined to see them, *i. e.* deprived them of the much-coveted distinction of attending the Court and making their 'Kurnish,' ایشانرا ازشرف خدمت محروم داشتند. (369, l. 9). They only lost the privilege of making their daily bows to the Emperor. B. says that they were "excluded from the *Kurnish* [ازکورنش محروم ماندہ], "but afterwards, they attained their former rank, nay rather they rose higher than before." (II. 351, l. 2; Tr. 362).

V. 452, *l.* 8 from foot. *When Mirzā Shāhrukh ..... reached the Pass of Bhūliyās, on the confines of Kāshmīr.*

B. calls it 'Phūlbās' (II. 352; Tr. 363), and Jahāngīr 'Bhūlbās'. (T. J. Text, 292, 293, 298). The name is written as 'Peliassa' also in some old maps, but 'Būliyāsa' seems to be the correct form. It lies on the right bank of the Jhelam about fifty miles west of Bārāmulā. (Stein, Ancient Geography of Kāshmir in J. A. S. B. 1899, pp. 85, 129). Its old Hindu name, 'Bolyāsaka', occurs in the *Rājātaraṅgiṇi*.

V. 455, *l.* 3. *Mīr Sadr-i-Jahān was sent as a complimentary visitor to Iskandar Khān, the father of 'Abdulla Khān.*

و جهت عزا پرسی اسکندر خان پدر عبدالله خان تعین فرمودند (371, l. 8). "He [Sadr-i-Jahān] was sent to convey the Emperor's condolences on the death of Iskandar Khān to his son 'Abdullā Khān." The embassy was not sent *to Iskandar himself.* He had passed to 'the bourne from which no traveller returns' three years before, in 991 A. H. The Mīr was carrying to his son 'Abdulla Khān, a letter giving somewhat belated expression to the Emperor's sorrow on the occasion. (See A. N. III. 497; Tr. 753; B. II. 354; Tr. 365). The letter fills eight pages in Mr. Beveridge's translation, (754-61). It is printed also in the *Inshā-i Abu-l-Faẓl.*

V. 457, *l.* 6 from foot. *Abu-l-Fath ..... died at Dhamtaur.*

This is a small town about sixteen miles east of the Indus on the route into Kashmīr by the Dūb Pass. Lat. 34°-7′ N., Long. 73°-7′ E. (Th.). It lies about five miles east of modern Abbottābād, on the right bank of the Dor river and is close to Naushahra.

V. 459, footnote. *Briggs justly observes that as no results followed this "victory," it was most likely a defeat.*

Nothing could be more unjust or contrary to fact than Briggs' remarks in his Tr. of F. II. 264 note. So far from having been a "complete defeat" of the Mughals, it was such a smashing blow to the Jām, that it is the theme of tragic tales and ballads which are even now recited in Kāṭhiāwāḍ. Witness what Colonel Watson states in the Provincial Gazetteer: "The Jām's army was most disastrously routed and his eldest son Ajoji and his minister Jasā Lādak were both slain. The place where the battle took place is called *Bhuchar Mori* and is about one mile to the north-west of Dhrol.

So great was the loss sustained by Nawānagar on the fatal field, that since that day, the word 'Bhuchar Mori' has, in Hālār, been almost synonymous with a massacre''. (B. G. VIII, 567-8. See also *Mirāt-i-Sikandari*, Text, 350-352; Tr. Faẓlulla, 323-4). B. states that 'Aẓam Khān "fought such a battle that anything approaching it has never been described" and Shaikh Faiẓi found the chronogram for the year, in which it was fought, in the words فتوحات عزیزی 'Glorious Victories'. (II. 373, l. 6 f. f.; Tr. 385). Niẓāmu-d-dīn says that 4000 Rājputs were slain in this battle. The Jām's defeat was followed by the invasion and occupation of his capital, Nawānagar, and he was forced to become a vassal of the Empire. (A. N. III. 593-595; Tr. 902-906). The date given by A. F. is 4th Amardād and by Niẓāmu-d-dīn 6th Shawwāl, 999 A. H.=18th July 1591.

V. 461, *l.* **8.** *Daulat Khān.....had been wounded in a battle with the Jām and was dead.*

This is worded so obscurely or equivocally as to convey a wrong impression to the reader. Daulat Khān had not been wounded in any encounter between the Jām's army and his own followers. What Niẓāmu-d-dīn really states is that he had been a partisan and auxiliary of the Jām, and had been mortally wounded in *the* battle between the Mughals and the Jām, which is described on page 459 *ante*, *i.e.* the fatal field of 'Bhuchar Mori' in which the Jāḍejas had been slain by the thousand.

V. 461, footnote. *Firishta transcribes this account, but here he uses the more specific word* Bīni, *a naze or promontory. Briggs renders the passage by a paraphrase, "on a spot of ground surrounded by a swamp, which was flooded at high water".*

Briggs is quite right here and no fault can be found with his version. In the Cawnpore lithograph of Firishta, this sentence which has been copied verbatim by him from the Ṭ. A. runs thus: در زمینی که اطراف آن آب و چهله بود (I. 268, l. 2), "on a spot which was surrounded by water and a swamp [چهله] on all sides." In the account of the battle which is found in the *Tārīkh-i-Sind* of Mīr M'aṣūm also, it is explicitly stated that the site of the battle was a چهله a swamp or morass, and there is no reference to any 'naze or promontory'. See my note on E. D. I. 249. The fact would appear to be that Dowson's Ms. wrongly read F.'s زمینی as بینی.

V. 463, *l.* **19.** *Khwāja Muḥammad Hakīm Bakhshi.*

Recte, Muḥammad *Muqīm* as in the Lithograph (376, l. 21, and 460 *ante*). See also M'aṣūm in E. D. I. 249, and A. N. (III. 608; Tr. 930), where the name is 'Muqīm'.

'Dal Bait' (l. 20) is an error for 'Dalpat'. He was the son of Rāi Sinha, the Rājā of Bikāner, and is frequently mentioned in the T. J. (Text, 106, l. 19=E. D. VI. 332, l. 8, *q. v.* my Note). On 467, line 4 f. f. *infra*, the name is written even more incorrectly, as 'Rāi Bīl.' The lithograph has رای دهلی there. (379, l. 4 f.f.). It is a miswriting of another form, 'Ḍalīp', which occurs in some places, but is incorrect.

V. 464, *l.* 19. *Yādgār came up as far as Hamīrpur.*

The lithograph reads 'Hīrpūr'. (377, l. 11). B. calls it 'Hirāpur' (II. 383; Tr. 396) and so also the A. N. (III. 622; Tr. 953). Hīrāpur lies about thirty miles south of Srīnagar and twenty-seven north of Rājauri. (Sarkār, I.A. p. cv). It must be Thornton's 'Haripoor'. Lat. 33°-40′ N., Long. 74°-51′ E.

The name of the Pass which Yādgār had blockaded is, as Dowson notes, variously written. A place called 'Katar*mal*' is marked on Sir Aurel Stein's map, about 4 miles north-west of Rājauri. (See A. N. Tr. III. 764-5 note). Faiẓi Sirhindi calls it 'Katar*bal*' (A. N. Tr. III. 962 note), and B. has 'Katr*īl*'. (II. 353, l. 8 f. f.; Tr. 364). Katar*mal* *may* be the correct form. Mr. Beveridge suggests that it may be the Darhāl Valley, but points out that it is 12 miles north-*east* of Rājauri, instead of north-*west* of it.

V. 464, *l.* 9 from foot. *It was a curious coincidence, that the day on which the Emperor crossed the river of Lāhore to proceed to Kashmīr, was the day on which Yādgār broke out in rebellion.*

The point of the anecdote is missed in the translation. What is really said is that on the very day on which the news of Yādgār's revolt first reached the Court, the Emperor had happened to say that it would not last for *more than forty days*. Niẓāmu-d-dīn now notes with courtier-like wonder and admiration the "curious coincidence" that the day on which Yādgār was killed was *exactly the fortieth*, as Akbar had predicted. (Text, 377, l. 8 f.f.; B. II. 383; Tr. 396). The A. N. also records the fulfilment of the prophecy, with some variations and Abu-l-Faẓl remarks that "the secret vision of the world's lord was impressed anew on high and low". (A. N. III. 624; Tr. 954).

V. 469, *l.* 12. *He [Fatḥu-lla Shīrāzi] was also an adept in the secret arts of magic and enchantments. For instance, he made a windmill which produced flour by a self-generated movement.*

و در علم غریبه از تیرنجات تیز بهره مند بود چنانچه آسیائی ساخت که خود حرکت میکرد و آرد میشد "He was also proficient in strange sciences and wonderful devices, so that he constructed a grinding-mill which worked by itself and turned out flour." Fatḥulla's learning had nothing to do either with magic or with enchantments. He was really a person versed in 'Natural Philosophy' and Mechanics. Niẓāmu-d-dīn states that he made a mirror in which strange images were seen at short range as well as from a distance and a gun which released twelve bullets by the turn of a wheel. Abu-l-Faẓl gives, *more suo*, to Akbar, the credit of inventing a similar gun, or *mitrailleuse*, in which "seventeen barrels were so joined together as to be fired simultaneously with one match." (*Āīn*, Book I. ch. 35.). This was probably the same as or an improvement upon the invention of Fatḥulla. Budāuni states that Fatḥulla exhibited several strange contrivances for "dragging heavy weights" (جر اثقال.) at a Fancy Bazar held in 991 H. (II. 321, l. 3 f. f.; Tr. 331).

V. 470, *l.* 6. *Mīr Jākīr Zand, with his two sons, ... came to Multān from Mawi.*

Read 'Chākir Rind' as at E. D. IV. 398. The lithograph has جاکر رند (645, l. 5 f.f.). 'Rind' is the name of one of the leading Bulūch tribes, the others being Magassi, Marri, Bugti, Buledi etc. (I. G. VI. 290; Dames, Baloch Race, 36). "Mawi" (l. 7) must be an error for "Siwi" (Sībi), which is the reading of the Lithograph. 'Dudāri' (l. 10) is correctly written 'Dūdāi' in the lithograph. (645, l. 4 f.f.). See also my note on I. 314.

V. 474, *l.* 30. [*I wrote*] *the following verse from an Ode* (*Bardah*).

The quotation is really from what is known in Arabic literature as the "Qaṣīda-i-Barda." It was written by Sharfu-d-dīn Busīri, who died in 694 A. H. (1294-5). It is a most ornate panegyric on the Arabian Prophet, who is said to have rewarded the author with a miraculous cure of his paralysis. The Emperor Bābur tells us that he made a metrical version of the *Wālidiya Risāla* composed by his own Pīr, the Khwāja Aḥrār, in the hope that his fever would be charmed away by the prayers of the Khwāja, just as Busīri's paralysis had disappeared instantaneously by the blessing of the Prophet. (B. N. 619-20).

V. 477, *l.* 7 from foot. *'Abdu-l-Qādir was born at Badāun in 947 or 949 H.*

The ambiguity is partly, if not entirely, due to the usual confusion between سبع and تسع in Mss. but there seems to be really little room for doubt in regard to the year. Budāuni himself gives the precise date of his birth as 17th Rāb'ī I. 947 H. in his History, (I. 363, last line; Tr. 473), and as the date and the year are both stated, not in figures but in *words*, it may be safely accepted. Elsewhere, he states that he was ten years old in 957 H. (I. 409; Tr. 525) and in his fortieth year, when a son was born to him on 19th Ṣafar, 987 H. (II. 267, l. 5 f.f.; Tr. 276). His birth-place was not Budāun, but Toḍa Bhīm, (II. 236, l. 9; Tr. 243) near Basāwar (or Bhusāwar), where his family had been long settled and his childhood was passed at Basāwar. (II. Tr. 26, 51, 63). His grandfather also died at Basāwar. (II. 64; Tr. 63; Blochmann in J. A. S. B. XXXVIII, (1869), pp. 117-119). See also 496 *infra*. Basāwar is now in the Bharatpur State and lies on the road from Āgra to Ajmer near Toḍa. The name is spelt 'Bhusāwar' in the I. G. Atlas, Pl. 34 E 2 and also in the Post Office Guide.

V. 478, *l.* 8. *The Tabakāt-i-Shāhjahāni gives A.H. 1024 (1610 A.D.) as the year of his* [*Budāuni's*] *death.*

But Ghulām 'Ali Bilgrāmi gives the year as 1004 H. in his famous *Tazkira*, the *Khazāna-i-'Āmira*, on the authority of the *Ṣumrātu-l-Quds*, a work written by a pupil of Budāuni. As Blochmann has accepted this date, it may be permissible to draw attention to a passage in the History itself, in which "the time of writing" is explicitly said to have been *seventeen years after 989 H. i.e.* 1006 H. (Text. II. 297, l. 20; Lowe, 306). This must imply that Budāuni was alive *two years at least after 1004 H.*

V. 496, *l.* 17. *I heard at Sanṣawān, in Sambal, of the death of my grand-*

father in Basāwar.

So also in Lowe's Tr. 63, but the right reading of the first place-name is 'Saheswān', which lies 23 miles west of Budāun in Lat. 28°-4′ N., Long. 78°-50′ E. Constable, Pl. 27 D a.

V. 497, *l.* 5. *Leaving his wife in distress at Khairābād, he [Husain Khān] set off from Lucknow.*

This should be Khairābād in Sītāpur, district Oude, 62 miles north-west of Lucknow. Lat. 27°-32′ N., Long. 80°-49′ E. (Th.). Constable, 28 B b.

"Wajrāil in the country of Rājā Rankā" (l. 18) is really "*Jurail*, also called *Depail*, the cold-weather residence of the Rājā of Doti on the Seti river, at the foot of the Kumāon hills. His principal fort was at Ajmergarh, [*q.v.* line 5 f.f.], near Dandoldhura, where the Chauntara, governor now resides. The statement that Husain Khān was within two days' journey from Tibet must refer to Barmdeo, which was then, as now, the principal emporium of Tibetan produce. The title 'Ranka Rājā' was borne by the chief of Doti in the Terai". (Atkinson, N.W. Provinces Gazetteer, II. 554-5). Doti is shown in Constable, 25 D c.

V. 501, *l.* 9. *He [Husain Khān] arrived at the village of Oudh, in Jalesar, when he learnt that the Rājā of Awesar still continued his depredations..... in the neighbourhood of Āgra.*

This 'Oudh' must be a mistake for اوه Awwah [Awa or Awah] in Jalesar, Āgra. It lies a few miles north-west of 'Awesar', which is really *Uresar*, a large village "in *Pargana* Mustafabād of Mainpuri district, 23 miles north-west of Mainpuri town and about 25 north-east of Āgra. There is here a distinguished family of Chauhān Thākurs of the Partābner stock." (N. W. Provinces Gazetteer, Vol. IV (1876), p. 772). Awah and Uresar are both shown in Constable, 27 D b.

V. 507, *l.* 4. *The Mirzā had crossed the Ganges at the ford of Chaubāla.*

This is Chaupla, the old name of modern Murādābad. See my note on Vol. III. 538, l. 11. Shergarh (l. 11 f.f.) is now in Montgomery district. Constable, 24 E b. Jahni is probably Chuniān, about twenty miles north of it. 'Sankra' (l. 3 f.f.) is an error for 'Satgarha.' Constable, *Ibid.*

V. 528, *l.* 10. *Moreover, Sāmānis and Brāhmans managed to get frequent private interviews with His Majesty.*

Dowson takes 'Sāmāni' to mean "Hindu ascetics," but the men referred to as such by Budāuni, were really Jaina priests who were neither Brāhmans nor Buddhists. See my note on I. 68, l. 1 and Smith, Akbar, 166-8.

V. 531, *l.* 5. *On the festival of the 8th day after the Sun's entering Virgo in this year [XXVIth or 986 H.], he [Akbar] came forth .....with jewelled strings tied on his wrists etc.*

Mr. Beveridge hazards the conjecture that Akbar showed himself thus in public with marks on the forehead like a Hindu and with strings of jewels tied to his wrists *on the 8th day of Virgo,* because it corresponded to 8th Ābān *Ilāhi*, the anniversary of his birth. (A. N. Tr. I. 72 note).

But this surmise is invalidated by the fact that Jahāngīr followed the same custom of tying jewelled strings on his wrists, eight years after he came to the throne, though Akbar himself is said by him to have latterly discontinued it, because he found that it was overdone by the Hindu nobles of the Court. (T. J. 120, l. 20; Tr. I. 246). Again, 8th Ābān *Ilāhi*—Akbar's birth-day—would correspond to the 8th day after the entrance of the Sun into *Scorpio*—and not *Virgo*—as Ābān was the 8th month of the *Ilāhi* year. The fact is that the festival to which Budaūni refers is that of the *Rākhi-bandhan*. It is also known as the *Nāreli Pūrṇimā* or *Balev* and is celebrated on the 15th day of the lunar month Shrāvaṇa. It is consequently a movable feast, a feast of which neither the Julian nor the *Ilāhi* correspondence could be exactly the same from year to year. It follows, therefore, that even if the solar anniversary of Akbar's birth did happen to fall in 986 H. or 1578 A.C. on 15th Shrāvaṇa, it could not possibly have synchronised with that day of the Vikrama Samvat in any subsequent year.

Akbar was born on 5th Rajab 949 H., 15th October (O. S.), 1542 A. C. (A. N. I. 54-5 and Note) and the solar anniversary of his birth could not possibly have coincided in *any* year with the 15th of Shrāvaṇa, because the latter *must always fall either in July or August*. In 1578 (986 A.H.), 15th Shrāvaṇa was 18th July. 18th July is the 199th day of the Julian year and would correspond to 6th Amardād *Ilāhi*. It may be that Budāuni has inadvertently written *Virgo* for *Leo*—the *sixth* sign instead of the fifth. Jahāngīr states that in 1022 H., the *Rākhi* festival was celebrated on the 9th of *Amardād* (*loc. cit.*) and that the day happened to be also the lunar anniversary (عرس) of Akbar's death, *i. e.* 12-13th Jumādi II. (1022 H.) or 21st July 1612.

V. 533, *l.* 12. *Experimental seclusion of infants.*

This incident is related on the authority of what Akbar himself said about it to Jerome Xavier by Du Jarric. (Payne, Akbar and the Jesuits, 84; Maclagan in J.A.S.B. LXV (1896), p. 77). It is also found in Manucci. (Storia, I. 142). Psammetichus is said by Herodotus (II. 154), to have made experiments with Egyptian children and Greek nurses, but Akbar is not likely to have heard of Psammetichus. The idea was, I venture to say, suggested to him by the curious passage in the *Qābūsnāma*, which is cited below:—

مردم از سخن شنیدن سخن گوي شوند دلیل بر این انکه اگر کودکي که از مادر متولد شود و در زیر زمینش برند و شیر دهند و در همانجا او را پرورند و مادر و دایه با وي سخن نگویند و نگذارند که سخن کسی را بشنود چون بزرگ شود بی شك لال بود و نبینی که همه لالان کر باشند (Bombay Lith. (1907), p. 39, l. 1).

"Human beings learn to speak only by hearing speech and the proof of it is this. If a child is born and if it is taken to a place underground and fed with milk and bred up there, and if the mother and nurse do not speak to it and do not allow it to hear the speech of any other person, it

will be undoubtedly dumb when it grows up. Do not you see that all dumb persons are also deaf!"

Abu-l-Faẓl tells us that the *Qābūsnāma* was one of the books which Akbar was not "tired of hearing read out to him over and over again." (*Āīn*, Tr. I. 103). He also states that there was a great discussion at the Court when the man who heard without having any ears appeared in the *Darbār*. Akbar maintained that speech was not spontaneous with children, but came to every one from hearing and that if speech did not reach them, they would not be able to speak. (A. N. III. 393; Tr. 581). The experiment was made on the line ssuggested in the *Qābūsnāma* to prove that pont. The only difference is that the author of that work speaks of only *one* child and Akbar had the trial made upon *twenty*.

V. 534, *l.* 10. *His Majesty was now (990 H.) firmly convinced that a period of 1000 years from the mission of the Prophet was the extent of the duration of the religion of Islām, and that period was now accomplished.*

This is an important passage from the numismatist's standpoint and it has been cited in almost all our Catalogues of Mughal Coins, on account of the bearing it has on the monetary issues which exhibit the date الف 'One Thousand' in words. But its real meaning has not been exactly realised on account of the unfortunate use of the ambiguous word 'dispensation', or 'mission' by Blochmann (*Āīn*, I. Tr. 191), Dowson, Lowe (B., Tr. II. 310) and others in their translations from Budāuni. The phrase used in the original is بعثت یا تغمیر (Text, 301, l. 9), the first 'Rousing, Awakening, Sending or Dispatching', *i. e.* Announcement by Muḥammad of his having received God's commands to undertake the duties of a Prophet. This event is said by the majority of his biographers, to have taken place in or about 612 A.C., *i. e.* ten years before the year of his *Hijrat* or Flight from Mecca. (Muir, Life of Mahomed, p. 55; Hughes, Dictionary of Islam, 371-2). In other words, the *first* year of the Hijra corresponded to the *eleventh* year of the *B'aṣat* and the 990th year of the Hijra, in which the order for stamping the 'Era of the Thousand' or 'Era of the Millennium' on coins was issued, was the *One Thousandth* year of the *B'aṣat*. To put it differently, Akbar was of opinion that the period of One Thousand Years which was to be "the utmost extent or duration of the religion of Islam" should be reckoned, not from the year in which Muḥammad fled to Mecca, but from that in which his creed was first preached or proclaimed and his prophetic office announced. If the Islamic Millennium commenced in the year of the *B'aṣat*, it would expire in 990 Hijra. It was to commemorate and proclaim this epoch-making event to the world that the الف series was ordered to be issued.

V. 559, *l.* 11 from foot. *The Sultan [Ibrāhīm] turned his face towards Hindustān and conquered.....a city inhabited by a tribe of Khurāsāni descent, whom Afrāsiyāb had expelled from their native country.*

The accounts of Sultan Ibrāhīm Ghaznavi's invasions of India are so vague and obscure and the names of the places raided by his armies are spelt so variously, that it seems to me unprofitable to build upon them theories about the existence of extensive Zoroastrian colonies in Upper India in those and later times.

The contemporary poet Mas'ūd-i S'ad-i Salmān mentions these incursions and states that the Sultān's son Saifu-d-daula invaded a place called Dhangān near Jālandhar, and took the forts of Tabarhinda [Bhatinda], Būriya and Āgra, but there is no reference whatever in his writings to this deportation of the 100000 descendants of the people of Khurāsān who had been exiled to India by Afrāsiyāb. Indeed, the tale cannot be traced to any authority earlier than the *Rauẓatu-s-Ṣafā*, which was compiled towards the end of the 15th century. The existence of Afrāsiyāb, a semi-mythical hero of the Iranian Epos, who is stated to have reigned for several hundred years and his alleged invasion of Khurāsān are legendary and unhistorical and as the story of these peoples' deportation to Ghazni is a corollary or epilogue of the myth, both of them must be equally unworthy of credit. It may be as well also to note that as Afrāsiyāb is supposed to have lived some hundred years *before* Zoroaster, these Khurāsānis could not have been 'Fire-worshippers' or Zoroastrians.

The difficulty and danger of adopting any other course is well exemplified by the most recent pronouncement on the subject. Sir Wolseley Haig tells us that in 1079 A. C., Ibrāhīm "*is said to have taken* a town named Rūpāl, which was perhaps the town of that name in Mahi Kānthā, as he *appears* to have advanced towards the western coast and to have come upon a colony of Parsis, which may be identified with Navsāri in Gujarāt. This is *the only supposition* by which it is *possible* to explain a Muslim historian's *obviously inaccurate statement* that he reached a town, populated exclusively by Khurāsānis, who had been deported to India by Afrāsiyāb". (C. H. I. III. 34-5. The Italics are mine). But why accept an 'obviously inaccurate statement,' at all and how crude and improbable is this "only possible supposition" ?

The genesis of the hypothesis is this. The place near Jālandhar which Mas'ūd S'ad Salmān calls 'Dhangān' and the *Tārīkh-i-Alfi* 'Damāl,' (دمال), is *perverted* by Firishta into 'Rūdpāl' (I. 58, l. 4 f. f.), just as he transforms the 'Jūd' of the latter authority into 'Ajūdhan.' Sir Wolseley then adopts this blunder and identifies 'Damāl' with a village called 'Rūpāl' in the Mahi Kāṇṭhā. He next *supposes* that the town of the Khurāsānis, called 'Derā' or 'Derāpūr,', which Elliot, Briggs and others had located somewhere near the Indus and in the Punjab, must be Navsāri in Gujarāt, because, forsooth, there is a colony of about 5000 Parsis *now* in that town!

Sir Henry Elliot accepts also Yazdi's statement about Asandi, Kīthal and Tughlaqpur having been all populated by *Majūs*. But these assertions are most probably, due to the ignorance and indifference of Muslim writers

in regard to the tenets of all religions except their own and the confusion of 'Gabr' with 'Zoroastrian.' Yazdi must have known that the 'Gabrs' of his native town and country believed in Ahuramazda (or Yazdān) and Ahrīman and the paragraph about their dualistic beliefs, on which so much stress is laid here by Elliot, is in reality an empty display of inapplicable learning, a tag borrowed from Shahrastāni, who has an almost exactly similar description of their creed. (See Dowson's Note to Vol. III. 506).

The inhabitants of Asandi, Kīthal and Tughlaqpur were, like those of Sarsutī, Tohāna and other places raided by Timūr, *Jāts* and Gujars. Their chiefs are called *Sālūn*, which *may* be the name of one of the very numerous 'Jāt' or Gujar clans or septs. They are said to have eaten the flesh of the pig, to which, it is well known, these people have no objection. (Crooke, Tribes and Castes. III. 40; II. 448).

Another point which has been emphasised in this essay relates to Ṣafi the Gabr, who is said to have been one of the chiefs who commanded in the fortress of Mīrat and to have "*thrown himself*" after the surrender "into the fire which he worshipped." It is impossible to understand how a man, who was neither a Hindu nor a Muslim, could have come to hold such a position at this date, and there is no other instance of any other professor of the Zoroastrian religion having risen to such eminence at any time during the thousand years of Muslim domination in India. Moreover, no Zoroastrian would have ever "thrown himself into the fire," as such a pollution of the sacred element or the cremation of a lifeless corpse is regarded as a deadly and inexpiable sin by them. The allusion looks like a reminiscence of a hackneyed gibe which is found in S'adi's *Gulistān*. (I. 16).

اگر صد سال گبر آتش فروزد ـ چو یکدم اندر آن افتد بسوزد

The idea itself is as old as it is common and occurs in one of the *Shatakas* of Bhartrihari. (*Nīti Shatakas*. No. 57; Tr. Kennedy, 71).

V. 570, *l.* 6. *On the knowledge of Sanskrit by Muhammadans.*

The thesis which Sir Henry Elliot maintains here is that the knowledge of Sanskrit was more generally diffused both before, and in the reign of Akbar, than is generally supposed, and that "Faizi was not the first Muhammadan who had mastered the difficulties of that wonderful language." But we have no reliable *proofs* of the Sanskrit scholarship of Mullā Sheri, Shaikh Ibrāhīm Sarhindi or Ḥājji Sultān Thānesari and it is quite certain that Budāuni and Naqīb Khān were ignorant of it.

Budāuni tells us that when the Emperor resolved to undertake a Persian rendering of the *Mahābhārata*, he first assembled several Hindu experts [دانایان هند] and directed them to prepare *an explanation* [تفسیر میکرده باشند] *i. e.* to compose a version in the vernacular. Then for several nights, he himself *explained the meaning from the vernacular exposition to Naqīb Khān*, so that the Khān might sketch out the gist in Persian. ماحصل را بفارسی املا میکرد (II. Text. 320=Tr. 330).

These Hindu experts are always styled معبران by B. and he laments that at the time when he wrote this portion of his History, the majority of

the Interpreters (معبران) as well as (مترجمان) Translators, had gone over to the majority, or as he quaintly puts it, 'had been reckoned or gathered to the Kauravas and Pāndavas' اکثر از آن معبران و مترجمان بکوران و و پندان محشورند (II. 321, l. 7). This shows that the معبران were quite distinct from the مترجمان. The former were, in fact, Hindus, while the latter were Musalmans.

The names of at least three of these معبران are specifically mentioned by him, *viz.* Purkhottam, the معبر of the *Singhāsan Battīsi*, Devi of the *Mahābhārata* and Bhāwan of the *Atharva Veda*. One of the Interpreters of the *Rāmāyaṇa* [یکی از معبران رامایں] is also mentioned, as working in a room specially set apart for them near the Hall of Audience [دولت خانه] in Fatḥpur Sīkri. (II. 337; Lowe, 348). Naqīb Khān himself states that he completed his portion—*Parvas* XII-XVIII—in one year and a half in Sha'bān 992 H. and that he was assisted by Devi Misra Shatāvadhāni, Madhusūdan Misra, Chaturbhuj and Shaikh Bhāwan. (Rieu, Catalogue, I. 57).

It would seem that the Hindu معبران first wrote out Hindi versions of their own, though it is possible that they made use of or even appropriated older vernacular renderings where such existed. These versions were then handed over to the so-called Musalman Translators [مترجمان] and also orally explained or elucidated in cases of difficulty. Indeed, Budāuni declares, that the version of the *Atharva Veda* had to be left unfinished, because it contained many difficult passages which Bhāwan could not explain or interpret to the satisfaction either of himself [Budāuni] or of Ḥājji Ibrāhīm Sarhindi, to whom the task was assigned after he himself had abandoned it. معبر عاجز از تعبیر بود و مقا صد مفهوم نمیشد (II. 212, l. 3 f.f. = Lowe. 216). It is clear that the result of such collaboration could not possibly be an accurate or faithful *translation*. It could only be a loose paraphrase, abstract or abridgment suited to the literary taste of the age.

Francis Gladwin, who had seen a copy of the *Razmnāma*, or this Akbari version of the *Mahābhārata*, states that "it was nothing more than *an extract, very indifferently executed*, many beautiful descriptions and episodes being entirely omitted." (*Ayeen Akbery*, Trans. I. 103). He says that it filled 2000 folios, but this cannot represent anything like the real extent of the great Epic, as the English translation by Pratāp Chandra Rāy runs into ten volumes and almost as many thousand pages in print. The complete copy in the British Museum fills only 1224 *folios*. (Rieu, I. 59). The whole episode of the *Bhagavad Gītā* is dismissed here in three *folios*. (*Ibid.*). Indeed, Budāuni states that he finished his version of two out of the eighteen *Parvas* or sections فن in three or four months!

It is not quite easy to say whether Faiẓi's *deep* knowledge of Sanskrit is matter of history or only popular belief. But however that may be, it is certain that Dr. John Taylor, who was a competent Sanskrit scholar as well as mathematician, complains that his version of the *Līlāvati* has many omissions and the translation in some passages departs so far from the origina las to "induce the suspicion that *Faizi contented him-*

self with writing down the verbal explanation afforded by his assistants." (Lilavati, Tr. 1816, p. 2). This is just what Budāuni and his colleagues appear to have done, and this considered judgment probably represents the real state of the case, in regard to all the versions of Sanskrit classics *made by Musalmāns* in Akbar's reign.

Alberūni's knowledge of Sanskrit was undoubtedly greater than that of Faiẓi or any other of these *soi-disant* translators. But Dr. Sachau, who has examined the matter both sympathetically and critically, gives his opinion in the following words:

"With what success did he [Alberūni] study Sanskrit? To me it seems impossible that, without a grammar and dictionary to help him, he should have been able to read books on philosophy, astronomy, and astrology and to translate them into Arabic *proprio Marte* and without the help of learned Pandits.....Alberūni knows the phonetic system ..... and he is to some extent acquainted with *the general features of the structure of* Sanskrit.....As a rule, however, he seems to have read Indian books *with the aid of Pandits* and *to have written his translation simply from their dictation.*" (*Indica*, Arabic Text, Preface, xiv-v). Dr. Sachau then gives a long list of mistakes made by Alberūni, when he *tries* to interpret Sanskrit words or phrases according to his own knowledge and without the help of his Pandits. (*Ibid.* xvii-xviii. See also his Notes to Tr. Vol. I. 351 and 394). Dr. Bühler also has pointed out that Alberūni's "deficiencies in this respect are only too patent" and that he has "committed some very bad blunders in his translations." (Indian Antiquary, IX, 1880, p. 409).

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VI. 4, *l.* 12 from foot. *"He [Abu-l-Faẓl] had an extraordinary appetite. It is said that, exclusively of water and soup, he consumed daily twenty-two sirs of food."*

One feels a mild shock of surprise on learning that the renowned statesman, philosopher and litterateur was such a guzzler and gourmand. If this 'ser' was the Akbari *ser* of thirty *dāms*, or 320 × 30=9600 grains, twenty-two *sers* would be equal to about thirty pounds *avoirdupois*. Hawkins states that the Akbari *man* of forty *sers* was equivalent to about 55 English pounds. (E. T. I. 105). Twenty-two Akbari *sers* would then be $= \frac{55}{1} \times \frac{22}{40} = \frac{1210}{40} =$ 30¼ lbs.

Elsewhere, the author of the *Maāṣiru-i-Umarā* states of Abu-l-Qāsim Namakīn, another of Akbar's nobles, that he could eat one thousand mangoes, one thousand apples and ten *Kharbūzas* (melons) each weighing one *Man*. (M. U. III. 77, l. 5). He is also responsible for the averment that Āṣaf Khān, the brother of Nūr Jahān, had such a Gargantuan stomach, that it could digest one *man* Shāhjahāni of solid food. (I. 158). One Shāhjahāni *man* of 40 *dāms* was equal to about 70 lbs. *avoirdupois*.

VI. 5, *l.* 5 from foot. *He [Abu-l-Faẓl] presented a commentary on a Sūrat of the Kurān, which he called Āyatu-l-Kursi.*

This is expressed badly and in such a way as to mislead the reader. The *Āyatu-l-Kursi* is the name of the *Sūrat* or *verse* of the Qurān which was the subject of the Commentary and not the title given by Abu-l-Faẓl to that Commentary or his own lucubration. The verse is so called, because the word 'Kursi' (Throne) occurs in it. It is the 256th verse of the Second chapter of the 'Holy Book' and contains a magnificent description of the glory and majesty of the Most High, sitting on His *Kursi*, Throne or Judgment-seat in the Eighth Heaven, which is just below the *'Arsh*, the Ninth or Empyrean. See B. Text. II. 198 and 516 *infra*, where it is clearly stated that Abu-l-Faẓl "presented a Commentary *on* the *Āyatu-l-Kursi* which treated on the nice points and subtleties of the Qurān." (*Vide* also A. N. Bib. Ind. Text, III. 95; Tr. 119). Subsequently, Abu-l-Faẓl presented, on the occasion of his second introduction to the Emperor, a Commentary on another verse of the Qurān, the *Fātiḥa*. (A. N. III. 114; Tr. 161).

VI. 11, *l.* 6. *In the year 933 H., Mirzā Kāmrān removed Mirzā 'Askari from the government of Kandahār and gave it to Khwāja Kalān Beg.*

Sic in the B. I. Text, I. 126, but the date is evidently wrong, as Bābur was alive in 933 and Kāmrān could have left 'Askari in charge of Qandahār only after his father's death (p. 10 *ante*). A British Museum Ms. of the A. N. reads 939 and Mr. Beveridge thinks this must be correct. (Tr. I. 292 note). نہ (*nuh*) may have been miswritten or misread as سہ, *Sih*.

The fact of 'Askari's deputising for Kāmrān in Qandahār is mentioned in the great inscription engraved there by Mīr M'aṣūm. (*q.v.* my *note* on I. 238, l. 4 f.f.). 939 H. is most probably correct, as when Sām Mirzā of Persia attacked Qandahār in 942 H., Khwāja Kalān who superseded 'Askari was the governor. (A. N. I. 135; Tr. 307).

VI. 11, *l.* 15. *When he [Humāyūn] arrived at the town of Kinār, near Kālpi, he was informed that Sultān Bahādur had laid siege to the fort of Chītor.*

This is Kinār which was a *Maḥāl* in *Sarkār* Kālpi. (*Āīn*, Tr. II. 184). The old village is now in ruins and is known as Kanar Khera. A new town called Jagmohanpur or Jagmanpur has sprung up near the site. (Elliot, Races, II. 95). Kinār is mentioned in the Memoirs of Bābur also, as a place on the Jumna, two or three *Kos* below its junction with the Chambal. (E. D. IV. 278; B. N. Tr. 589, 598). Jagmanpur in Jālaun is shown in Constable, 28 A b., about 40 miles north-west of Kālpi.

VI. 13, *l.* 3. *But Sadr Khān urged that they should press the siege, as no Muhammadan king would attack while they were engaged in war with infidels.*

The *Mirāt-i-Sikandari* puts the matter very differently. "When Humāyūn," its author writes, "reached Gwālior, he reflected thus, 'Sultān Bahādur is besieging Chitor. If I at this time oppose him, I shall really be rendering assistance to the infidels and such a proceeding is not in accordance with religion'." (Text, 272, l. 6; Tr. Bayley, 38; see also T. A. 507; F. II. 222-3). A similar story is told by the same historian, in connection with Sultān Ghiyāṣu-d-dīn Khalji of Mālwā and Maḥmūd Begaḍa's siege of Chāmpāner. The Rājā having solicited the aid of the Khalji Sultān, whose ancestors had been at perpetual war with the predecessors of Maḥmūd, Ghiyāṣu-d-dīn invited the opinion of the Ulamā who unanimously declared that the giving of any help to a *Kāfar* at such a juncture was contrary to the religious law. Ghiyāṣu-d-dīn, who had marched half-way towards Gujarāt, consequently retraced his steps in the direction of his capital. (*Ibid.* 114-115; Bayley's Tr. 208-9).

On l. 14, 'Mirān Muhammad *Shuj'ā'* is wrong. The third word should be 'Shāh' as it is in the A. N. Text. I. 132. He was the son of Bahādur Shāh's sister and the Fārūqi ruler of Khāndesh.

VI. 15, *l.* 11 from foot. *Nausāri was held by.....an officer of Husain Khān.*

The real name of the fief-holder was *Qāsim* Ḥusain Khān Uzbeg. He is mentioned at p. 13 as 'Qāsim Sultān,' as 'Qāsim Khān' a few lines lower down on this very page, and as 'Qāsim Ḥusain' at page 14 *supra*. His negligence or disloyalty in allowing Bahādur Shāh to escape is also alluded to. He was a Tīmūrid, and the son of a daughter of Sultān Ḥūsain Bāiqarā who was married to one of the Uzbeg Sultāns. (Gulbadan, H. N. Text, 17; T.A. in E.D.V. 197; Text. 198, l. 4 f.f.).

VI. 17, *l.* 5. *The Mirzās marched off by way of Ghāt-Karji.*

Mr. Beveridge states that he cannot find this place. (A. N. Tr. I. 321 note). It is mentioned at least thrice in the *Mirāt-i-Sikandari*. (Text 243, 244; Tr. Bayley, 348, 349, 350). It is said to lie east of the town of Bānswālā. (M. V. Pandyā's article in J. A. S. B. 1897, p. 167). Bānswāla is shown in Constable, 27 B d.

VI. 18, *l.* 10 from foot. *A European Kāzi (priest?) placed himself in the Sultān's way, and bade him stop. The Sultān ... ... cleft him in twain.*

According to the Portuguese accounts, the man cut down by Bahādur was not a priest, but Manoel de Sousa, the Governor of Diu. Perhaps قاضی is used in the sense of civil and criminal magistrate, or judge.

VI. 21, *l.* 21. *The fugitives proceeded to Dewati-Mājāri, a strong place which was Hīmū's family home.*

Recte, 'Deoti' and 'Mācheri,' which are now two ruined villages or townships in close proximity to each other in the State of Alwar. Mācheri lies about 23 miles south of Alwar town and 3 miles east of Rājgarh, which is a station on the B. B. and C. I. Railway. (I. G. XVI. 224). Niẓāmu-d-dīn Aḥmad (Ṭ. A. in E. D. V. 241) and Abu-l-Faẓl (A. N. I. 337; Tr. I. 617) state that Hīmū was a [Dhūsar] *Baniya* of Rewāri in Alwar.

VI. 21, last line. *The Rānā [of Chitor] was the son of that Rānā who had acted improperly towards the late Emperor Humāyūn, and had suffered defeat at his hands.*

Read 'Bābur' for 'Humāyūn'. The text (II. 46) speaks of the Emperor correctly, as *Firdaus Makāni*, فردوس مکانی, which is the after-death title of the Founder of the Mughal Empire. The prince who was ruling at Chītor in 963 H. was Udayasinha, the posthumous son of Sanga, who had been defeated at Kānhwa or Khānwa by Bābur. Humāyūn is styled '*Jannat Āshiyāni*.' (A. N. I. 120; Tr. I. 283-5). Sanga is said to have 'acted improperly' towards Bābur, because he had at first professed to be an ally of the Chaghtāi and then assumed a hostile attitude, when he found that the invader had no intention of abandoning his conquest.

VI. 22, *l.* 19. *Saiyid Muhammad Bārha and Shāh Quli Khān Mahram were sent out with a force to capture Jītasāran.*

The B. I. Text has 'Jītāran' (II. 66; Tr. 103), which is right. The name is spelt 'Jetāran' in the Post Office Guide. It lies 24 miles east of Pīpār in Jodhpur State. Pīpār is shown in Constable, 27 A b.

On line 7 f.f., the name of 'the son of Muḥammad Khān, the Ruler of Bengal', who defeated and slew Mubāriz Khān, *alias* Sultān Muḥammad 'Adali, is given as '*Sadar* Khān who had assumed the title of Jalālu-d-dīn'. But it was Jalālu-d-dīn's predecessor and elder brother, *Khiẓr* Khān *alias Bahādur* Khān, (Gauriya) who avenged his father's death and 'Adali was killed in a battle against Bahādur, as A. F. himself states at 34 *infra*. Bahādur's coins show that he ruled from 962 to 968 H. Jalālu-d-dīn reigned after his death, from 968 to 971 H. (Wright, I. M. C. II. p. 181).

VI. 28, *l.* 7 from foot. *But the* takhta-Begi, *one of the ladies of the Court, told her* [*Māhum Anaga*] *the truth.*

The name of the lady is given as "*Takhta* Begam" and also as "*Najība* Begam" in the B.I. Text of the A.N. (II. 177). She is said by Bāyazīd Biyāt to have been the mother of Dastam Khān. (Memoirs in J.A.S.B. LXVII, 1898, p. 311). As 'Takhta' or 'Tukhta' was a personal name borne by males as well as females, the definite article prefixed to it here should be deleted. Tukhta Beg Kābuli was an old servant of Mirzā Muḥammad Ḥakīm, who was afterwards ennobled as Sardār Khān. (*Āīn*, Tr. I. 467; T.J. Tr. I. 31, 151). *Tukhta* Begi, King of Makrīt, is mentioned in Miles. (Tr. *Shajrat*, 117; see also A. N. Tr. II. 274 *Note*). نجیبه and تخته look so very much alike in the Persian script that it is impossible to be positive about the real name of the lady.

VI. 29, *l.* 18. *It was an old standing custom for the rulers of Hindustān, to exact contributions... from the pilgrims of holy shrines. This tax* (*on Hindu pilgrims*) *was called* Karmi.

وگر می نامند بفتح کاف و سکون را (A. N. II. 190, l. 5). Mr. Beveridge's rendering is, "This (worship) was called 'Karma.'" He also reads *Karmī* as one word and explains it as the Sanskrit *Karma*, 'a religious act or the acquiring of merit.' (Tr. II. 295 note). I submit that this is not an improvement on Dowson's meaningless 'Karmi.' I translate it thus: 'And *this tax* [not this 'worship'] was called 'Kar' [by the pilgrims, in their vernacular]." The 'mi' in '*Kar mināmand*' goes, not with 'Kar', but with 'nāmand' and the full form of the auxiliary verb is *Mināmand*. The vocalization, *Kāf* with *Fatḥ* and *Rā* silent also proves that the word is the Hindi *Kar*.

VI. 29, *l.* 12 from foot. *And he* [*Akbar*] *remitted it* [*the pilgrim tax*], *although it amounted to Krors of rupees.*

The two words which follow 'Krors' are an unwarranted and misleading interpolation. There is no reference to 'Rupees' or any other unit of the currency in the original. (II. 190; Tr. 295). It is not easy to say positively what monetary denomination is meant, but the presumption would be in favour of either *Dāms* or Sikandari *Tangas*. It is exceedingly improbable that the pilgrim-tax should have yielded several *Krors* of rupees at this time. Akbar's total revenue during the last years of his reign has been estimated at about *fifteen* Krors of Rupees only.

VI. 30, *l.* 12 from foot. *On the north of* [*Garha-Katanka*] *lies Panna.*

Another instance of a persistent error. Dowson notes that the name is written 'Patta' in the print and in the Ms. and also by Faiẓi Sirhindi. The right reading is 'Bhaṭa' or 'Bhaṭghora,' the old name of Bāghel Khand or Rewā. Thornton says that 'Goorha' is a town in Bāghelkhand, thirteen miles east of Rewā and thirteen miles from the left bank of the river Sone. Lat. 24°-30′ N., Long. 81°-35′ E. Dowson asserts that "the description given applies to Panna," but it is equally applicable to Bhaṭa or Bhaṭghora. Katanka is Katangi, a town about 25 miles north-west of Jabalpur, Garha lies four miles south of Jabalpur. Constable, 28 A d.

The country of which Āṣaf Khān is said, a few lines lower down (p. 31, l. 7), to have "accomplished the conquest", *i. e.* raided or overrun, was also '*Bhaṭa*,' *not* '*Panna*.' On p. 34, l. 7 also, read 'Bhaṭa' for 'Panna.'

VI. 32, *l.* **12.** *He fled to Rājā Nar Singh Deo, grandfather of Rājā Rām Chandar of Panna.*

The correct name of the Rājā was *Bīr* [*Vīra*] Sinha Deva and he is frequently mentioned in the *Bābur Nāma*. (Tr. 521, 562, 689). He was present at the battle of Kānhwa. He was the father of Vīrabhānu [Parbehān or Bīrbhān], who is said to have been the Rājā of Arīl. (Gulbadan, H. N. Tr. 136; Jauhar, Tr. Stewart, 189). This Vīrabhānu was the father of Rāmchandra, Rājā of Bhaṭa (not Panna). See also my notes on IV. 461 and V. 93, 95. The same mistake is committed at 117 *infra*, where the 'Panna' of which Rāmchand was Rājā should be read as 'Bhaṭa.' 'Māndhūn' to which the Rājā fled (p. 118) is correctly 'Bāndhu' which was the capital of Bhaṭa.

VI. 37, *l.* **8.** *The enemy had halted at Sarnāl, on the bank of the Sakāner.*

The B. I. text reads 'Bikāner' (III. 13), an error for 'Bankāner,' *i.e.* 'Bānkāner' or 'Vānkāner.' The river is the Mahi and one of the most generally used fords on it was at 'Vānkāner' ('Wancaneer' on Bayley's map), which was also called Khānpur. The armies of the Sultāns of Gujarāt are said to have frequently crossed the river at this point. (*Mirāt-i-Sikandari*. Tr. Bayley, 137, 143, 330, 346). Sarnāl lies five miles east of Thāsrā and is said to be so called because it lies at the head (سر) of a narrow and precipitous defile, river or hill (نال) (*Ib.* 431, l. 10; Tr. Faẓlulla, 310; A.N. III. Tr. 19), but this derivation savours of meaning-making.

VI. 41, *l.* **5 from foot.** *Jalāl Khān, Saiyid Hūri and Kālā Pahār whose name was Rājū, now separated from Lodi.*

The B. I. text reads 'Jalāl Khān Sadhauri' (III. 22; Tr. 31) and it is said in the *Tārīkh-i-Dāūdi* also that "Jalāl Khān *Sadhauri* and Rāju, surnamed the 'Black Mountain' [*Kālā Pahār*] deserted Lodi." (E. D. IV. 511). But elsewhere in the A. N. he seems to be called سرهری '*Sirhari*' 'who was Dāūd's rational soul', (A. N. III. 120; Tr. 172), and also 'Jalāl Khān *Gidhauriya*'. (III. 72; Tr. 100).

VI. 48, *l.* **11 from foot.** *But a few days afterwards, he* [*Junaid*] *found the means of reaching Nuzhatābād in that province, and there raised a revolt.*

This 'Nuzahatābād' is a geographical mare's nest. چند روزی نگذشته بود که جنید قابو دانسته درنزهت آبادِ صوبه بهار گرد شورش انگیخت (III. 136, l. 1). Mr. Beveridge's rendering is "many days had not elapsed, before Junaid thought he had his opportunity and proceeded to set up a commotion in Bihār.' (Tr. III. 192). *Nuzhatābād* is a mere flourish, a rhetorical or honorific epithet, signifying "Abode of pleasure, joy, etc." prefixed to the name of the country. 'Bahār' in Persian means 'Spring,' when 'joy' or 'pleasure' (*Nuzhat*) reigns everywhere. For other honorific epithets of Mughal towns, see my paper in Num. Supp. to the J. A. S. B. (1921), No. XXXV. pp. 31-97.

VI. 52, last line. *Soon after this, Satri and Jatri,.....seized the opportunity of taking possession of the country of Bakra.*

مکرہ and مگرہ in the B. I. text (141, l. 8) are errors for *Tegra*, which lies west of Monghyr town and nearly opposite to Sūrajgarh, on the north-west bank of the Ganges and in the north-west part of the Begum Serāi sub-division. (A. N. Tr. III. 199 Note). "The *pargana* itself is now called 'Mulki' in the official records, but the town of Teghara still retains its old name." (Beames in J. A. S. B. 1885, p. 174). It seems to be the 'Patkhera' (variant 'Teghara'), which is registered as a *Maḥāl* in *Sarkār* Ḥājīpur, *Ṣūba* Bihār in the *Āīn*. (Tr. II. 155). Thornton says 'Tegra' lies 33 miles west by north of Monghyr, Lat. 25°-27′ N., Long. 86°-0′ E.

VI. 53, *l.* 14 from foot. *Rājā Todar Mal now arrived, bringing with him fifty-four elephants, which had been taken in.....the campaign of Takrohi.*

'Takrohi' is Tukaroi, a village about seven miles south of Mughalmāri. It is now in Bālāsore district and lies between Midnāpore and Jaleshwar, rather more than half way distant from the former. Lat. 21°-53′ N., Long. 87°-1′ E. (*Āīn*, Tr. I. 376). The Ṭ. A. and B. speak of the battle having been fought at بجہورہ or جہورہ 'Bajhora' or 'Tajhora'. As Blochmann says that he cannot "give a satisfactory explanation" of either of these forms, I venture to suggest that all that is necessary is to transpose the dots and read تکہورہ 'Tu*k*hora' which is practically identical with 'Tukaroi'. The name Mughalmāri must be derived from the fact that the Mughals inflicted a crushing defeat there on their Afghān adversaries.

VI. 53, last line. [*Sīwāna*] *was held by Bathā Rāhtor.*

"Patā" in the B. I. Text (III. 167; Tr. 237) and this is probably correct. Cf. 'Jaimal' and 'Paṭa', the renowned heroes of Chitor. 'Paṭa or Paṭāi Rāṭhor and Patāi Baqqāl' are mentioned as the persons to whom Chandra Sen, the son of Rājā Māldeva of Jodhpur, had handed over the fort of Siwāna two years before (XIX R. Y.). (A. N. III. 82; Tr. 114). The last Hindu Rājā of Chāmpāner from whom Maḥmūd Begaḍa took the stronghold was known as Rāwal Patāi or Rānā Patāi. (Ẓ. W. 27, 28).

VI. 55, *l.* 12. *Campaign against Gajpati. Capture of Rohtās.*

Gajpati was the Ujjainia Rājā of Bhojpur and was the son or nephew of Dalpat Sāh. *q. v. Āīn*, Tr. I. 513 and Note. The name is also written گجپتی-گجپتی and گنجپتی These forms indicate that the real name was not Gajpati, but Gajni or Gajīni. The family is now represented by the Rājās of Dumrāon or Hathwa, and it appears from their family chronicles that the original name was Gajan Sāhi. (A. N. Tr. III. 239 Note). The corruption 'Gajpati' is probably due to the Mughal historians' familiarity with it as the dynastic title of the Rājās of Orissa and in connection also with the ancient Hindu classification of Gajpati, Narpati, Ashwapati and Bhūpati. (Beal, Buddhist Records, I. 13-4). One of the kings in the old Hindu game of cards (*Ganjīfa*), of which Akbar was

very fond, was also denominated *Gajpati*. (*Āīn*, Tr. I. 306). According to another authority, (I. G. XI. 378), the founder of the *Rāj* of Dumrāon in Shāhābād *Taḥṣīl*, Bengal, was Santana Sāhi. During the struggle between the Afghāns and the Mughals, Gajan Sāhi and Dalpat Sāhi, two rival princes of the family, joined opposing sides. Gajan Sāhi received Rohtās and Shāhābād from the former. The capital was first at Jagdīspur, afterwards at Bhojpur and was lastly removed to Dumrāon in or about 1745 A. C. Bhojpur lies west of Arrah and north of Sahsarām. Dalpat's rebellion in 1579-80 A. C. is mentioned in the A. N. (III. 323, Tr. 474). Dalpat Ujjainia, who is mentioned at 72 *infra* as one of the Mughal auxiliaries was murdered by the orders of Prince Salīm in 1601 A. C. He had been taken prisoner some years before after another revolt and released in 1599 A. C. on the payment of a heavy ransom. (*Āīn*, Tr. I. 513).

Sangrām (l. 25) was the Rājā of *Kharakpur*, not Gorakpur, as Mr. Beveridge writes the place-name. (A. N. Tr. III. 461=Text, 315).

VI. 56, *l.* **11.** *When Gajpati was (first) defeated, he placed his son Srī Rām.....in the fort of Sher-garh.*

Dowson says this is "Shergutty, 65 miles south-east of Jagdespur." But the place intended is Shergarh, 20 miles S. W. of Sahsarām, and north of Rhotās, where Shīr Shāh had built a great fortress. The B.I. text has 'Shergarh' (III. 188-9; Tr. 265-6) and F. also calls it by the same name. (I. 263, l. 10 f. f.). See also I. G. XXII. 272 and E. D. IV. 419, where it is wrongly called Sher *Koh* [كوه for شير]. Constable, 28 C c.

VI. 57, *l.* **3.** *Muzaffar Khān, Rājā Todar Mal and Khwāja Shāh Mansūr.....were summoned to a council at Kot-pakali.*

Recte, Kot-*put*li. It is now in the Rājput State of Jaipur and lies about 60 miles N. E. of Jaipur city. (I. G. XVI. 3). It is on the road from Delhi to Ajmer and is about 92 miles S. W. of the former. (*Chihār Gulshan* in I. A. cvii. See also *Āīn*, Tr. II. 182, 194). Constable, 27 C b. The double-barrelled name is due to the existence of a village called 'Putli' in the vicinity.

VI. 57, *l.* **4 from foot.** *Defeat of the Rājā of Madhgarh.*

Recte, 'Rājā Madhukar.' 'Madhgarh' is not a town or a district, but a miswriting of 'Madhukar', the personal name of the ruler. (A. N. III. 77, 209, 228; Tr. 108, 294, 324). He was one of the nine sons of the Bundela Rājā Pratāp Rudra of Undcha or Orchha and the father of Vīra Sinha Deva, the murderer of Abu-l-Faẓl. Another expedition was despatched against Rājā Madhukar in the 36th year of Akbar's reign (999 H.) (A. N. III. 604=Tr. 922) and his death in the XXXVIIth (1000-1001 A. H.) is also recorded. (*Ibid*, 628=Tr. 961).

VI. 59, *l.* **9.** *Tribute from.....Rājā Māl Gosāin, the Zamindār of Kūch.*

The name is sometimes written 'Bāl Gosāin'. But he is called 'Malla Deb' or 'Malla Nārāyan' in the local chronicles and contemporary inscriptions. He is also styled 'Nar Nārāyan'. (Gait, History of Assam, 47, 49 note and 56. See also Blochmann, J. A. S. B. 1872, p. 100 n.). A. F. says

that Shukla Dhwaj was the elder brother of Mâl Gosâin, but he was really the younger, according to the epigraphic records. (Gait, J. A. S. B. 1893, p. 295). Shukla Dhwaj is generally known as 'Sila Râi', *i. e.* the 'kite king'.

VI. 59, *l.* 13. *Partâb Bâr.....and his wife Basûrbâ [came to court].*

It has been suggested that the first name stands for that of Pietro Tavares and Mr. Beveridge does not reject this, though he thinks that "Partâb Bâr" does not bear much resemblance to the name 'Tavares.' (A. N. Tr. III. 349-50 Note). It may be possible to remove the difficulty, if we suppose that what Abu-l-Faẓl wrote was پترتاب یار *Patar Tâbiâr*. There is hardly any difference between 'Par' and '*Patar*' in Persian writing.

The name of his wife is more difficult to determine. It is written as *Basurbâ*, *Nashûrnâ*, *Nasûrtâ Basûrbâ* and in several other ways also. Mr. Beveridge supposes it to stand for Isabella or Louisa. But the readings favoured by most of the Mss. have little or no resemblance to either of these names. May it not be a mistranscription by metathesis of 'Senoriâ' سنوریا, *i.e.* 'Senhora'? A. F. was probably not acquainted with the actual name. He had only heard her spoken of as 'Senhora', and may have thought that it was her personal name.

V. 67, *l.* 9 from foot. *Kâzi-zâda, a leading man.....arrived from Fathâbâd bringing with him many war-boats.*

This Fatḥâbâd was a *Sarkâr* named after Fatḥ Shâh, Sultân of Bengal, and comprised parts of the modern Jessore, Farîdpur, Southern Bâqarganj and Dâccâ districts. The chief town was Farîdpur. (Blochmann in J. A. S. B. 1873, p. 217). Farîdpur is shown in Constable, 29 D d.

VI. 69, *l.* 8. *Jaimal (son of Mâldeo).....died.....His wife, the daughter of Mûna Râjâ was unwilling to burn.*

The words enclosed in brackets must be a conjectural gloss or interpolation. There is nothing corresponding to them in the text (III, 402), according to which, *Jaimal's wife* was the grand-daughter of Mâldeva, the great Râṭhor Râjâ of Jodhpur. The name of Jaimal's father is not given anywhere by Abu-l-Faẓl. Blochmann suggested that Jaimal was the son of Rupsi, who was a nephew of Bhârmal and cousin of Bhagwândâs Kachhwa of Amber. (*Âîn*, Tr. I. 427-8). Mr. Beveridge (A. N. III. Tr. 564, *Note*) and Mr. Vincent Smith (Akbar, p. 226) have endorsed his opinion or conjecture. It may be a 'good shot', but, unfortunately, there is nothing except the name to go upon and there were several other Rajputs called Jaimal in Akbar's service. '*Mûna* Râjâ' on line 10 is an error for 'Moṭa Râjâ', the 'Fat Râjâ', Udaysinha, son of Mâldeo, was so called, because he was very corpulent.

VI. 69, *l.* 4 from foot. *At the new moon of Amardâd, Sâdik Khân attacked him.*

This is not a correct rendering of غرّهٔ امرداد (Text, III. 407), *the first day* of Amardâd, the fifth month in the *Ilâhi* calendar. As the *Ilâhi* reckoning was solar, it is scarcely proper to speak of its first day as 'its New Moon'. "The New Moon of Amardâd" would strictly mean that day in the

month of Amardād, on which the Moon became New—a very different thing.

VI. 70, *l.* 11. *He [Murtiẓā Nizām Shāh], like his father before him, preferred Burhān to all his friends.*

او بائين پدر برهان را بيشتر دوست داشتي و از همه گراى شمردى (III. 407, l. 11). The pronoun must stand for the noun [مادر] which immediately precedes it and Mr. Beveridge takes it to mean that "*She* [Murtiẓā's mother], like his father before him, loved Burhān most and preferred him to all others." (Tr. III. 603). She was a Persian lady of noble birth and was called *Khūnzā* Humāyūn, as the wife of Sultān Ḥusain Sharqi was styled '*Khūuzā* Sultān.'

VI. 71, *l.* 1. *He [Burhān] went to Kutbu-d-dīn Khān at Bīdar [from Baglāna].*

"Bīdar" is an error for 'Nadarbār'. (See Text, III. 408, l. 9; Tr. III. 605). The Mughals were not masters of Bīdar at this time. Quṭbu-d-dīn Khān had been appointed Atālīq of Prince Salīm and afterwards governor of "Broach as far as *Nadarbār*". (*Āīn*, Tr. I. 333-4).

VI. 72, *l.* 3 from foot. *Bhāti is a low-lying country. .....It extends 400 Kos from east to west and 300 from south to north.*

"Bhāṭi" literally signifies "low lands overflowed by the tide" but usually designates and is used for "the coast strip of the Sunderbans from Hijili to the Meghna, Lat. 20°-30′ to 22°-30′ N. and Long. 88°-0′ to 91°-14′ E." (*Āīn*, Tr. II, 116 note). A. F.'s description of its boundaries is neither easy to follow nor in agreement with this connotation. He appears to have included in Bhāṭi almost the whole of Eastern Bengal and even parts of Sylhet, (Beveridge, A. N. Tr. III, 646 *Note*), but even then it would comprise only four degrees of Longitude, *i. e.* about 270 miles. The figures for the breadth (400 *Kos*) as well as the length (300 *Kos*) are manifestly inflated, as Abu-l-Faẓl himself states elsewhere that the *entire* extent of the province of Bengal from Chittāgong in the east to Garhi in the west is 450 *Kos*, and from the hills in the north to Madāran in the south only 220 *Kos*. (*Āīn*, Tr. II, 115; see also 326 *infra*).

VI. 73, *l.* 15. *'Isā made twelve zamindārs of Bengāl to become his dependents.*

They were the "Bārā Bhūiyās" (*i. e. Bhūmis*, great land-holders) who are still the subjects of numerous folk-tales and legends in Bengal. Their names are given discrepantly by tradition, but the little that is more or less certainly known about them is summed up in Dr. Wise's papers in the J. A. S. B. XLIII. (1874), pp. 194-214 and XLIV. (1875), pp. 181-183. He gives their names as (1) Faẓl Ghāzi of Bhowāl, (2) Chand Rāi and his brother Kedār Rāi of Bikrampur or Srīpur, (3) Lakhan Mānik of Bhalua [a *pargana* to the east of the Meghna in south Tippera], (4) Kandarpa Nārāyan Rāi of Chandradwip or Bākla, (5) 'Isā Khān of Khiẓrpur, or Bhāṭi, who was the most conspicuous of the twelve, though it is doubtful if he was their master or they his dependents.

Blochmann speaks of the Bhūiyās of Bhalua, Bākla, Chandradwip, Farīdpur, the 24 Parganas and 'Isā Khān, as the most important of the

twelve. (J.A.S.B. XLIV. 1875, p. 305). Manrique gives still another list, *viz.* the Bhūiyās or *Boiones*, as he calls them, of (1) Bengala, (2) Anjelim (Hijili), (3) Orixa, (4) Jassor, (5) Chandecan, (6) Medinipur, (7) Catrabo, (8) Bacala, (9) Solimanvas (Sulaimānābād), (10) Bulva, (11) Dacca and (12) Rājmaol. (*Itinerario*, Text, p. 20, quoted by Dr. H. Hosten in J. A. S. B. 1913, pp. 437-438; Trans. Hakluyt Society's Ed. Luard, I. 52). This list is apparently complete, but that is just the reason for suspecting it, and some at least of the names are faked. " The strange thing about it, [Sir] Edward Gait writes, " is that they are always twelve and that there were twelve *Bhūiyās* in Āssām also. Nar Narāyān of Kūch Bihār had twelve ministers of state: twelve chiefs or *dalvis* administered the hilly portions of the Rājā of Jaintia's dominions and there were twelve State Councillors also in Nepāl." He suggests that " the number appears to have been connected in the minds of the people with all dignitaries ranking next to a Rājā and so have come to be used in *a purely conventional sense*." (History of Āssām, 37). He is probably right. There never were exactly twelve of them at any time.

VI. 73, *l.* 20. *The army of Shāhbāz Khān reached the banks of the Ganges, near Khiẓrpur.*

Khiẓrpur is a very common place-name in Deltaic Bengal, where the cult of Khiẓr, a sort of Water-god, was very widely spread. Dr. Wise thinks that this Khiẓrpur must be the place so called, which lies about a mile north of Nārāinganj in Dāccā district. It was the seat of 'Isā Khān of Bhāṭi. " At this point, the Ganges, the Lakhiya and the Brahmaputra formerly met. Here also was the chief naval port of the Muḥammadan government. It is only three miles from Sunārgāon and nine from Dhākā." (J. A. S. B. 1874, pp. 211-212; see also Foster, E. T. I. 28 Note).

Katrāpur (l. 8 f. f.) or Katrābo is a *Ṭappa* on the Lakhīya, opposite Khiẓrpur. (*Ibid*, 1875, p. 182; Hosten, *loc. cit.* 440; Manrique, I. 49 note).

VI. 74, *l.* 1. *The Imperial officers then took post at Totak on the bank of the Brahmaputra.*

This may be " Toke, which lies north of Dāccā and at the head of the Lakhia or Bannār river, where it leaves the old Brahmaputra." (Beveridge, A. N. Tr. III. 650 *note*).

VI. 74, *l.* 5 from foot. *Katlū Kirāni.*

But see *ante* 66, where A. F. himself speaks of Qatlu as a Lohāni, and that is correct. B. also calls him 'Nohāni' (II. 323, Tr. 333), which is a dialectical form of Lohāni. He is called 'Lohāni' in the *Makhzan* also. (Dorn, I. 183; E. D. IV. 513, *note*).

VI. 75, *l.* 11. *Shāhbāz Khān occupied a position on the Panār river, a branch of the Brahmaputra.*

Recte 'Bannār', which unites the Brahmaputra and the Lakhiya, *i. e.* the Buṛhi Gangā. (A. N. III; Tr. 658 *note*).

It is said here (l. 6 f.f.) that the large war-boats " were called 'Biyāra' in the language of the country." But the B.I. Text reads *Binārā* or

Biyārā. Mr. Beveridge proposes to emend this and read '*palwār*,' but I venture to suggest that the right lection is بارا 'Nabārā,' the *Bengali pronunciation* of '*Nawārā*', which is said by Mu'atamad Khān (*Iqbālnāma*, Text, 220, l. 5; 409 *infra*), to be the Hindi word for "war-boats." It is used again in the same sense at *Ibid*, Text, 223, 232; 411, 413 *infra*. The word occurs also in the *Āīn* (Tr. II. 115) and Abu-l-Faẓl states that the Afghān Sultāns of Bengal had at their disposal for warlike purposes 20,000 horses, 100,000 foot, 1000 elephants and 4000 or 5000 war-boats (*Nawāra*). This passage is copied in his *Tūzuk* (101, l. 9; Tr. I. 207) by Jahāngīr, who uses the word in another place also and states that he appointed Ihtimām Khān to the command of the *Nawārā* (fleet) *of Bengal*.' میر بحری و سامان نواره بنگال (Text, 68, l. 10 f.f.=Tr. I. 144). See also 67, 72 *ante* and 111 *post*, where these war-boats, vessels of war or *Nawāra* are again mentioned by Abu-l-Faẓl in connection with military operations in Bengal. See also A. N. III. 70; Tr. 97. *Nawārā* is said in the *Hindi Shabda Sāgar*, to be a word meaning 'ship or boat' which is derived from the Sanskrit *Nāva*. The Sanskrit and Hindi 'va' is always pronounced by Bengalis as 'ba,' and 'Nabāra' is rightly said to be the form 'in the language of the country.'

VI. 76, *l.* 5 from foot. *After eight days' retreat, the army rested to take breath at Sherpūr.*

This must be Sherpūr Murcha, which is now in Bogrā district. (A. N. III. 660 *note*). It is again mentioned as 'Sherpur Miraja' on l. 7 f. f. of p. 77 and l. 6 of p. 79 *infra*. It is so called because there was a '*Murcha*' or *Thāna*, *i. e.* a fortified post here. (J. A. S. B. 1873, p. 221; I. G. XXII. 273). Constable, 29 C c. There are at least four places called Sherpur in Bengal, *viz.* this one south of Bogrā, Sherpur in Maimansing (Constable, 29 D c), Sherpur Firingi in Bikrampur and Sherpur 'Aṭāi in Sharīfābād Sarkār (*Āīn*, Tr. II. 140), 18 miles south-west of modern Murshidābād, where Mān Sinha defeated 'Uṣmān Lohāni in 1598 A.C. (A. N. III. 784; Tr. 1174; Beames in J. A. S. B. 1883, p. 236; Blochmann in J. A. S. B. 1874, p. 283 *note*).

VI. 77, *l.* 19. *On reaching the Jumnā, he learnt that M'asūm was at Sherpur.*

Mr. Beveridge thinks that this must be Sherpur-Firingi, now in Bikrampur. It is also called 'Firingi Bazār', just as Mālda is called 'English Bazār'. (A. N. Tr. III. 673 Note).

V. 79, *l.* 1. *The rebels.....took up a position on the banks of the river 'Mangalkot*

Thornton says that the town of Mangalkot lies 71 miles N. N. W. of Calcutta, in Burdwān district. Lat. 23°-30′ N., Long. 87°-56′ E. The river is called Ajai or Adjai. It is a place of note and there are several old tanks and mosques in a fair state of preservation. (J. B. O. R. S. 1917, III. pp. 372-3). Constable, 29 C d.

VI. 79, *l.* 2 from foot. *At this time, a force was detached against Kokra,*

a flourishing country lying between Orissa and the Dakhin.

Dowson suggests that the district meant is 'Khoorda' (near Cuttack in Orissa). But 'Kokra' or 'Khokra' is the old name of Chutiā Nāgpur. (*Āīn*, Tr. I. 479). Kokra is mentioned by Jahāngīr also in his *Tūzuk*. (Text, 154; 344-6 *infra*). The country was merely overrun at this time and the Rājā (Mādhu Sinha) compelled to promise tribute, but it was more completely subdued and its diamond mines taken possession of by the Mughal Governor, Ibrāhīm Khān Fatḥ Jang in 1024 A.H. (1615 A.C.).

VI. 80, *l.* 15. *Kokaltāsh [Zain Khān] built a fort at Jag-dara in the midst of the [Yusufzai] country [Swāt].*

This is '*Chak*dara' on the north side of the Swāt river near Malakand. It is in "the Lanwdah division of Swāt, opposite Allahdand, the chief town of Lower Swāt, which is centrally situated and commands one of the ferries over the Swāt river". (Raverty, N. A. 259). I. G. Atlas, 33 C 2. The Karākār Pass (l. 3 f.f.) lies east-south-east of Chakdara and separates Swāt from Buner. (*Ibid*, 259, 261). Lat, 34°-44′ N., Long. 72°-8′ E.

VI. 80, *l.* 17. *Twenty-three times he [Zain Khān] was victorious, and he destroyed seven armies.*

Raverty denounces Dowson's rendering of *Sangār* (which is the word used here) as absurd. It really means 'breast-works'. He also asserts somewhat hypercritically that the 30,000 and 40,000 houses of the Yūsufzais were not so many 'houses', but 'families'. (N. A. 259 *note*). The *Altamsh*, *Iltmish* or *Yaltmish* (l. 13) was the 'advanced guard'. The word literally means 'sixty' in Turki and Mr. Irvine thinks it possible that "the advanced guard originally consisted of that number of men and the name was afterwards used for it regardless of the actual number of men employed." (A. I. M. 226).

VI. 82, *l.* 10. *Hasan Khān Tabati was carried off wounded.*

The sobriquet is variously written. Mr. Beveridge reads it here as 'Patani' A). N. III. 483; Tr. 729), but in Vol. II, p. 380 *note*, and III. 115 note, he says that *Batani* is the correct form. Raverty tells us that the 'Batanis' are descended from the son of Bait (or Batan), the son of 'Abdur Rashīd. (N. A. 262 *note*). Fatḥ Khān *Batani* is mentioned in the Ṭ. A. (268, l. 15), Ḥājji Khān *Batani* in E. D. IV. 378 Note and Ādam Khān Batani in Dorn I. 128 and A. N. III. 133=Tr. 189. Abu-l-Faẓl states that the Batanis or descendants of Batan, the youngest son of Afghān, include the Ghilzāi, Lodi, Niyāzi, Lohāni, Sūr, Bani (Pani), Sarwāni and Kakbūr (or Gakbūr) tribes. (*Āīn*, Tr. II 402-3. See also *Ibid*, Tr. I. 204 Note and 476).

VI. 83, *l.* 8. *They marched towards the lofty mountain of Bulandrai.*

The correct form is '*Ma*landarāi' and Raverty (N. A. 265 note) laughs at Malleson for calling it 'Bilandri' on p. 194 of his 'History of Afghanistan'. '*Ba*landari' and '*Ma*landari' are both found in the B. I. text of the *Āīn*. (Tr. II. 391 *note*). Mr. G. P. Tate says that the *Ma*landari pass

lies at the head of the Barkua stream, about thirty miles north-east of Hoti Mardān. (Kingdom of Afghanistan, 24 Note).

VI. 84, *l.* **14.** *A force ... ... took Sānwali-garh from Nāhir Rāo.*

Sānwlāgarh is a *pargana* in Betūl district, C. P., in a wild tract of hill and forest towards the west, where the northern and southern ranges of mountains meet. (I. G. VII. 7). See the Map in Bayley's Gujarāt.

VI. 85, *l.* **7.** *From want of proper information, a force was sent into an intricate country near Kherla, and suffered great loss.*

Kherla lies about four miles from Badnūr in the Betūl district of the Nerbudda division of the Central Provinces. (I. G. VIII. 8). The Rājās of Kherla are frequently mentioned in the history of the Khalji Sultāns of Mālwā as well as of the Bahmanis of Gulbarga.

VI. 85, *l.* **12 from foot.** *At this time* [*XXXVth year*], *Pādre Farmalīūn arrived at the Imperial Court from Goa.*

General R. Maclagan suggested forty years ago that this name was a perversion of either 'Leo Grimon' or of 'Duarte Leioton'. (J. A. S. B. 1896, p. 42 note). Mr. Beveridge accepts the suggestion, but in a different way and thinks that Abu-l-Faẓl has mixed up the *surnames* of the *two men, viz.* 'Grimon' and 'Leioton' and made "Qarmaliūn" by combining them into one name. (A. N. Tr. III. 873 *note*). But as Leioton did not come to Lāhor till 1591 and 'Farmaliūn' was there in April, 1590, Leioton cannot be meant. A simpler and more probable explanation seems to me to be that A. F. wrote غرمنليون, 'Gharmanleon', merely reversing the position of the Christian name and the surname. He could not make any distinction between the two and to him it was the same whether Leon was placed first or last, whether the name was written ليونغرمن *Leon Ghermon* or غرمنليون *Ghermon Leon.* The initial ف is an evident error for غ and the copyists must have missed out the *nūn* of 'Gharman'.

VI. 86, *l.* **9.** *He* [*Rājā Mān Sinha*] *halted at Jahānābād.*

There are two places of this name, one in Gayā district, Bihār, and another in the Hūgli district, on the banks of the Dhālkishor river. This is the latter. It is on the route from Calcutta to Bānkūrā, 45 miles north-west of the former and 56 miles west of the latter (Th.). Constable, 29 B d. Bishanpur (l. 23) also is in the Bānkūrā district and lies about forty miles north-west of Jahānābād. Constable, 29 B d.

VI. 88, *l.* **4 from foot.** *He sent him by way of Jhārkand, the Benares of that country, against Orissa.*

او پسر خود با یزید را از راه جهارکند بارش آن ملک فرستاد. There is nothing corresponding to the meaningless words, 'Benares of that country', in the Text. (III. 610, l. 10). بارش *Ba yārish* 'for the invasion of' has been wrongly read as بنارس 'Banāras'. All that is said there is that Sulaimān's son, Bāyazīd, was sent, by way of Jhārkhand (Chutiā Nāgpur), to invade Orissa. See Mr. Beveridge's translation, III. 934.

VI. 90, *l.* **15.** *Somnāt, Kokā, Māngalor, Mahū and Paro and seventeen other ports fell into his* [*Khān-i-'Aẓam's*] *hands.*

Four out of these five toponyms are wrongly spelt and should be read as *Ghoghā*, *Māngrol*, *Mahūwā* and *Por*, *i. e. Por*bandar. Ten ports of Gujarāt and Kāṭhiāwāḍ are enumerated in the *Āīn*, (Tr. II. 259).

'Nūr Beg Khān' (l. 22) is an error for 'Naur*ang* Khān'. He was the son of Quṭbu-d-dīn Khān who was treacherously put to death by Sultān Muẓaffar III. (*Āīn*, Tr. I. 334).

VI. 91, *l.* **17.** *At the town of Shaikhūpūr, Khān Khānān was summoned to an audience.*

This *may be* Shaik hpurin Khāngāh Dogrān *taḥṣīl* of Gujranwāla district, twenty-four miles south of Ḥāfiẓābād and north-west of Lāhor. It contains a ruined fort said to have been built by Prince Salīm, afterwards the Emperor Jahāngīr. That Emperor tells us that 'Shaikhū Bābā' or 'Shaikhū' was the name by which he was always called by Akbar, on account of his birth having been predicted by *Shaikh* Salīm Chishti. (T. J. Text, 1, l. 8 f. f.=Tr. I. 2). See also I. G. (XX. 270). The town is mentioned at 240 *infra* as 'Shaikhpur.' The name is written *Shikoh*pur in Constable, 24 E b, and that name is supposed to have been given in honour of Dārā Shikoh.

VI. 93, *l.* **1.** *Sādik Khān brought up an old grievance which he had against Shāhbāz Khān and rarely went to the Darbār.*

This is putting the saddle on the wrong horse. It was Shāhbāz who did not go to the Prince's *Darbār*. Ṣādiq was the *Atālīq* or 'guardian' of the prince and was all in all on the spot. Shāhbāz was an outsider who had just come from Mālwā. (cf. Text, III. 699; Tr. 1046 and *Note*).

VI. 94, *l.* **9 from foot.** *In this year, there was little rain, and the price of rice rose high.*

There is no reference to the price of *rice* in the text. دراین سال کم بارید وگران ارزي جهانی را برنج در افگند (III. 714, l. 9). "In this year, the rains were scanty and high prices threw a [whole] world into trouble." برنج with the preposition has been wrongly read as برنج rice.

Pattan (l. 1) is 'Mungīpaṭṭan,' (also called Paiṭhan), on the Godāvari, a very ancient town, which is said to have been the capital of Shālivāhan. See my note on E.D. Vol. I, 60, 1 *ante*.

VI. 95, *l.* **13.** *The army marched from Shāhpūr and took up a position twelve Kos from Fathari.*

This is the 'Shāhpur' founded by Prince Murād in Akola, Berār, six *Kos* from Bālāpūr. Constable, 31 D a. The B. I. Text gives the name of the battle-field as 'Āshti'. (III. 718, Tr. 1070). It is called 'Āshta' by Constable and is in Parbaini, Ḥaidarābād State. It lies north-west of Pāthri or Pātri. Constable, 31 D b. Three other places called 'Ashta' and three known as 'Ashti' are also shown in the Atlas.

VI. 96, *l.* **6.** *Dwārika Dās.....and S'aīd Jalāl retired to Nīlawi.*

There is no such place as 'Nīlawi.' What the Text says is that دوارکا داس و سید جلال سینجي جان را بنیکوی در باختند (III. 719, l. 14). "Dwārkā Dās and Saiyid Jalāl nobly played away their short [lit. 'of three to five days']

lives." (Tr. 1071). '*To Nilawi*' is due to a misreading of بنیکوئی *ba-nīkūi*, "gloriously."

On line 14, it is said of the Imperial forces that "they had all night suffered from thirst and now carried the river Sūgām," which is wrong as well as meaningless. What they did was that they marched (*lit.* turned their steps) towards the river دریا سوگام برداشتند. (III. 719, l. 19; Tr. 1071). There is no river called 'Sugām' anywhere in these parts. Mr. Vincent Smith speaks of this battle having been fought at "Sūpa on the Godāvary" (Akbar, 270, 360), but there is no such place as Sūpā in the Ḥaidarābad territory. He has been misled by a statement of Blochmann's (*Āīn*, I. Tr. 336), which is made on the authority of Firishta, but what F. really says is that "the Khān-i-Khānan and Rājā 'Ali Khān of Burhānpur encamped at *Sonpet on the Godāvary* and the battle took place after they had crossed the river". (I. 270, l. 4; II. 163, l. 5). 'Sonpet' is *Soanpet* in Nāndair district and is shown in Constable, Pl. 31 D b. See also Mr. Beveridge's note to A. N. Tr. III. 1071, but it is not quite correct.

VI. 97, *l.* 9 from foot. [*Prince Murād*] *died near Dihbāri, on the banks of the Purta, twenty Kos from Daulatābād.*

Read 'Purṇa' for 'Purta.' Mr. Beveridge has left 'Dihbāri' unidentified. *Perhaps* it is 'Dhābādi', which lies about 30 miles north-east of Daulatābād and 18 north-west of Jālna (Th.). It lies on a branch of the river Purṇa in Bhokardan taluka, 16 miles south of the town of the same name. (Aurangābād Gazetteer, 843). 'Dhabadi' is shown in Constable, 31 C a. Lat. 20°-2′ N., Long. 75°-46′ E. (Th).

VI. 98, *l.* 11 from foot. *Mahā Singh..... attacked them at Bhadrak.*

Bhadrak was one of the *Maḥāls* of Orissā in Akbar's Rent-roll. (*Āīn*, Tr. II. 126, 143). It is now in Bālāsore district, Orissā, and lies 41 miles south-west of Bālāsore town. Constable, 32 E a.

VI. 101, *l.* 4 and foot note. *Death of Jalāla, the Sectary ..... Jalāla is generally called 'Tārīki', Sectary.*

Dowson finds fault with Chalmers and Elphinstone for reading the sobriquet as 'Tājīk' and remarks that Jalāla's followers were Yūsufzais, not Tājiks. But his own meaning of '*Tārīki*' is equally open to censure. *Tārīki* really means 'one engulfed or immersed in (spiritual) darkness.' It was only a nickname coined by the Ākhūnd Darweza—a venerated Afghān saint, for Bāyazīd Anṣāri, the founder of the sect. Bāyazīd called himself '*Pīr-i-Raushan*', 'the Enlightened Pīr'. The Ākhūnd dubbed him in derision '*Pīr-i-Tārīk*', the 'Darkened Pīr'. (Raverty, N. A. 46 note). Akbar who was very fond of word-play was delighted with the antithetical retort and his historians were only too ready to repeat and ring the changes upon it.

VI. 101, *l.* 2 from foot. *One of the great vassals of Ādil Khān Bījāpūri was coming towards Ahmadnagar.*

The B. I. text gives his name as ونکو Wankū. (III, 788; Tr. 1180). I venture to identify him with Wankoji [Venkoji] Nāik Nimbālkar of Phalṭan,

better known as Jagpāl Rao Nāik Nimbālkar, who lived in the early part of the seventeenth century and was "notorious for his restless and predatory habits." Dīpā Bāi, the sister of Jagpāl Rāo, was the grandmother of Shivāji. The Nimbālkars were made *Sardeshmukhs* of Phalṭan by the Kings of Bījāpur and derived their name from the village of Nimbālik, now called Nimluk. (Grant Duff, H. M. 39, 40). Elsewhere, Abu-l-Faẓl says of this Wankū that he sought shelter in Aḥmadnagar from the oppression of the Bījāpur soldiers. He had, before that, sent his eldest son Bābāji and his brother Dhār Rāo to solicit the Khān-i-Khānān's protection, but as the Khān put them into prison, he had fled to Shāh 'Ali in Aḥmadnagar, who also consigned him to a dungeon. (III. 794-5; Tr. 1191). He is described as a great landholder of Aḥmadnagar, commanding 5000 horse and 12000 foot, who had quarrelled with 'Ādil Khān and had come over to the Mughals. (*Ib.* III. 788; Tr. 1180).

VI. 102, *l.* **5.** *He got possession of Kālna, which is one of the chief fortresses of Ahmadnagar.*

'Kālna' (*Recte* Gālna) and 'Jālna' are quite distinct, but are often confounded and even Mr. Beveridge has mixed up the two places. (See his Tr. of A. N. III. 1181 *note*, 1189 note and 1197). Jālna is the Jālnāpur, which is mentioned only three lines higher up. It is now in Aurangābād district, Ḥaidarābād State. Lat. 18°-51′ N., Long. 75°-56′ E. Constable, 31 C b. It is the Jālna of the I. G. XIV. 29, to which Mr. Beveridge refers. 'Gālnā' is now in the Mālegāon *taluka* of Nāsik district. Lat. 20°-46′ N., Long. 74°-32′ E. (I. G. XII. 124). Jālna belongs now to the Niẓām, Gālna is in British India. Kāln*a* [*G*ālna] was the place taken by Abu-l-Faẓl, Jālna or (Jālnāpur), the town to which the Khān-i-Khānān went.

VI. 103, *l.* **2.** *The Takmīla-i-Akbarnāma of 'Ināyatu-lla.*

The authorship of this 'Takmīla' is a puzzle which has not been satisfactorily solved. There are at least three recensions of the Continuation, which differ considerably in matter from one another. Dr. Rieu points out that "there is a Ms. in the British Museum which also is stated to have been written by 'Ināyatulla *bin* Muḥibb 'Ali, but which is quite distinct from the similarly-entitled history, extracts of which are given in Elliot, VI. 103-115. While, in the latter, the murder of Abu-l-Faẓl is told in a few words and without any direct implication of Jahāngīr in the crime, the author of the present work narrates the same event in the most circumstantial manner and distinctly states that Bīrsingh Dev, the murderer, acted at the instigation of Jahāngīr." (Persian Catalogue, (Supplement), IV. 52; see also III. 929, 1031). In the copies in the India Office Library, the compiler is called 'Muḥammad Ṣāliḥ' (Ethé, Catalogue, Nos. 260, 261, column 106), but elsewhere he calls himself 'Ināyatulla *or* Muḥammad Ṣāliḥ, as in the Ms. used by Dowson. Dr. Rieu surmises that this Muḥammad Ṣaliḥ must be Muḥammad Ṣāliḥ Kambu, the author of the '*Amal-i-Ṣāliḥ* and he thinks that the name 'Ināyatulla may be accounted for by the fact that Muḥammad Ṣāliḥ had an elder brother called 'Ināyatulla,

who wrote the *Bahār-i-Dānish* and also compiled a General History of the World called *Tārīkh-i-Dilkushā*. (Rieu, 765, 1093). He proposes to substitute 'and' for 'or' in the clause just cited and suggests that it may be the *joint* production of the brothers. See III. 929, 1031. Mr. Beveridge has appropriated this suggestion and made it his own. Unfortunately, the three discrepant recensions militate against the supposition of their *joint* authorship. The Text printed in the Bib. Ind. differs admittedly from that used by Chalmers and the two Mss. in the India Office differ from both, though there can be no doubt that they are *all* copied, paraphrased or rewritten from the earlier portion of *Iqbālnāma-i-Jahāngīri*, which was completed in 1029 H. 1020 A. C. (A. N. III. Tr. 1201-5 *note*). Perhaps the true explanation is that the brothers wrote, not *jointly*, but *successively*. The version in which Jahāngīr is exculpated may be the one *first* drafted and compiled by 'Ināyatulla. It may have been subsequently revised and recast, in accordance with later opinions on this and other points, by 'Ināyatulla himself or Muḥammad Ṣāliḥ Kambu who speaks of himself as the pupil and protégé of 'Ināyatulla in his Preface to the *Bahār-i-Dānish*. Jahāngīr's infatuation for Nūr Jahān, his weakness and other defects of character are the subjects of frequent animadversion in the '*Amal-i-Ṣāliḥ*.

VI. 104, *l.* 6 from foot. *It has already been related that ... ... Sultān Salīm had set out against the Rājā of Ajmīr.*

Ajmer was not under any *Rājā* at this time and the B. I. text (III. 805-6) puts the matter very differently. " On 6th Mihr (XLIV R. Y.), the Prince Royal [Salīm] obtained leave to go to Ajmer ... . to chastise Umrā, the Rānā [of Udayapur] ". (III. 763; Tr. 1140). Umrā is Amar Sinha, who had succeeded his father Rāṇā Pratāp. Salīm was now (XLVII R.) sent again to Ajmer with a view to invade from that *point d'appui* the restricted territory that still remained in the hands of the Rāṇā of Chitor. See also A. N. *ante* 98 and Khāki Shīrāzi, 204 *post*.

VI. 106, *l.* 9. *Bāz Bahādur, the Imperial commander, retired to Bhowāl.*

Bhowāl lies north of Dāccā, and is a jungly tract extending to the Garo Hills. The town is shown in Constable, 29 D d.

'Sarīpur' and 'Bakrampur' (l. 17) which were in or near the country of 'Isā Khān of Bhāṭī are 'Srīpur' near Rājābāri, at the confluence of the Meghnā and the Padmā. Bikrampur lies a few miles south of Dāccā. Bikrampur is marked in Constable, 29 D d. Srīpur has been long since washed away by the Padmā. (Foster, E. T. I. 28 *note*).

VI. 109, *l.* 10. [*The Magh*] *Rājā who had just now acquired the country of Bangu.*

بنگو must be an error for پیگو Pegu. The Magh Rājā who is said to have just acquired the country was the Rājā of Ārākān. (A. N. III. 479= Tr. 722). The people of Ārākān are known as 'Mugs'. (*q. v.* H. J. *s. v.*). We know from local histories that the Ārākān king, Minrazagyi, who reigned from 1593 to 1612 A. C.) had invaded and sacked Pegu, with the assistance of the Portuguese under De Brito in 1599. (C. H. I. IV. 487, 493-494).

VI. 111, *l.* 5. *Kaid Rāi of Bengal.*

The correct name is 'Kedār Rāi'. (A. N. III. 824; Tr. 1235). He was one of the twelve *Bhūiyās* of Bengal and had his seat at Bhushna, which is now in the Farīdpur division of Bengal. In Todar Mal's Rent-roll, Farīdpur was included in the *Sarkār* of Bhushna, alias Muḥammadābād. "Kedār Rāi and Chand Rāi had gradually extended their sway from Rājābāri in Dāccā district to Kedārbāri, now in the Palang ṭhāna of Farīdpūr, where a deep ditch and a road known as Kach Kijūra mark the site of their fort." (I. G. XII. 54-5). Abu-l-Faẓl records that Kedār's fort of Bhushna was taken by the Mughals in the 41st year (1596 A. C.), after a battle in which Kedār was wounded and fled to 'Īsā Khān of Bhāṭi. (A. N. III. 711; Tr. 1059). He also states that Chand Rāi had been killed in a fight with the Afghāns sometime before. (*Ib.* III. 632; Tr. 969). This Chand Rāi is mentioned by Ralph Fitch, who states that he went in 1586 from Bacola [Bākla, the old name of Bāqarganj district] to Serrepore (Srīpur), the king of which place was called 'Chondery.' He says that 'Serrepore' was six leagues from 'Sunnergan' (Sonārgāon). (Foster, E. T. I. 28; J. H. Ryley, John Fitch, p. 118).

Kilmāk, who was the Imperial Commander in Srīnagar (l. 9), is identical with 'Bāz Bahādur Kilmāk' of 106 *ante*. (A. N. Text, 809; Tr. III. 1214). He is also called Sultān 'Alī Qilmāq. (A.N. III. 820; Tr. 1231). Jahāngīr says that he had long been guilty of evil practices in Bengal, but afterwards repented of his errors and had the honour of kissing the threshold in the 1st year of his reign. (T. J. 37, l. 24; Tr. I. 78 and 88, l. 31; Tr. I. 184).

VI. 114, *l.* 12 from foot. [*Dāniyāl's servants*] *continued to introduce the poison* [*spirits*] *unperceived, sometimes concealing it in the barrels of muskets.*

This extraordinary method of smuggling the forbidden stuff is also mentioned by Dāniyāl's brother Jahāngīr, who states that "a musketeer named Murshid Quli, who was one of Dāniyāl's attendants, poured, at the urgent entreaties of the Prince, double-distilled spirit into his favourite gun. The rust of the iron was dissolved by the strength of the spirit. The prince no sooner drank of it than he fell down." (T. J. Tr. I. 35; Text, 15, l. 11 f.f.).

VI. 115, *l.* 2. *On Monday, the 12th Ābān, corresponding with the 20th Jumāda-l-awwal, 1014 Hijra (September 1605), an illness instituted itself into the frame of the Emperor [Akbar].*

The Ilāhi month is wrongly stated, though the Hijri date is right. The B. I. text has 12th *Mihr* and this is the correct Ilāhi date. 20th Jumādi I. was 24th September 1605. 12th Mihr is the 199th day of the Ilāhi calendar and the 267th (68+199) of the Julian. The Emperor's illness lasted for 23 days and he died on 16th October, O. S. corresponding to 4th Ābān Ilāhi. (A. N. III. 841; Tr. 1259-1261 and *Note*).

The proximate cause of death was diarrhoea followed by dysentery. The story of the Emperor having died by misadventure in an attempt to poison Mirzā Ghāzi of Thaṭṭa or Rājā Mānsinha of Amber is discredited by Mr. Irvine (Manucci, IV. 420 Note) as well as by Mr. Beveridge (A. N. Tr. III. 1260 Note), Mr. Crooke (Tod, A. A. R. I. 408; III. 1338 Note), Dr. Beni Prasād (Jahāngīr, 75 note) and even Mr. Vincent Smith (*loc. cit.* 325-6), though it is repeated by Terry (Voyage, 408), Herbert (Travels. 72), De Laet (Tr. Hoyland, 170), Mundy (Journal, II. 102-3), Manucci (I. 149) and others.

We know little of Akbar's clinical history, but it is certain that he had been suffering for many years before his death, from a very painful intestinal disease of some sort. We are told that this last and fatal illness began on 12th Mihr, that no medicines were administered or taken for eight days, that 'a bloody flux' then made its appearance, that it was treated without success for ten days, upon which the physician abandoned hope and fled from court. It is also stated that when the Ḥakīm 'Ali attempted to arrest the diarrhoea by powerful astringents, they only brought on fever, strangury and other symptoms prognosticating a fatal termination of the disease. Whatever the exact pathology of the case may have been, it is certain that this intestinal complaint was one of long standing. Akbar had been seriously ill *just in the same way* in 991 H. (XXVII R. Y.). He had, then, as now, as Abu-l-Faẓl puts it, 'an internal pain' on 20th Mihr, did not or would not take any medicine for some days, upon which "blood came." Laxatives were then administered on the urgent entreaty of Abu-l-Faẓl, against the advice of the Hindu physicians, and Akbar recovered only after thirty-six days. During three days of this illness, he "touched no food" and had to "eat only boiled things without any oil or *ghee*" for seventeen days. (A. N. III. 394=Tr. 583-4). Firishta also mentions this attack of fever and diarrhoea (اسهال) and states that "great anxiety was felt on his account, as His Majesty had, like his father Humāyūn, taken to opium." (I. 264, l. 6 f.f.; Briggs, II. 253). Akbar had another attack of 'severe pain' in the bowels in the 34th year (997 H. 1589 A. C.). He was then forbidden all food for two days and afterwards allowed "only two spoonfuls of soup". He used to say, writes Abu-l-Faẓl, that he had often been ill, but that the pains of those days had been such as he had never experienced before. (A. N. III. 552=Tr. 838). Towards the end of the same year (the 34th), he had another attack of "pain in the abdomen which caused great distress". (*Ibid.* 575; Tr. 870). Budāuni informs us that the same trouble, "stomach-ache and *colic*" recurred in the 36th year (999 H.) and he was so ill that he suspected Prince Salīm of having poisoned him and openly said so. (II. 377=Tr. 390). He must have been again ill in the 42nd year (1597 A.C.), as Jerome Xavier states that he was privileged to enter the Emperor's bed-room and nurse him. (Smith, Akbar, 269; J. A. S. B. 1896, pp. 72-79). In the 44th year, he had two attacks of similar pains in the stomach, one

after the other, at short intervals. (A.N. III. 766=Tr. 1144-5). It has to be borne in mind that Akbar was "a hard liver" and addicted not only to *arrack* (double-distilled spirits), but to *Bhāng*, opium and *Koknār* or *Pousta*. It is common knowledge that when an opium-eater suffers from diarrhoea, it is an almost sure sign of death. Ḥakīm 'Ali must have been well acquainted with the prognosis of violent and continuous diarrhoea in the cases of habitual opium-eaters and he gave up all hope because he found that the patient's system had ceased to react to his powerful drugs. Mr. Crooke asserts that Akbar died of cancer of the bowels, but the evidence available is not sufficient to warrant such a definite diagnosis.

The origin of the popular canard about the exchange of the poisoned packet of betel is possibly this. As Mirzā Ghāzi was suspected of treason, he had been ordered to come to court. He made his *Kurnish* and received the betel on the 14th of Mihr, just *two days* after the Emperor was taken ill. Mān Sīnha had done the same, some days before on receiving promotion and the appointment of Prince Khusrav's guardian on or after the 16th of Shahrīvar. (A. N. III. 839; Tr. 1257).

VI. 115, *l.* 16. *On the 9th of Āzur, corresponding with the night of Wednesday, 12th Jumāda-l-Ākhir ..... he [Akbar] bade adieu to life.*

Here also, the Ilāhi date is stated wrongly. It is given as *Wednesday*, 4th Ābān in the B. I. text of the A. N. (III. 841, l. 13) and as 2nd Ābān by the *Bādishāh Nāma* (I. i. 66, l. 17); *'Amal-i-Ṣaliḥ* (I. 15-16) and Khwāfi Khān (I. 235, l. 5). 12-13th (*Hīsābi*) Jumādi II. 1014 H. corresponded with 15-16th October 1605 O.S. 25-26th October N. S. Wednesday, after the *midnight* of which Akbar died, was 13th *Hisābi* and 16th October (O. S.). As 9th Āẕur 50 R. Y. was the 256th day of the Ilāhi year, which began on 11th March O. S., it would be 21st November. But 2nd Ābān,—the 219th day—would be 15th October O. S. If it was the 4th of Ābān,—which appears to be correct—the Julian correspondence would be 17th October O. S. or 27th October N. S. (See my H. S. M. N. 266-7).

VI. 117, *l.* 9 from foot. *He [Āsaf Khān] desired to gain possession of the land of Panna,..... [belonging to] Rājā Rāmchand, whose ancestors had always ruled it.*

Dowson notes the variant 'Palta'. The right reading is "Bhaṭa". Rāmchandra was the Bāghela Rājā of 'Bhaṭa' or Bhaṭghora, now Rewā. Cf. A. N. at 32 *ante*, from which this account is borrowed. Rāmchand is there said by Abu-l-Faẕl to have been the son of Parbihān [Bīrbhān] and grandson of Bīrsingh Deo, who were both Rājās of 'Bhaṭa', not Pannā. (*Āīn*, Tr. I. 367).

The 'Nisba' or sobriquet of Ghāzi Khān was not 'Tātār', as it is printed on l. 6 f.f., but 'T*o*nwar' تنور. Ghāzi Khān had sought Rāmchand's protection after his flight from Akbar's Court. (A. N. II. 182; Tr. 281). Lowe says that Ghāzi Khān 'Tannūri' fled to 'Hatiyah' [*Recte*, Bhaṭa]. (B. Tr. II. 65; Text, II. 66, l. 11).

VI. 118, *l.* **9.** *Rājā Rāmchand [the Rājā of Bhaṭa] fled to the castle of Māndhūn, which is noted for being one of the strongest places in Hindustān.*

'Māndhūn' is a mistranscription of '*Bā*ndhū' or '*Bā*ndhūgarh' which Thornton says, is in the territory of Rewā in Bāghelkhand, sixty miles south-west of Rewā town. Hamilton also states that "Baundhoo or Bhatta was the name of the northern part of the Hindoo territory of Gundwana", and he locates the fort about 60 miles north-east from Mandla. (East India Gazetteer, Ed. 1815, *s. v.* Bandoogur). Abu-l-Faẓl has 'Bandhu' in the corresponding passage. (II. 183; Tr. 282).

VI. 119, *l.* **9.** *Damūda, one of her [Durgāvati's] chief towns.*

A. F. has 'Dāmoh' in the counterpart passage (A. N. II. 212; Tr. 327, 328), which must be correct. It lies about 65 miles north-west of Jabalpur. Constable, 28 A d. The actual site of the *first* battle which is here stated to have been four marches from Dāmoh, is said by local tradition, to have been near Singaurgarh in Garha Māṇḍla, about 32 miles south-east of Dāmoh and 26 north-west of Jabalpur. The Rāṇi stabbed herself after a *second defeat*, in a defile, 12 miles east of Garha. (Sleeman, J. A. S. B. 1837. VI. 627-9; C. P. Gazetteer, 225, 283; Arch. Surv. Rep. IX. 48). The battle said to have been fought at Narhi, *east of Garha*, (C. H. I. IV. 88), must have been the *second*. Singaurgarh is shown in Constable, 28 A d.

VI. 122, *l.* **14.** *He [Muḥammad Sultān Mirzā] was the son of Rashīd Sultān Wais Mirzā.*

He was خلف رشید or پسر رشید of Wais Mirzā, *i.e.* Wais Mirzā's most worthy, intelligent, sagacious or wise son. 'Rashīd' was not a part of the father's name. (A. N. II. 279; Tr. 413; Ṭ. A. in E. D. V. 315; B. Tr. II. 87 *note*). The name of Wais Mirzā's father was Bā*i*qarā, not Bā*b*akra, as on l. 10.

VI. 126, *l.* **8.** *The army then proceeded towards Jasrūna and Lakhanpur.*

Recte, Jasro*t*a, formerly a small state in North-Eastern Punjab, but now included in Kashmīr. Lat. 32°-29′ N., Long. 75° 27′ E. Constable, 25 A a. It is one of the small Chiefships attached to the Jammu or Central division of the Alpine Punjab. (A. G. I. 133). 'Samba' (l. 11) lies a few miles north of Jasrota. Constable, *Ibid.* On l. 12, 'Bal*i*dar' is a mistake for 'Bal*bh*adra'. Mr. Beveridge says 'Lakhanpur' must be wrong and proposes to read 'Lakhnūr' (Tr. III. 884 note) but 'Lakhanpur' still exists under that name and this spelling is quite correct. See Hutchinson and Vogel in the Journal of the Punjab Historical Society, VIII, (1918), No. 1, p. 49.

VI. 130, *l.* **8.** *On the 27th of the month [Rab'i II. 1003], Koka died at Lāhore.*

"Koka" means 'foster-brother' and Akbar had several of them—all sons of his numerous nurses, wet and dry. The person who is meant and whose name is left out must be *S'ādat Yār* Koka. He died of dipsomania on the 16th of Āẕar of the XXXIXth year, which began on 28th Jumādi

II. 1002 H. and ended on 8th Rajab 1003. (A. N. III. 656; Tr. 1006). There is some error in Faiẓi Sirhindi's chronology. He says (l. 18) that the thirty-ninth year began on 9th Rajab 1003 H., but according to the A. N., the year which began on 9th Rajab 1003 H. was the fortieth. (III. 667; Tr. 1023. See also E. D. V. 246; Smith, Akbar, 457).

VI. 131, *l.* **7**. *In his [the poet Faiẓi's] early days, he and the author of this work had some connexion through using the same* takhallus *for their writings.*

This is obscurely, if not enigmatically, worded. Budāuni clears up the matter. Abu-l-Faẓl's brother, the poet, and this Shaikh Ilahdād Sirhindi had, by some unhappy chance, chosen the identical *nom-de-plume*, Faiẓi. The former therefore requested Sirhindi to give it up and assume some other pen-name. As the latter declined to do so, the former thought it best to alter his own to *Fāyyāẓi*, so as to preclude the possibility of any confusion and also with a view to make it "correspond with the grammatical amplification" as Budāuni puts it, "of *'Allāmi*, by which his younger brother, Abu-l-Faẓl, was known." (E. D. Vol. V. 545; B., Text, III. 299, l. 11).

VI. 132, *l.* **18**. *His mother [of Prince Rustam, son of Prince Murād] was sister of Khān-i 'Azam.*

The lady was the *daughter*, not the sister of 'Azīz Koka, entitled Khān-i-'Aẓam. She was married to Prince Murād in the 32nd year (995 A. H.) of Akbar's reign. (A.N. III. 518; Tr. 791. See also *Āīn*, Tr. I. 326). She could not have been the sister of 'Azīz, as Shamsu-d-dīn Muḥammad Khān, the father of the Khān-i-'Aẓam, was assassinated on 12th Ramaẓān, 969 H. In other words, she would have been *at least* 37 years of age at this time in 1006 H., while her husband, Prince Murād, who was born in 978 H., (Ṭ. A. in E. D. V. 232), could have been only 29 years old.

VI. 136, *l.* **6**. *On arriving at Gharkol, a submissive letter was received from Bahādur Khan.*

There is no such place as 'Gharkol' گهرکول. It is an error for 'Khargon' کهرگون. (A. N. III. 768; Tr. 1148). It lies on the left bank of the Kundi, a tributary of the Narmadā and is now the headquarters of Nimār district in the Indore State. (I. G. XV. 251). Constable, 31 C a. (See my note on Vol. III. 87, l. 5 *ante*). Von Noer also speaks of it as 'Gharkol'. (Akbar, Tr. II. 31). He must have been misled by Dowson's Translation. Elsewhere, Faiẓi himself states that Prince Dāniyāl took leave of Akbar at Ghargon. [*Recte*, Khargon]. (A. N. III, Tr. 1184 *note*).

VI. 137, *l.* **18**. *A dog who accompanied him set off in pursuit of a hare, but the hare turned round and attacked the dog etc.*

This story is a folk-tale, which crops up in many places and is given as the reason for the selection of the sites of several other capitals, *e. g.* Aṇhilwāḍ, (*Mirat-i-Aḥmadi*, Pt. i. 31=Tr. in Bayley, 25; *Āīn*, Tr., II. 262), Halwaḍ (B. G. VIII, Kāthiāwār, 423), Kharakpur (J. A. S. B. XL. 1871, p. 24), Rewā (I. G. *s. n.*), Bīdar (Ind. Ant. XXVIII. 1899, p. 129)

and Vijayanagar. (Sewell, A Forgotten Empire, 19). Mr. Sewell observes that "a similar tale is told of the rise of almost every kingdom, principality or large *Zamīndāri* in Southern India." (*Ibid.* Note).

VI. 143, *l.* 11. *Next day, Miyān Saiyid went round and looked after .....the construction of the trenches.*

The person meant is the author's patron, Shaikh Farīd, who was a Bukhāri Saiyid. 'Miyān' is a title of respect used before the names of Saiyids and other persons of quality in Hindustān. Saiyid 'Abdulla, the father of the famous King-makers, was generally known as *Saiyid Miyān.* (*Maāṣir-i-'Ālamgīri*, 227, l. 4).

Mr. Vincent Smith speaks of Shaikh Farīd repeatedly as 'Shaikh Farīd *of Bukhāra*'. (Akbar, 318, 399, 493). This is not quite correct. The sobriquet merely means that *he was decended from* some Saiyid, who had come to India from Bukhārā in the old days. Shaikh Farīd himself was really born in Dehli. Jahāngīr explicitly says so. (T. J. 65, l. 6; Tr. I. 137; see also Blochmann, *Āīn*, Tr. I. 413).

Borgāon, (l. 20), which is said to have been eight *Kos* from Āsīr, is now in Nimār district. It lies about twenty miles north-west of Burhānpur. Constable, 31 D a.

VI. 145, *l.* 1. *The mine was exploded [at the siege of Aḥmadnagar] on the 20th Shahryūr in the 45th year of the reign.*

Khāki Shīrāzi (205 *infra*) and Abu-l-Faẓl give the date as 6th of Shahrīvar (A. N. III. 775; Tr. 1159=100 *ante*) and calculation shows that 6th is correct. Faiẓi has just given the Hijri date as 18th Ṣafar, 1009 A. H., which corresponds with 19th August 1600 A. C. (O. S.). 6th Shahrīvar, [not Shahryūr], was the 162nd day of the Ilāhi year, which began on 11th March 1600. Now 19th August was the 232nd day of the Julian year 1600 and it synchronised exactly with 6th Shahrīvar Ilāhi (70+162). بستم must have been wrongly written for ششم or هشتم, which also occurs in some copies.

VI. 146, *l.* 11. *On the 17th Safar, the royal forces were admitted and the keys of the fortress of Āsīr were given up.*

Here also, the date is stated wrongly. Faiẓi has just stated (144, l. 10 f.f. *ante*) that Aḥmadnagar was surrendered on the 18th of Ṣafar. Āsīr was taken several months after that event and Ṣafar cannot possibly be right. Abu-l-Faẓl gives the Ilāhi date as 7th Bahman, which corresponds with 17th January (1601), as it is the 312th day from 1st Fravardīn (11th March). Now 17th January 1601 synchronised with 22nd Rajab 1009 H. صفر must have been miswritten for رجب (See A. N. III. 780; Tr. 1169). صفر is frequently confused with رجب by careless copyists. As Faiẓi himself states that the siege of Āsīr commenced soon after the 4th of Ramaẓan (138 *ante*) and also that it lasted for about eleven months (139 *ante*), Ṣafar is manifestly wrong. A contemporary inscription in the Jām'a Masjīd at Āsīrgarh gives the Hijri date corresponding to 17th or 18th January. (Ind. Ant. 1924, LIII. p. 40). Five lines lower down, Faiẓi

himself states that Abu-l-Faẓl was appointed Chief Commander of the armies for the subjugation of the Dekkan, soon after the capitulation of Āsīr, on the 8th of *Sh'abān* and that on the 28th of *Shawwāl*, the whole of the Dakhin, *i. e.* Khāndesh and Mālwā as well as Gujarāt, were placed under Prince Dāniyāl, as the Emperor was returning to Āgra.

Mr. Vincent Smith asserts that Sirhindi's dates are 'incredible', 'impossible' and 'absurd'. He even accuses him of having muddled the chronology and given a 'garbled account' of the events, (*loc. cit.* 299), but the error is undoubtedly clerical or inadvertent. The charges of perfidy and treachery which he has preferred against Akbar have been fully and conclusively rebutted by Mr. C. H. Payne in his 'Akbar and the Jesuits' (251-8).

VI. 151, *l.* 13. *He heard the Emperor's command, "Bring Asad into the bath room, that I may cut him in pieces with my own hand."*

The author uses the word 'Ghuslkhāna', which was not a 'bath room', but the Privy Council Chamber of the Emperor. "Behind these galleries, from which the Emperor is wont to look on at elephant-fights, lies the Audience Chamber, which is called the 'Gussal-can.' (De Laet, Tr. 40). The greatest nobles and the most privileged persons only were admitted to it. (Coryat in E. T. I. 279; see also Sir Thomas Roe, Embassy. Ed. Foster, I. 106, 202; Mundy, II. 201; Bernier, Ed. Constable, 265, 361; Manucci, II. 361, 400). The mistake is committed again at 247, l. 5 f.f., 421, l. 7 f.f. and 421 last line *infra*.

VI. 152, *l.* 14 from foot. *The King of Bijāpūr was also vexed that he had not received a direct cession of Gwālior.*

This 'Gwālior' (?) is again mentioned at 163 *infra*. Dowson says he cannot identify the place. (*Ibid, note*). Can it be meant for 'Gāwīlgarh', which had been captured by the Mughals in the 43rd year, 1006-7 H.? Abu-l-Faẓl says that there was not a stronger fort than Gāwāl or Gārwīl, as he calls it, in Berār. (A.N. III. 744, 746=Tr. 1111, 1115).

VI. 153, *l.* 4. *Asad wore a badge, as a disciple of Akbar's "Divine Religion". The King [of Bijāpūr] took it to examine it, and professing himself a disciple, declared he would keep it.*

This is an illuminating and significant allusion to the '*Shast wa Shabīh*' which is mentioned in the *Āīn*, (Tr. I. 165), A. N. (Text, III. 354=Tr. 520), Budāuni (II. 338=Tr. 349; 404=Tr. 418) and Jahāngīr's *Tūzuk* (28, l. 16; Tr. I. 60-61), as the badge or insignia given to followers of Akbar's New Religion. Students interested in the subject may refer to my Historical Studies in Mughal Numismatics, pp. 147-155, where it is discussed at some length.

VI. 153, *l.* 14 from foot. *The Prince also directed that 10000 rupees should be given to him, but he "got only 2000* muzaffaris."

The *Muẓaffari* was a silver coin, weighing about 110 grains, first struck by Muẓaffar II. of Gujarāt, who ruled from A. H. 917 to 932 (1511 to 1526 A. C.). It weighed about 110 grains, but was valued at about two to the Akbari rupee, as the silver was about fourteen *per cent* below the Akbari standard. (*Āīn*, Tr. I. 23; F. II. 138, 287=Briggs' Tr. IV. 319). See my article on the Unpublished Coins of the Gujarāt Salṭanat in J.B. B. R. A. S. 1926, pp. 42-45. The meaning is that what Asad got was equivalent to only 1000 rupees instead of 10000.

VI. 154, *l.* **4 from foot.** *When [Shaikh Abu-l-Faẓl] was killed at Sarāi Barār, a dependency of Sironj, at prayer-time on Friday, 7th Rabīu-l-awwal 1010 H.*

This place has not been satisfactorily identified. I venture to suggest that it must be the Baṛ-ki-Serāi, which is mentioned by Tavernier, in the itinerary of his journey from Narwar to Dholpur. He locates it at three *Kos*, about six miles, south of Antri, nine *Kos* north of Narwar and nine *Kos* south of Gwālior. (Travels, Tr. Ball, I. 62). There *is* a place called Baṛ-ki-Serāi, *i.e.* Serāi of the *Baṛ* or *Vaḍ*, *i.e. Ficus Indica*, still in existence at about 5½ miles south of Antri. (I. A. p. cxvii). Lat. 25°-58½′ N., Long. 78°-10′ E. Tieffenthaler says that Abu-l-Faẓl was killed near a ferry of the Sindh river, at a place close to Dhumghāt, about two leagues to the west of Dehala, which is ten leagues west of Datia. (I. 184 *apud* A.N. III. Tr. 1220 *Note*). This is in fair agreement with the situation of 'Baṛ-ki-Serāi', as Datia is a few miles north-east of Narwar. The place is called 'Sarāi Ba*ng*ā, two stages from Gwālior, by 'Ināyatulla. (*ante* 107). 'Ba*ng*ā' may be an error for '*Baṭ Kā*' or '*Baṛ Kā*' (Serāi). Khāki Shīrāzi says that Abu-l-Faẓl was murdered at the *Sarāi Bar* (سرای بر), six Kos from Narwar on Friday the 4th of Rabī I. 1011 (MS. in the Mullā Fīrūz Library, *folio* 218 b). The place seems to be also called "*Berke Serai*, ten Kos from Gwaliar" in the *Maāṣir-i-Jahāngīri*, from which extracts are translated in F. Gladwin's History of Hindustan, (Ed. 1788, p. vii).

The date of the assassination is given in the local Hindu chronicles of Bundelkhand as 9th Kārtika V. S. 1660 (Silberrad in J. A. S. B. LXXI, (1902), p. 112)=4th October 1602. But this must be wrong. The date given by Asad—Friday, 7th Rab'ī I. 1011 H.—corresponds to 15th August 1602 O. S. but 15th August *was* a Sunday. In the *Takmīla* of the A.N. (*ante* 107), it is 1st Shahrīvar, [13th August]. In the recension used by Chalmers it is 4th Rab'ī I and Noer and Smith think the latter must be correct. But 4th Rab'īu-l-awwal *Hisābi* was 12th August, and a Thursday. The correct date must be 4th *Ruyyat* or *Hilāli*, if the week-day Friday is given rightly by Asad.

VI. 155, *l.* **20.** *Gopāl Dās Nakta.*

Nakṭa looks like a nickname or epithet of revilement. In Gujarātī and Hindi, it means 'cut-nosed' and secondarily, 'impudent,' 'shameless.' Gopāldās appears to have been no favourite with the writer of this Diary, as he is afterwards stigmatised as 'a wretched villain.' (156 *infra*

An old officer of Bābur and Humāyūn, named Jalālu-d-dīn Maḥmūd had a Turki by-name 'Bujūk,' which has the same signification, *viz.* 'Cut-nose.' Bāyazīd Biyāt, who had been at one time in Jalāl̤u-d-dīn's service, tells us that Mirzā 'Askari had the man's nose cut or slit for using improper language on a certain occasion. (A.N. Tr. I. 413 *Note*). See also *Ibid*, II. 55= Tr. 85, where he is again mentioned. Such barbarous punishments were only too common in the old days. Khwāja Bhūl, who had been sent with a message to Prince Salim, having spoken somewhat disrespectfully to His Highness, had the tip of his tongue—the peccant part—cut out by Akbar's orders. (A.N. III. 727; Tr. 1088). Jahāngīr takes great merit to himself for having prohibited, immediately after his accession, the cutting off of the noses and ears of criminals and for having himself taken a vow never to inflict such punishments on any one. (*Wāqi'āt*, 284 and 325 *infra*).

VI. 158, *l.* **2.** *Shaikh Mustafā, governor of Kālābāgh.*

Kālābāgh lies on the road from Sironj to Narwar. Tavernier makes it 23 *Kos* from Sironj, 17 from Sīpri and 28 from Narwar. (Travels, I. 57-61). Finch puts it at twenty *Kos* from Sironj. (E. T. I. 143). The real distance is about fifty miles [north of] Sironj.

VI. 165, *l.* **1.** *The unhappy Khwājā Amīru-d-dīn whose watch it was, came in sight.*

Recte, Amīnu-d-dīn. (A.N. III. 474=Tr. 715; *Takmīla*, Text. III. 836= Tr. 1252). Jahāngīr also mentions him and says that very soon after his own accession, Amīnu-d-dīn was appointed *Yātish Begi*, that is, Captain of the Watch, the post which he had held under Akbar. (T. J. 6, 15; Tr. I. 13, 14 and *note*). He was the person who had been sent as envoy to Aḥmadnagar by Akbar. (Ṭ. A. in E. D. V. 460, 467). His original name was Mīr Muḥammad Amīn. (B. II. 377, l. 11; Tr. II. 390).

Rām Dās, who also "had a share in the misfortune" (l. 7), was Rājā Rām Dās Kachhwa, a great favourite of Akbar's. (*q. v.* 170 *infra*).

VI. 170, *l.* **8.** *Saiyid Khān, who ..... was connected with the royal house and descended from an ancient and illustrious Mughal family.*

This 'Saiyid Khān' was S'aīd Khān Chaghtāi. The name is not سيد but سعيد. He was strongly opposed to the proposed supersession of Salīm on the ground that it was a flagrant violation of Chaghtāi law and custom. As a descendant of Tīmūr, he looked upon himself as a custodian or trustee responsible for the strict observance of the '*Tora* and *Yāsā*.' (*Āīn*, I. Tr. 331). Dr. Beni Prasād identifies Asad's 'Saiyid Khān' with 'Saiyid Khān Bārha,' whom he describes as "a scion of an ancient and illustrious Mughal family, connected with the Imperial House" (Jahāngīr, p. 73), but he must be mistaken, as the Bārha Saiyids were not Chaghtāis and not even Mughals. Nor were they related to 'the royal house' by blood. *S'aīd* Khān was the son of Y'aqūb Beg, the son of Ibrāhīm Beg Chāpūk, who was one of the Amīrs of Bābur and Humāyūn. (M.U. II. 403; see my note on IV. 365, l. 3).

Murtaẓā Khān was Shaikh Farīd Bukhāri, who was given that title by Jahāngīr, as a reward for the defeat of Khusrav at Bhairowāl, *i. e.* Vairowāl near Govindwāl and Tarn Tāran in Amritsar district. (T. J. 32, l. 8 f. f.=Tr. I. 69). Asad is giving him the title in anticipation.

VI. 171, *l.* **10.** *Farā Beg came and made salutation.*

Recte, 'Qarā Beg'. He is the Qarā Khān Turkmān of the T. J. (8, l. 2=Tr. I. 17; 33, l. 27=Tr. I. 71). He had come to Akbar's Court with Mirzā Muẓaffar Ḥusain Ṣafavi of Qandahār in 1003 A. H. (B. II. 402=Tr. 416; *Āin*, Tr. I. 313). Faiẓi Sirhindi also calls him Qarā Beg. (138 *ante*; see also the Ṭ. A. Text, 367, l. 7 f.f.).

VI. 177, *l.* **16.** *He lighted upon the Tārīkh-i-Bahādur Shāhi, written by Sām Sultān Bahādur Gujarāti.*

The real name of the author of this History was Ḥisām or Ḥusām Khān Gujarāti, not 'Sām Sultān Bahādur'. The book is quoted frequently in the *Ẓafar al Wālih* of Ḥājji Dabīr, as well as in the *Mirāt-i-Sikandari* (Tr. Bayley, 279, 341, 350), the Ṭ. A. (3, l. 7; 635, l. 2) and 'Abdu-l-Ḥaqq Dehlavi (484 *infra*). The author was the grandson of Maḥfūẓ Khān, one of the ministers of Maḥmūd Begaḍa and he himself was in the service of Bahādur Shāh, in whose honour, it is called *Tārīkh-i-Bahādurshāhi*. (Ẓ. W. Ed. Ross, II. Introduction, pp. xxvii-xxix).

VI. 193, *l.* **10 from foot.** *Curious apartment.*

A similar tank, reservoir or 'subaqueous chamber' is described in the A. N. III. 650=Tr. 1000; B. II. 265=Tr. 272 and the *Tūzuk-i-Jahāngīri* (73, l. 3; Tr. I. 152). Jahāngīr says that the one which had been constructed by Ḥakīm 'Ali in his father's reign [1002 A. H.], *i.e.* the one described here by Nūru-l-Ḥaqq, was in Lāhor. That which he himself saw was in the same Ḥakīm's house in Āgra.

VI. 203, *l.* **12 from foot.** *He [Muẓaffar Ḥusain Mirzā Ṣafavi] had four sons, Bahrām, Sadar, Alfās and Tahmāsp Mirzā.*

Two of the four names are incorrectly spelt. 'Sadar' is an error for 'Ḥaidar'. He rose to great dignity under Shāh Jahān and died in 1041 A. H. The name of the third son was 'Alqās' not 'Alfās'. (A. N. III. 836; Tr. 1238; *Āin*, Tr. I. 314; *'Amal-i-Ṣāliḥ*, I. 49, l. 7 f. f.; Houtsma, E. I. II. 24). The three brothers of Shāh Ṭahmāsp Ṣafāvi were named *Alqās*, Bahrām and Sām. (Gulbadan, H. N. 68=Tr. 169).

VI. 204, *l.* **14.** *In this year [1005-6 A. H.=42nd R. Y.], Mirzā Rustam, son of Prince Shāh Murād, died at Lāhore after a severe illness of six years and three months.*

There must be some muddlement here in the text or translation and the statement cannot be correct. (cf. 132 *ante* and my note there). The young prince died, according to Abu-l-Faẓl, on the 9th of Āẓar of the 42nd year of the reign, (1006 H.), after only *three days' illness*, of some intestinal or gastric disorder. He was "nine years, three months and five days" old at the time. (A. N. III. 735, Tr. 1096-7). The شش of the Ms. must be an error

and what the author wrote or meant to write was that the Prince "died after a severe illness [*at the age of*] nine years and three months."

VI. 204, *l.* 17. *In 1006 A. H., the Emperor appointed Rāi Hardās to act as Minister conjointly with Khwāja Shamsu-d-dīn.*

The first name is generally written "Patar Dās" in the A. N., and the Ṭ. A. He was given the title of Rāi Rāyān by Akbar (160, 161 *ante*), and that of Rājā Vikramājīt by Jahāngīr. He was really called '*Tappar* Dās' or '*Tirpur* Dās', a short form of Tripurāri Dās. (See my note on 287, l. 17 *infra*). In any case, 'Hardās' is wrong.

VI. 208, *l.* 8 from foot. *In A. D. 1594, Firishta escorted the Princess Begam Sultāna from Bījāpūr to Ahmadnagar, was present at her nuptials with Prince Dāniāl and attended her as far as Burhānpūr.*

The date is wrong and 1594 must be a slip for 1604. The marriage took place on the 9th of Tīr of the 49th year of the reign=20th or 21st June 1604. (A. N. Continuation, III. 827, Tr. 1240). Firishta himself gives the date as Ṣafar 1013 H. (I. 271, l. 9 f. f.), which began on 19th June 1604. Dāniāl died according to the first of these contemporary authorities, on Saturday, 28th Shawwāl (*Ḥisābi*) 1013 H. (*Ibid.* III. 837; Tr. 1254)= 9th March 1605, which *was* a Saturday (Ind. Ephem.). Mr. Vincent Smith contends that the marriage took place in *1012* A.H. or about *March* 1604, and that Dāniāl died soon afterwards in April 1604 (Akbar, 331-2; 459), because De Laet puts his demise *before* Salīm's submission and arrest on 9th November 1604. But De Laet's account of Akbar's reign is a second-hand compilation and so full of blunders of all sorts, that he is hardly an authority on such a point. Firishta who was present at the marriage may be safely trusted to know better. He gives the year of Dāniāl's marriage and death as 1013 H. *in words* and Khākī Shīrāzi, another contemporary author, who is, as Elliot states, "very particular with regard to his dates", also gives 1013. (MS. in the Mullā Firūz Library, *folio* 218 b).

VI. 210, *l.* 22. *Such conscientious and excellent use has he [Firishta] made of his predecessors, so entirely has he exhausted all the prominent facts mentioned by them, that they have been rendered almost useless.*

This amounts to saying that he has plundered older authors more thoroughly and shamelessly than others and has done them the additional injury of destroying their fame and reputation. Sir Henry Elliot's very high estimate of F.'s compilation is not endorsed by other scholars. Raverty is never weary of denouncing Firishta as "a mere copyist who follows the *Ṭabaqāt-i-Akbari* so closely and slavishly, that not only the poetical quotations, but the errors and slips also are appropriated." He has also proved that "wherever Niẓāmu-d-dīn has misread or misunderstood the original authorities, this Dakhani author has done the same." (Ṭ. N. Tr. 441, 631, 651, 653, 665, 667, 697, 711, etc. *notes*).

Firishta's work is really an adaptation of the *Ṭabaqāt* with supplementary material picked up in odd corners and not infrequently interpolated without discrimination. Oriental writers rarely deal scrupulously with the intellectual property of their predecessors, but F. often betrays great carelessness also in such appropriation or misappropriation of the fruits of other peoples' labours. He adds, alters, takes away or mutilates at his own sweet will and rarely troubles to give his reasons or cite his authority. Even Sir Wolseley Haig, who often follows him, admits that "he was utterly devoid of the critical faculty, that he has made several glaring errors even in his Annals of the Deccan, which was his peculiar province, and that the value of his work is further impaired by his gross ignorance of geography." (Houtsma, E. I. II. 111). It must be also said that his crude guesses about the coinage of the Dehli Sultāns have often involved Thomas and other numismatists in puzzlement and confusion.

VI. 218, last line. *The Rājās of Ujein, Gwāliar, Kalunjar, Canauj, Dehli and Ajmīr entered into a confederacy.*

Firishta's glosses and embellishments are frequently misleading and this is one of them. The interpolation of Dehli and Ajmer in this catalogue of Ānandpāl's allies is an absurdity and an anachronism, as neither of these cities was in existence at this time (1008 A.C.). Dehli was founded only by Anangapāla Tomar in 1052 A. C. The fact is stated in an inscription on the Iron Pillar in the Quṭb. (I. G. XI. 233; Smith, E. H. I. 356). Ajmer was the creation of and named after Aja, Ajaya, or Ajayapāla Chauhān, who flourished about 1100 A. C. and whose son Ano was alive in 1150 A.C. (Bühler in Ind. Ant. XXVI, (1897), p. 162; I. G. V. 141). There is also no mention of the 30,000 Gakkhars in any of the earlier authorities.

VI. 230, *l.* 16. *Two thousand elephants, three hundred gun-carriages and battering rams.....were included in the booty of the king.*

The words in the Text are ارابهٔ توپ و ضربزن (I. 290, l. 10). Mrs. Beveridge thinks that Bābur's ضرب زن was a culverin or swivel-gun, weighing about fifteen or seventeen pounds only, but the term appears to have been used for larger pieces of artillery also. Mirzā Ḥaidar states that at the battle of Qanauj in 947 A. H., Humāyūn had 700 *Zarbzan*, each throwing stone balls of 500 *miṣqāls'* weight (about five pounds). (E. D. V. 131-2). A 'Zarbzān' is described by Faiẓi Sirhindi as a piece of artillery throwing a ball weighing from half a *ser* to two *mans* at 139 *ante*. See also the *Tārīkh-i-Alfi* in E. D. V. 175. But the existence of any guns in the days of Aḥmad Shāh Bahmani, who is the king referred to here, is exceedingly doubtful. See Briggs' Note, 466 *infra*.

VI. 232, *l.* 7 from foot. *Ahmad Shāh [Bahmani] marched to reduce a rebellious Zemindar of Māhoor.*

This 'Māhoor' was a *Sarkār* in Berār. (*Āīn*, Tr. II. 230, 235). The town is situated four miles from the right bank of the Pāin-Gangā river, about 98 miles S. S. E. from Ellichpūr. Lat. 19°-50′ N., Long. 78°-0′. E. (Th.) It is shown in the I. G. Atlas, Pl. 40 C 2. Kullum, which is mentioned on

line 2, p. 233 *infra*, as possessing a diamond mine, was another *Sarkār* in Berār. Eight of its *parganas* belonged then to a Gonḍ Zemindār named Babjeo or Chānda, who had wrested the diamond mine of Bīrāgarh [*Recte*, Wairāgarh] only a short time before from another chief. (*Āīn*. Tr, II, 229, 230, 232. See also T.J. Tr. II. 21 and *note*). Kallam or Kallamb is now in Wun district, Berār, and shown in Constable, 31 E a.

VI. 236, *l.* 13 from foot. *A poet observes: 'Royalt ybefitteth not the destroyer of a parent, nor will the reign of such a wretch be long.'*

The poet is the great Niẓāmi Ganjavi who says:—

پدر کُش بادشاهی را نشاید اگر شاید بعد شش مه نپاید

The couplet is quoted by Mīrkhwānd also in connection with the short-lived prosperity of royal parricides. (Browne, L. H. P. III. 377). Niẓāmu-d-dīn Aḥmad in his Chapter on Sultan Nāṣiru-d-dīn Khalji of Mālwā (571, last line) and his copyist F. (II. 261, l. 11) cite the saying as an argument of great weight. They urge in all seriousness, that as no parricide is known to have reigned for more than a year and Nāṣiru-d-dīn actually ruled for so long as eleven, he *could not have been guilty* of poisoning his father Ghiyāṣu-d-dīn, as he is said by many historians to have done!

VI. 236, *l.* 9 from foot. *Beny Rāy recovered from his wounds.*

Sic in Briggs, but the Cawnpore Lith. of Firishta has بناهی (II, 201-2). The T. A. calls him بتای بن اودیسنگ (476-7) and the *Mirāt-i-Sikandari* راي بتای (Text, 114-5, Bayley's Tr. 208-9). He is called Patāi Rāwal in the Hindu accounts also and this must have been the sobriquet or designation by which he was popularly known. His real name was Jaysinha. (*Rās Mālā*, Reprint, 1924, pp. 355, 357, 358; B. G. I. i. 246). بنی (Beny) must be a misreading of پتی Patai.

VI. 243, *l.* 13. *Akbar died at Āgra on the 23rd of Jumādu-l-awwal, A.H. 1014, after a reign of fifty-two years.*

Neither of the two averments is correct. Akbar died on the 12th-13th of Jumādi-l-*Ākhir*, 1014=4th Ābān Ilāhi, 50 R. Y., after a reign of less than fifty solar years or a little more than fifty-one lunar years. He reigned from 2nd Rab'ī II. 963 to 12th Jumādi II. 1014 H. The Hijri date given by this author corresponds with 12th *Mihr Ilāhi*, on which the Emperor was seized with the illness which proved fatal after twenty-three days. (A. N. Cont. III. 840=Tr. III. 1259). 'Abdu-l-Bāqi has mixed up the dates of the two events.

VI. 280, *l.* 12. *I had neither heart nor head to think about the foul copies of my Memoirs.*

دل و دماغ همراهی ننمود که مسوّدات سوانح و وقایع توانم پرداخت (353, l. 11 f.f.). "My heart and head did not keep pace together [did not work in accord or unison with each other] and I was unable to pay personal attention to the original Journals and Reports of Events." The real meaning is that Jahāngīr was suffering from some nervous or cardiac disorder, which prevented him from preparing and writing out with his own hand,

summaries of the Court-Circulars and News-letters, from which his autobiography was compiled. As his own hands shook and trembled, he was obliged to get the work done byMu'atamad Khān. Manucci describes the *Wakai* as a "sort of Gazette or Mercury, containing the events of most importance. These News-letters are commonly read in the King's presence by women of the Mahal... . so that by this means he knows what is going on in his Kingdom." (Storia, II. 331). Mu'atamad had been employed as a *Wāq'ia Navīs* so early as the 2nd year of Jahāngīr's reign. (T. J. 56, l. 8=Tr. I. 117 and Note).

VI. 284, *l.* **2.** *On Thursday, the 8th Jumādu-s-sānī, 1014 Hijra, (12th October 1605).....I ascended the throne.*

هشتم, 8th, is an error for بیستم, 20th. Akbar died on Wednesday 12th-13th of Jumādi II. (115 and 248 *ante*). Jahāngīr ascended the throne eight days later on Thursday, the 20th (24th October, 1605 O. S. See my Historical Studies, p. 268, and the authorities quoted there.

VI. 284, *l.* **12.** *The weight of it [the golden chain] was four Hindustāni Mans, equal to thirty-two Mans of 'Irāk.*

This Hindustāni *Man* must be the *Man* established by Akbar, which was equivalent to about 55 English pounds *avoirdupois*. The *Man* of 'Irāq must have therefore weighed about 7 lbs., which corresponds fairly well with the *Man* known as the Tabrīzi. (Yule H.J. *s.v.* Maund). At 304 *infra*, 500 Hindustāni Mans are equated with 4000 Mans of *Vilāyat, i. e.* Persia, which gives the same ratio.

VI. 286, *l.* **28.** *The attendants upon the female apartments of my father were advanced .. . from ten to twelve, or ten to twenty.*

راتبهٔ پردگیانِ سرا پردهٔ عصمتِ والدِ بزرگوارِ خود از ده دوازده تا ده بیست افزودم ('Alīgarh Text, 5, l. 2). The increments relate not to the allowances of the 'attendants' in the Harem, but to the allowances or pensions of "the curtained ones in the Pavilion of Chastity," *i. e.* the numerous ladies who were regarded as the wives of Akbar and other females related to the Imperial family. The persons who received the new Emperor's bounty and were so graciously treated were the ladies, not their 'attendants.'

VI. 287, *l.* **14.** *The ¼ tola (silver coin) [was called] Aishyāri.*

Recte, نثاری as in the Text, (5, l. 14). The denomination *Nisāri* is inscribed on some of the quarter-rupees themselves and is derived from the fact that they were used for نثار, *i. e.* for scattering among the people during the progresses of the Emperor and on Festivals and other ceremonial occasions at Court. (See my Historical Studies, 177-185).

VI. 287, l. 17. *Har Dās Rāī, who had received from my father, the title of Rāy Rāyān, and from me that of Rājā Bikramājīt . . . was made Commandant of artillery.*

بیرداس *Bīr* Dās in the Text, 9, last line, but تپرداس Tapar Dās in the *Iqbāl Nāma*. He is called Patar Dās by A. F. and Niẓāmu-d-dīn, but the correct form appears to have been 'Tapar Das' and he is so called by Ralph Fitch, who saw him at Patna in 1586. "He that is chief here, under

the King, is", he writes, "*Tipperdas* and is of great account among the people". (E. T. I. 24; Ryley, Ralph Fitch, 110). He is mentioned as 'Tirpur Kshattri' repeatedly, in the local chronicle of Bundelkhand, translated by Mr. Silberrad in J. A. S. B. LXXI. 1902, pp. 112-3. The Sanskrit form is probably 'Tripurāri Dās' 'Servant of Tripurāri' (Enemy of Tripur), one of the epithets of Shiva or Mahādeva. (*Vishṇu Purāṇ*, Tr. Wilson, Ed. Hall. V. Pt. i. 118).

VI. 287, *l.* **21.** *He had directions to keep 50000 gunners and 3000 gun-carriages always in a state of readiness.*

حکم کردم که همیشه در توپخانهٔ رکاب پنجاه هزار توپچی و سه هزار ارابهٔ توپ مستعد و آماده سرانجام نماید (10, l. 2). The توپخانهٔ رکاب or 'Artillery of the Stirrup' consisted of a number of "light guns which accompanied the Emperor in all his marches and progresses and were ranged in front of the tents and fired a volley, the moment he arrived in camp." (Bernier, Travels, Ed. Constable, 217, 218, 363). Manucci also speaks of the 'light artillery' which was placed round the tents of Aurangzeb in every camping ground, but he states that it consisted of only one hundred field pieces, each drawn by two horses. (Storia, II. 69). Gemelli Careri, who visited Aurangzeb's camp at Galgala in 1695, estimates the number of light guns which he saw at "sixty or seventy, each drawn by two horses." (Travels, in Churchill's Voyages, IV. 220, 222, 235, 236). Jahāngīr's '50000 gunners and 3000 guns' are such monstrous and staggering departures from these modest figures, that one cannot but suspect some error in the text. The Emperor is rarely guilty of exaggeration himself and it is not unlikely that he wrote or meant to write '5000 gunners and 300 guns'. The phrase 'Artillery of the Stirrup,' is derived from *Rikāb*, which literally means 'stirrup', but is used as a figurative expression for the Emperor's immediate entourage when on a journey. (Irvine, A. I. M. 134).

VI. 290, *l.* **4 from foot.** *As I had removed the practice of levying transit duties, which amounted to many Krors of rupees.*

زکوه ممالکِ محروسه که حاصلِ آن از کورها گذشت. The word 'rupees' is an interpolation and there is nothing corresponding to it in the Text (21, l. 4 f. f.). Jahāngīr probably means *Dāms*, as it is explicitly stated a few lines lower down, that the *Sāir jihāt* [miscellaneous taxes] of Kābul yielded one Kror and twenty-three laks of *Dāms*. (p. 291 *infra*). As the total revenue of the Mughal Empire under Jahāngīr was about sixteen *Krors* of rupees, it is not likely that the realisations from the "Zakāt" alone amounted to several *Krors* of that monetary unit.

VI. 291, *l.* **9 from foot.** *When I obtained the sovereignty, I confined* (girifta) *him* [*Prince Khusrav*] *and quieted my doubts and apprehensions.*

Jahāngīr does not appear to have confined or imprisoned Khusrav until after his overt treason and rebellion. What the Emperor really says or complains of here is that he "found Khusrav straitened at heart

and gloomy (haunted by fear and terror) همواره خسرورا گرفتهٔ خاطر و متوحش میافتم (24, l. 11). Cf. also *infra* 338, where Jahāngīr laments, in the diary of the Ninth year, that Khusrav continued to be "sad and downcast," ملول و گرفته خاطر (128, l. 7), even after receiving so many tokens of his paternal affection and regard. The "doubts and apprehensions" were not in Jahāngīr's heart but in Khusrav's.

VI. 291, *l.* **4 from foot.** *On the night of the 20th of Zī-l-Hijja, [Khusrav fled].*

The dating throughout this account of Khusrav's revolt is confused and inconsistent. We have 20th here, but 2nd Ẓī-l-Ḥijja at 295, l. 6 *infra*. The 20th should be 8th, and the 2nd should be 10th, دهم not دوم, as in the Text. (24, l. 14 and 26, l. 3 f.f.). A few lines lower down, the Emperor is said to have reached Dehli on the 13th of Ẓīl-Ḥijja. The *I.N.* gives the date of Khusrav's flight correctly as 8th Ẓī-l-Ḥijja, (9, l. 3), *i. e.* 5th April, 1606, Old Style. According to the contemporary Jesuit reports quoted in Du Jarric, Khusrav fled on the 15th of April, but this is the New Style date.

VI. 292, *l.* **15.** *He [the Amīru-l-Umarā] .... is envious of his peers, God forbid lest he should be malicious and destroy him!*

و بنابر قرب و منزلتی که داشت محسودِ امثال واقران است (24, l. 5 f.f.). The real meaning is again turned topsy-turvy. The Amīru-l-Umarā was the Emperors' favourite and he was not envious of his peers, but *they* were envious of *him*. What Jahāngīr was afraid of was that the other Amīrs would conspire against him and compass his ruin out of envy.

VI. 294, *l.* **15.** *From time to time her mind wandered, and her father and brothers all agreed in telling me she was insane.*

Not so. The real meaning is that "the tendency to insanity was hereditary and her father and her brothers had all at one time manifested signs of insanity." چنانچه این حدیث میراثی بود که پدران و برادران او همه یکبار در دیوانگی خود ها را ظاهر میکردند (26, l. 10). Khusrav's mother was the daughter of Bhagwāndās, whose attempt to commit suicide is mentioned by B. (II. 353=Tr. 384) and A. F. (A. N. III. 492=Tr. 745). Her brother Partāb [Pratāp] Sinha, the son of Bhagwāndās had also tried to kill himself and put a dagger to his throat. (A. N. III. 744=Tr. 1111). Elsewhere, Jahāngīr records the fact that her nephews, Bhāu Sinha, Jagat Sinha and Mahā Sinha were dipsomaniacs and all died of drink. (337, l. 21=Tr. II. 218).

VI. 295, *l.* **6.** *I halted at Hindal.*

Recte, 'Hodal', as in the Text. (26, l. 5 f.f.). For 'Palol' (l. 19) read 'Palwal'. Delete 'Ramazān' on l. 23. It is not in the Text and is an obvious blunder, as Khusrav fled on the 8th of Ẓī-l-Ḥijja. Hodal is about seventy miles north of Āgra (Seeley, R. I. 19; *Chihār Gulshan* in I. A. xcviii) and sixty miles south of Dehli. Lat. 27°-53′ N., Long. 77°-26′ E. (Th.). Palwal lies about 18 miles north of Hodal (Seeley, R. I. 19) and 41 miles south of Dehli (Th.). Narila (l. 24) lies about 16 miles north-west of

Dehli. (I. A. xcviii). All these places are now stations on the N. W. Railway.

VI. 296, *l.* 11 from foot. *At Aloda, I sent Abul Bani Uzbek.....to the support of Shaikh Farīd.*

The name of this man is variously written in the text itself as ابوالنبی (12, l. 3), ابوالبی (28, l. 5 f. f.), and ابوالغنی. It is ابوالولی in the *I.N.* (47, l. 15), and Abu-l-Bāqī in the A. N. (III. 820=Tr. 1231). 'Abul Bey' may be the correct form, as Hawkins mentions 'Abul-bey' as one of the twenty-two Amīrs, who were Commanders of Three Thousand, when he was at the Mughal Court in 1609-11 A. C. (E. T. I. 99).

'Aloda' is a mistranscription of 'Alūwa', eighteen miles north-wes of Ambālā, on the road from Dehli to Lāhore. Shāhābād (l. 23) is 16 miles south of Ambālā. (*Chihār Gulshān* in I. A. cxix). Constable, 25 B b.

VI. 297, *l.* 4 from foot. [*The news reached me*]. *in the garden of Āghā Kuli.*

The text reads 'Sarāi of Qāẓi 'Ali'. (29, l. 10 f. f.). The spurious Memoirs or *Tārikh-i-Salīm Shāhi* also call the place by the same name, (265 *ante*), which must be correct. Qāẓi 'Ali was one of the ministers of Akbar. See my note on IV. 389, l. 8 f. f.

VI. 299, *l.* 17. *On the 28th, my camp rested at Jahān, seven Kos from Lahore.*

جیپال (Jaipāl) in the Text. (31, l. 6). Mr. Beveridge and Dr. Beni Prasād leave this place unidentified. I suggest that it is *Chabhal*, a village about 12 miles south of Lāhore, where there is a branch Post Office. It lies about eight miles west of Tarn Tāran, while Govindwāl, the preceding stage (298, l. 13 *ante*) is 14 miles south of Tarn Tāran. '*Bhai*rowāl,' the place where the battle was fought, is the '*Vai*rowal' of Constable's Atlas, 25 A b. It is a village on the Beas in the Tarn Tāran *Taḥṣīl* of Amritsar district. Lat. 31°-25′ N., Long. 75°-10′ E. (I. G. *s. n.*).

VI. 302, *l.* 16. *I passed Sunday, the 19th of Farwardīn, which was the day of the Sun's entry into Aries in that garden.*

روز یکشنبه نوزدهم فرور دین ماه را که روز شرف حضرت نیر اعظم بود (43, l. 3 f.f.). The day of the Sun's *entry into Aries* is the *first* day of Fravardīn. Aries is the sign of his شرف or 'House of Honour' and he attains his 'culmination' or 'exaltation' in the 19th degree of that sign, *i. e.* on the *19th day* of the month called Fravardīn. (B. II. 309=Tr. II. 319). The *Naurūz* festival lasted for nineteen days from *Roz* Hormazd the 1st, to *Roz* Fravardīn, the 19th of *Māh* Fravardīn and the *Jashn* or Great Feast was celebrated on the 19th day. (*Āīn*, Tr. I. 276).

VI. 303, *l.* 7. *Sikandar Maī, the jāgīrdār of the pargana.*

The second name is given as معین (Mu'īn) in the Text (44, l. 12), which may be the short form of M'uīnu-d-dīn, but if 'Maī' or 'Maīn' is correct, he may have belonged to the *Maīn* tribe, a branch of the Bhaṭṭis, who were converted to Islām in the fourteenth century. 'Chandwāla' is written چنداله. Mr. Beveridge (Tr. I. 91 note) suggests that it may be Jandiāla of the I. G. (VII. 137), which is in Amritsar, but a glance at the map must show

that the suggestion is untenable, as it does not lie on Jahāngīr's route from Lāhor to Kābul. This Chandwāla must be a few miles south-east of Ḥafiẓābād in Gujranwāla. The name of the *Krori* of Ḥāfiẓābād was Mīr Qiwāmu-d-dīn (Text, 44, l. 15), not Kirāmu-d-dīn. Mīr Qiwāmu-d-dīn is again mentioned. (T. J. 323, l. 25=Tr. II. 192).

VI. 305, *l.* **19**. *Darahlār which joins the Behat at the village of Shahābu-dīnpūr is the best of all the streams [in Kashmīr].*

Shihābu-d-dīnpur lies at the junction of the Sind and the Behat (or Jhelum) and is a *Prayāg* or *Tirtha* (Holy place) on that account. It is now called Shādīpur and lies about nine miles north-west of Srīnagar. Constable, 25 A a.

'Darahlār' really means "the valley (دره) of the 'Lār' river." The name of the *river* which joins the Behat (*i.e.* Jhelum) at Shihābu-d-dīnpur is *Lār*. It is also called the Sind. Jahāngīr's visit to the valley of the Lār is recorded in his diary of the XVth year. (314, l. 8 f.f.=Tr. II. 176. See also Text, 347, l. 12=Tr. II. 238).

VI. 306, *l.* **10**. *It is said that he [Zainu-l-'Ābidīn] passed many periods of forty days in this place.*

The word in the original is اربعین, the Persian synonym of which is چله, the period of forty days during which he remained in strict solitude as well as silence and fasted. (Herklots, *loc. cit.* 114). 'Chilla' is also used for the place where a Saint has performed the penance. The traditional scene of the forty days' fast of St. John the Baptist near Jericho is still known as 'Quarantina'. (Fanshawe, D. P. P. 280).

VI. 306, *l.* **24**. *The King is said to have performed many such miracles and he could assume any form he liked.*

میگویند که علم خلع بدن نیز خوب ورزیده (46, l. 14). "They say that he had also thoroughly mastered the art of separating the body from the soul [or the soul from the body]". Abu-l-Faẓl states that "Zainu-l-'Ābidīn was credited with the power of divesting himself of his corporeal form." (*Āīn*, Tr. II. 388). The Ṭ. A. also uses the phrase خلع بدن and tells a story of a Jogi having once transferred his own soul to the body of the Sultān and brought him back to life, when he was on the point of death. (Text, 601-2). F. repeats the tale. (II, 345). There are numerous references to this power or gift of projecting the individual soul into space and of even effecting a temporary lodgment in another corporeal tenement in Hindu literature and folk-lore. Stories of the 'double' or 'wraith' of a dead or dying person having been seen at the moment of death by friends or relatives living at a distance are related in many old books on the 'Night Side of Nature,' as well as recent works on telepathy and spiritualism.

VI. 307, *l.* **6 from foot**. *The amount is 16,10,00,000 dāms which is 34,25000 rupees.....or 1,21,75,000 Khānis of Tūrān.*

The correct equivalent in Rupees is 40,25,000 as it is given in the text. (47, l. 1). Forty *dāms* went to the rupee. The sum in *Khānis* is also stated wrongly here and should be 1,20,75,000, not 1,21,75,000. Three

Khānis went to the Rupee. The total cost of the erection of the fortress is stated differently in the *Tārīkh-i-Dāūdi* at E. D. IV. 419 n., *q.v.* my note.

VI. 308, *l.* **1**. [*From Tillah*], *I marched to the village of Bhakra.*

Mr. G. P. Tate agrees with Blochmann in identifying 'Bhakra' with 'Bakrāla'. He observes that "the winding bed of the Bakrāla river between the villages of Bakrāla and Dhamek was the road by which, for countless centuries, invading armies had entered and left the Punjab, when they did not use the Nilāb-Bhera route." (J. R. A. S. 1909, pp. 168-9). The Agra and Calcutta Gazetteer (Ed. 1842) places Bakrāla at twenty miles' distance from Rhotās. (I. A. p. cii.). Hatya (l. 13) is mentioned in Finch's itinerary from Lāhor to Kābul; Lāhor to Rhotās, 78 *Kos*, Hatya, 15 K., Pukka, 4 K., Rāwalpindi, 14 K., Kalāpāni, 15 Hasanabdāl, 4. (E. T. I. 168). Hati, the Gakkhar Chief, after whom Hatya is called, is mentioned by Bābur. (B. N. 389-90; E. D. IV. 235-7).

VI. 310, *l.* **18**. *On this march, there occurs a hill called Mārgalla.* Mār *in Hindi, signifies 'to rob on the highway' and* galla, *'a caravan'.*

This derivation is almost as apocryphal as another put forward by Cunningham, from *galā*, throat, and *Mārnā*, to cut, decollate. The English antiquarian connects the name of the place with the local legend of 'Sir Kāp'—the Buddhist *Jātaka* or tale about 'the Enlightened One' having offered his head here to save the life of a man or a starving tigress and her seven cubs. (A.G. I. Ed. 1871, p. 111). Jahāngīr associates it with brigandage and highway robbery. The name is written by Alberūni as 'Mārikala' (Sachau's Tr. I. 302) and 'Marigala' (*Ibid.* II. 8). 'Gala' occurs as a suffix in other toponyms also, *e. g.* Biramgala, which is the 'Bhairavg*ala*,' of the *Rājataringiṇi*.

VI. 315, *l.* **7 from foot**. *Khwāja Kuraishi, the dīwān of Prince Khurram.*

Recte, 'Waisi' as in the Text. (58, l. 11 f.f.). See also the *Iqbālnāma* (28, l. 6 f.f.). He is the 'Godzia *Vehees*' of De Laet (Tr. Hoyland, 178) and is again mentioned as Khwaja *Waisi* by Jahāngīr himself. (T. J. 283, l. f.f.; Tr. II. 113). See also *Āīn* (Tr. I. 433, 464) and A. N. (III. Tr. 1151).

VI. 318, *l.* **16**. *Āsaf Khān presented me with a ruby seven tānks in weight.*

The 'Ṭānk' is defined in the dictionaries in many different ways, but I have shown elsewhere that the Jewellers' and Goldsmiths' 'Ṭānk' of Akbar and Jahāngīr weighed about 63 grains. During the last decade of his reign, Akbar struck a new denomination in copper called *Tānki*, specimens of which are now very rare and eagerly sought for by collectors. See my paper on the subject in Num. Supp. No. XXVII to the J. A. S. B. 1916, pp. 138-140 and H. S. M. N. 102-114.

VI. 321, *l.* **9**. *When Afzal Khān ... was about to march to Gorakpur, ...which lies about sixty Kos distance from Patna.*

An error for 'Kharakpur', though the text also reads 'Gorakhpur'. (83, l. 8 f.f.) and the *Iqb. Nām.* agrees with it. (42, l. 16). 'Kharakpur'

must be correct, as Jahāngīr states that soon after Afẓal Khān was appointed Ṣūbadār of Bihār, the *jāgīr* of Sangrām, *the Rājā* of *Kharakpur*, was assigned to Afẓal Khān for a year. (T. J. 68, l. 6; 70, l. 1=Tr. I. 143; 146). Sangrām had revolted and been killed in a battle with Jahāngīr Quli Khān, the former governor of Bihār. (T. J. 39, l. 10 f.f.= Tr. I. 83). Kharakpur is about thirty miles south of Monghyr and was in Afẓal Khān's jurisdiction, as it was in the *Ṣūba* of Bihār. Gorakhpur was in Oudh. Patnā is in Lat. 25°-35′ N.; Long. 85°-15′ E. N.; Gorakhpur in Lat. 26°-42′ N.; Long. 83°-23′ E. This implies a map-distance of about 150 miles, and a road-distance of about 200, which is greatly in excess of 60 *Kos*.

VI. 321, *l.* 12. *He placed the fort and the city in charge of Shaikh Banārasi.*

This man's real name is not given by Jahāngīr, but it is written in the Compendium of Khāki Shīrāzi (203 *ante*) and the *Iqb. Nām.* (42, l. 5 f.f.), as Ḥusām. He must be the Shaikhzāda Gosāla Banārasi, who is the butt of Budāuni's biting comment and about whose morals he relates a scandalous story. He is said to have been a disciple of the 'New Faith' and appointed *Krori* of Banāras, through the influence of its great hierophant, Abu-l-Faẓl. (B. II. 404; Tr. 419-20). This accounts for the sobriquet 'Banārasi.' 'Gosāla' in Persian means 'Calf' and secondarily 'a fool or coward' and looks like a vilipending nick-name coined by Budāuni.

VI. 321, *l.* 16. *A turbulent person of Uch, by name Kutb, came.... into the territory of Ujjainiya, which lies near Patna.*

'Ujjainiya' (or Uchīna) is not the designation of a place, but of a ruling dynasty. The territory referred to is that of Bhojpur or Jagdishpur, which was ruled at this time by the *Ujjainiya* Rājās. They were so called, because they claimed to be descended from the Pramāra Rājās of Dhār and *Ujjain*. Their capital, Bhojpur, was named after the renowned King, poet and patron of poets, Bhoj Pramāra of Dhār. (Blochmann, *Āīn*, Tr. I. 513 note). Bāyazīd Biyāt states that Gajpati, اجپتی the Ujjainiya Rājā, held Bhojpur and Bihīya in *Jāgīr*. (J. A. S. B. (1898), LXVII. p. 315). Dr. Beni Prasād speaks of Quṭb, the 'pseudo Khusrav' "as an obscure Muslim youth *of Ujjaini in Bihār*" (Jahāngīr, 167), but there is no such place as 'Ujjaini' anywhere in that province. Khāki Shīrāzi states, just as Jahāngīr does here, that Quṭb was born at Uch in Multān. (205 *infra*).

VI. 321, *l.* 7 from foot. *As his eyes had been branded in times gone by, he told those people that when he was in prison, hot cups had been laid upon his eyes, which had left that mark.*

The man was an undoubted impostor, but the allegation ascribed to him would point to a popular belief that Khusrav *had been blinded* in this manner. Texeira says that this peculiar method of blinding was practised by the ruling family of Hormuz and that fifteen princes of the

royal line who had been thus deprived of sight were imprisoned in the fort in his time. (Whiteway, Rise of the Portuguese Power in India, 165 note). See my note on 448, l. 10 f. f. *infra*).

VI. 322, *l.* 5 from foot. *Shaikh Banārasi, Ghīyās Rīhāni and the other officers, were brought to Āgra.*

'Zain Khāni' not 'Raiḥāni' in the Text (84, l. 6 f.f.). He is so called by Dowson himself. (321, l. 12 *ante*). He was probably a dependent, protege or connection of Zain Khān Koka, to whom two of Jahāngīr's wives were related. In the translation from Khāki Shīrāzi (206 *ante*), the personal name is printed as *Il*iyās, but this must be an error for *Ghīyāṣ*. He is called *Gh*iyāṣ Beg in the *Iqb. Nām.* also. (42, l. 5 f.f.). Hawkins says that he was an eye-witness of the punishment inflicted by Jahāngīr upon the eight cowardly captains of the town. (Voyages in E. T. I. 113).

VI. 323, *l.* 13 from foot. [*Khān Jahān said in his letter*], "*Either confirm him* [*Khān-i-Khānān*] *in the command, or recall him to Court and appoint me*".

The real point is not brought out clearly in the translation. The alternative was not confirmation or recall, but investment with absolute authority or recall. یا این خدمت را باستقلال باو باز باید گذاشت یا اورا بدرگاه باید طلبید (86, l. 10 f.f.). "Either this task (or duty) should be again assigned to him with absolute authority (or supreme control of affairs, not, as hitherto, in subordination to Prince Parvīz) or he should be recalled to Court". Khān Jahān reported that the ill-success was due to division of authority and his advice was that either the Khān-ī-Khānān should be placed in sole charge with untrammelled authority or removed and Khān Jahān himself appointed as general-in-chief with full powers. (See also *Iqb. Nām.* 45). His real point was that Parvīz should be removed and the command entrusted either to the Khān-i-Khānān or to himself, but, *in either case, with full powers.* Khān-i-Khānān had been formerly Chief Commander in the Dekkan. When Jahāngīr afterwards set Prince Parvīz above him, things went wrong, because his *amour propre* had been hurt. Khān Jahān also felt that the Prince's presence was more of a hindrance than a help.

VI. 325, *l.* 6 from foot. [*I ordered them*] *not to give the Amīrs and Sardārs serving under them the annoyance of their own chair or of requiring obeisance to the chair.*

با امرا و سرداران کمکی خود تکلیف چوکی و تسلیم نکنند (100, l. 9). "Annoyance of their own chair," has scarcely any meaning. "They should not require or force the Amīrs and Commanders who were sent [from the Imperial Court] to assist them [as auxiliaries on special duty or in emergencies], to mount guard or make obeisance to themselves, [as] those Amīrs and Commanders used to do to the Emperor, when mounting guard at Court]. چوکی here does not mean 'chair', but 'mounting guard, doing sentry duty as in the Emperor's palace'. Abu-l-Faẓl enables us to understand what Jahāngīr means: "One of the occurrences [of the 20th year of Akbar's

reign] was the establishment of seven watches (*Chaukis*)..... All the servants who held office in the Court were distributed into seven divisions, each of which was to be on guard for twenty-four hours. One of the grandees was appointed to command each division, so that he might superintend everything." (A. N. III. 146=Tr. 207-8). The grandees or nobles had to do duty by turns with their contingents at the palace-gate once a week. The rules are recorded in the *Āīn*. (Tr. I. 257).

VI. 325, *l.* **2 from foot**. [*They were*] *not to forcibly impose Musalmān burdens* (taklīf-i-Musalmāni) *on any one.*

What are 'Musalmān burdens'? تکلیف means 'force, pressure, compulsion' and the real meaning here is that they were 'not to force the profession of Islām upon any one', *i.e.* they were not to compel any one to become a Musalmān. 'Musalmāni' is used euphemistically in Hindustāni for 'Circumcision'. *Taklīf-i-Musalmāni* signifies 'compulsory circumcision'. The synonymous phrase, تکلیفِ اسلام is used in the same sense in Firishta. (Life of Sayyid Ṣadru-d-dīn Rāju-i-Qattāl, Text, II. 417, l. 2 f. f.).

VI. 326, *l.* **2**. [*They were*] *not to trouble the singers and musicians to give chairs after the manner of a darbār.*

و اهل نغمه را بروشی که در دربار معمولست تکلیفِ چوکی نکنند (100, l. 12). "They should not compel the musicians to put in *Chauki, i. e.* attendance [by turns, in their courts,] as is customary at the Imperial Court". William Finch tells us that the dancing girls of Āgra had "to attend, as their several turns come every seventh day, that they may be ready when the King or his women shall please to call any of them, to sing and dance in his Moholl." (E. T. I. 183). See also Manrique, II. 161.

VI. 326, *l.* **5**. *When they presented a horse or elephant to any man....., they were not to require obeisance from him with a horse's bridle or an elephant's goad placed upon his back.*

This refers to a strange observance of the old Mongol Code of Court-etiquette, which was enforced by the Timuride Emperors of Dehli. The explanation is provided by a European writer. He tells us that "Kettle drums and the right to play them were great favours which were bestowed by the Mughal Emperors only on officers of the rank of 2000 *Suwar* or upwards.....The drums, when granted, were placed on the recipient and thus accoutred, he had to do homage for them in the public audience hall .....But when these favours were conferred upon Lord Lake soon after his great victory in 1803, "two small drums of silver were hung round his neck and struck a few times." (Thorne, 'Memoirs of the War in India', 1803-6, Ed. 1848, p. 356; Irvine, A. I. M. p. 30). Similarly, when a horse or elephant was presented to any one by the Emperor, the donee was bound to make obeisance (*taslīm*) by way of thanks, with a horse's bridle or elephant's goad *on his own back*. Jahāngīr now strictly forbade governors of provinces to arrogate to themselves or usurp this peculiar privilege of Royalty.

VI. 326, *l.* **9.** [*They were*] *not to place their seals upon letters addressed to royal servants.*

و اگر چیزی بانها نویسند مهر برو نکنند (100, l. 15). "And if they have to write letters to them [the Emperor's own servants], they were not to put their seals on the front (*lit.* face) of the letter" as the latter were not their inferiors. (See *Āīn*, Book II. Chap. XII on the Order of the Seals. Tr. I. 163 and my note on E. D. IV. 378, l. 20).

VI. 331, *l.* **3.** *Certain political considerations induced me to depute him* [*Muqarrab Khān*] *to the sea-port town of Goa to visit the Wazīr or ruler of that place.*

Dowson suggests that the right reading must be 'Goga' *i.e.* Ghogha, as "Goā was much beyond Muqarrab Khān's jurisdiction, whereas Goga was in it." But it is explicitly stated in the text that he was commanded to go to '*Goda*'. گودہ, *Recte* گووہ, *Gowa*. حکم کردہ بودم کہ بیندر گودہ رفتہ و وزیری را کہ حاکم گووہ است بہ بیند (105, l. 3). Here *Waziri* or *Vazri* is a miswriting or factitious meaning-making of the Portuguese *Vicerei*, Viceroy. Abul-Faẓl speaks of the Viceroy of Goa as ورزي (A. N. I. 145, Tr. 323). Ḥājji Dabīr spells the designation as بزری *Bizray* or *Bizri*. (Ẓ.W. 282, l. 2). Jahāngīr himself records with satisfaction at 340 *infra* the defeat of the Portuguese *Warzi's* (*Recte*, Wazri's) or Viceroy's fleet at Sūrat.

Muqarrab Khān's visit to Goa is mentioned in the Portuguese accounts also, in which it is stated that he was accompanied by the Jesuit Pinheiro. We know from these sources that Muqarrab left Āgra in September 1607 A.C. Though the orders for his recall had been issued by Jahāngīr in 1610, he appears to have returned only now in 1612=1021 H. (V. Smith. O. H. I. 380; Foster, E. T. I. 88 *note*).

VI. 332, *l.* **8.** *I put the* tīkā *on the forehead of Dalpat with my Royal hands.*

The text reads Dalīp دلیپ (106, l. 19), and Mr. Beveridge has followed it. (Tr. I. 218). But the real name was *Dalpat*. (Tod, A. A. R. II. 1135 note; Erskine, Gazetteer of Rājputāna, III A. 319 and III. B. 83; *Āīn*, Tr. I. 359; Duff, C. I. 277).

VI. 332, *l.* **13.** *Lakhmi Chand.....was son of Rājā Rāi* (*of Kamāun*).

The father's name is printed in the text as اودر 'Udar', (106, l. 7 f.f.), for which read *Rūdar*, *i. e.* Rudrachand, (*q. v.* B. II. 365=Tr. 377; E. D. V. 541; A. N. III. 533; Tr. 812, 735, 818; Duff, C. I. 281).

VI. 335, *l.* **11.** *Then they* [*the rulers of Chitor*] *took the title of* 'Rūp', '*handsome*', *instead of* Rājā.

بجای راجہ لقب راول را جزو اسم خود ساختند (122, l. 14). "Instead of Rājā, they made 'Rāwal' a part of their name or title". 'Rūp' must be an error for 'Rāwal'. "The Chief of the State (of Mewār)," Abu-l-Faẓl writes, "was formerly called Rāwal, but for a long time past has been known as Rāna." (*Āīn*, Tr. II. 268). Tod states that the ancient appellation of the rulers of Chitor was 'Rāwal' and 'Rāna' was assumed by *Rahup*, only in the 12th century, after his victory over Mokal Parihār. (A. A. R. I. 249,

305. See also I. G. XI. 380; Crooke, Tribes and Castes, II. 374). Rahup's date is disputed. Some put him in the 14th century. (J. A. S. B. 1886, p. 16). 'Rūp' in the translation may be due to some confusion between it and 'Rahup'. It was Rahup who changed the title.

VI. 335, *l.* **12.** *After that, they overran the mountain land of Mewāt and still advancing, got possession of the fortress of Jaipūr.*

Both the place-names are wrong. Read 'Mewār' and 'Chitor'. The text has میوات and چیتور (122, l. 13). Jahāngīr must mean Mewāḍ by the former.

VI. 336, *l.* **4 from foot.** *I left Āgra and encamped in the garden of Dahra.*

This 'Bāgh-i-Dahra' exists still to the south of the cantonment of Āgra, opposite the third mile-stone on the Gwālior road. (Keene, Guide to Agra, 52). It is not far from the tomb of Firūz Khān, which is shown on Pl. 48 of Constable's Atlas. 'Dahra' is said to be an abbreviation of Dahr-ārā, 'Time-adorning', 'Ornament of the Age'.

VI. 337, *l.* **5.** *On the 21st day of Mihr, I started [from Āgra].*

21st must be an error for 1st. It is غرهٔ مهر in the Text (123, l. 12). As the intelligence of Rājā Basu's death is said, only two lines lower down, to have reached the royal author on the 2nd of Mihr [دوم مهر], Jahāngīr must mean 1st and not 21st.

VI. 337, *l.* **18.** *In this month (Āẕur) [of the eighth year of the reign], news arrived that the Europeans of Goa .. .. had plundered four ships engaged in the foreign trade of the port of Surat.*

The eighth year corresponded to 1022-23 A. H. and 1613-1614 A. C. The reference is to the capture by the Portuguese in 1613, of four Mughal ships, the chief of which is said to have belonged mainly, if not entirely, to Jahāngīr's mother and is said to have carried "three millions of treasure". The name of the vessel is given in the English accounts as "Remewe" and this is copied without any attempt at emendation by Mr. Vincent Smith. (O. H. I. 381). The real name was "Raḥīmī".

VI. 339, *l.* **11.** *He had captured the families of many Singhs and had brought the enemy to such straits.*

'Captured many Singhs' is unintelligible. واسیر شدن اهل وعیال اکثر سکنه آن دیار کار را بر انا بنوعی تنگ ساخته بود (133, last line). "And the capture of the families and children of most of *the residents* [سکنه plural of ساکن inhabitant, not سنگه] of that country, had made matters so difficult for the Rānā (pressed him so hard)." سکنه شهر برهانپور occurs in the *'Amal-i-Ṣāliḥ* (I. 421) and سکانِ شهر وقلعه in F. (II. 312, l. 15).

VI. 339, *l.* **3 from foot.** *I wrote him a kind and reassuring farmān under my own seal.*

The words used by the Emperor are نشان و پنجهٔ مبارک عنایت فرمودم (134, l. 15). The 'Panja-i-Mubārak' was not a seal in the usual sense of that word at all. It was really the impression of the palm of the

Emperor's right hand stamped in vermilion on the document. Khān Jahān Lody afterwards begged for and was granted by Shāh Jahān a *Farmān* stamped with the *Panja,* assuring him of forgiveness and safety. (*Bādishāh Nāma,* I. i. 274). Such *Farmāns* were sought by the rulers of Bijāpur and Golkonda also from that Emperor and graciously issued after they had bound themselves to pay tribute and acknowledge the Great Mogul as their overlord and suzerain. (*Ibid,* I. ii, 167, l. 8; 210, l. 7). Tod gives the English translation of a Treaty between the Rānā of Udaipur and Aurangzeb, on which the 'Panja-i-Mubārak' was stamped and the word 'Manẓūri' inscribed in the Emperor's own handwriting. (A. A. R. I. 452).

VI. 340, *l.* 12. *Defeat of the Portuguese* (*Warzi*). ..... *An action took place between them and the English.*

The printed text has مرزائی (134, l. 11 f.f.), which is a miswriting of وورزي, *Recte* وزري that is the Portuguese *Vicerei*, or Viceroy. وزري فرنگی is used by Abu-l-Faẓl for the Portuguese Viceroy, in his account of the death of Sultan Bahādur Gujarāti. (A. N. I. 145, ll. 13, 19=Tr. 323 and Note). The event alluded to by Jahāngīr is the defeat inflicted by Nicholas Downton on the Portuguese fleet in a battle in Swally Hole near Sūrat on the 20th of January 1615. (Hunter, History of British India, I. 320-6; Danvers, History of the Portuguese in India, II. 170-1). The Commander of the Portuguese fleet was Don Jerom de Azevedo, *Viceroy* of Goa. The news reached Jahāngīr in the month Bahman of the ninth year of his reign which synchronised with January-February 1615 A. C.

VI. 342, *l.* 4 from foot. [*I diminished my wine, but*] *I took to eating* falūhā.

Dowson notes several variants and thinks that it is *Bhāng.* But it is فلونیا in the Text (151, l. 9 f.f.) and 'Falūniā' is right. It is the Greek *Philonia,* an antidote or drug invented by Philon of Tarsus who lived in or before the first century of Christ. Its ingredients are not exactly known, but it was most probably a preparation of opium. (Mr. Beveridge's Note, Tr. I. 308). Pelsaert speaks of "mosseri [*Mufarrih,* مفرح] or 'falong' as "exciting perfumes and efficacious preserves" which were habitually used by the wealthy. He also states that they contained amber, pearls, gold, opium and other stimulants (Remonstrantie, Tr. in Jahāngīr's India,' p. 65). Mr. Moreland's explanation or derivation from the seed '*falanja*' will not bear examination.

VI. 343, *l.* 9 from foot. *Having received assurances from Shahsawār Khān, who was at Bālāpur.*

Recte, 'Shah*nawāz* Khan', as in the text. (153, l. 17). He was the eldest and most capable son of the Khān-i-Khānān. The *Iqbāl. Nāma* also reads 'Shāh Nawāz Khan'. (85, l. 1).

For 'Bābā Jūkāyath' (l. 7 f. f.) the text has 'Bābu Kāntiya' بابو کانتیه Bābu [Jiu] Kāntiya [Ghāte?] (153, l. 19).

VI. 344, *l.* 11 from foot. *Next day, the army having moved from Fatḥpūr, marched towards Khirki.*

Neither the text (154, l. 10) nor the *Iqb. Nām.* (87, l. 4) makes any specific mention here of a town or village called Fatḥpur. What is said is that the army marched from the 'place of victory' to Khirki.

VI. 345, *l.* **3.** *Many little insects issue like gnats, which are called in the language of those people* Chika.

The Text reads جهنگ 'Jhīnga' (154, l. 21). Mr. Beveridge says that 'Jhingur' or 'Jhinga' means, in Hindustani, 'cockroach' and 'water-locust' (Tr. I. 315 note), but neither of these creatures bears any resemblance to a gnat either in size or appearance, and the phonetic resemblance seems delusive. *Jhinga* (Sansk. *Chingaṭ*) in Gujarāti means 'shrimps' or 'prawns,' but the insects intended must be some sort of mosquitoes or midgets.

This diamond mine in Khokra is described by Tavernier, who states that it was at 'Soumelpour,' thirty *Kos* south-east of Rhotās. According to his account, the stones are found in the river Koel, a tributary of the Sone, when the stream becomes low in January after the cessation of the rains and the sand is left uncovered. Dr. Ball has identified this 'Soumelpour' with 'Semah' on the Koel in the Palamau sub-division of Lohardaga district. He warns his readers that Tavernier's 'Soumelpour' should not be confounded with 'Sambalpur,' on the Mahānadi. (Travels, Tr. II. 84-86 and Appendix, 457-459). A place called Khūkra in Lohardaga, Bengal, is shown in Constable, 28 D d.

VI. 346, foot note. *Jahāngīr records that one of his nobles died of cholera (haiza).*

هیضه *Haiẓa* is generally used for all sorts of diarrhoea, or dysentery and looseness of the bowels. It does not always or necessarily mean cholera. There is no distinctive word for 'cholera' either in the old Hindu or Muḥammadan treatises on Medicine. The vernacular 'Moḍchī' is loosely used for cholera and also for other violent forms of intestinal disease accompanied by severe pain. Abu-l-Faẓl has recorded the deaths of several nobles of Akbar's Court from *Haiẓa*, and Mr. Beveridge has rightly translated the word as diarrhoea. (A.N. III. Tr. 801, 922, 967, 1001, 1074, 1156).

VI. 348, *l.* **7.** [*In the tray of fruit, there were*] *the celebrated melons of Kārez, Badakhshān and Kābul.*

'Kārez' is used in Persian generally for the underground channels for irrigating fields and gardens, which are found everywhere in the country, but it stands here for the name of a place near Herāt.

VI. 348, *l.* **12.** *Pine apples from the sea-ports of the Europeans were also in the tray [of fruit brought to me].*

The pine-apple was introduced into India in the sixteenth century by the Portuguese. The name 'Ananās' by which it is known in most of the Indian vernaculars is derived from the Brazilian word for the fruit, which is 'Nana' or 'Nanas.' (Yule, H. J. *s. v.* Ananās). The earliest reference to it in Indian literature is found in the *Āīn.* (Tr. I. 68). Jahāngīr's statement that these fruits of 'excellent fragrance and fine flavour' which had

come from "the Frank ports" grew by the thousand in the *Gulafshān* garden at Āgra is interesting and indicates that this exotic plant had spread very rapidly. Terry speaks of it as the best of all fruits and describes its taste as "a pleasing compound of strawberries, claret wine, rose water and sugar well-tempered together." (E. T. I. 297). A still earlier traveller, Linschoten, states that so many were grown in Malabār when he wrote (*Circa* 1596), that they were "good cheape." (Travels, II. 19).

VI. 351, *l.* 9. *From the twelfth year of my age A.H. 988 to . . . . . the fiftieth . . . . . year of my age, 28,532 animals and birds were killed in the course of my sport.*

A meticulous enumeration of the different varieties of animals which were shot by the imperial marksman during his hunting expeditions is repeated at the end of the chronicle of several other years in this Autobiography. It appears to have been done in imitation of the Seljūq Sultān Alp Arslān, of whom it is recorded by Ibn al Athīr (*Kāmil*, X. 74), that he ordered a register to be kept of each day's bag in the chase, which sometimes contained as many as seventy gazelles. (Browne, L. H. P. II. 183). Other Asiatic sovereigns also appear to have kept similar inventories or records of their prowess in the hunting field.

VI. 352, *l.* 8 from foot. *I encamped on the bank of the tank of Jhanūd.*

The text reads 'Jhasod' here (205, l. 8), but 'Jhanod' at (220, l. 24). Mr. Beveridge suggests that it must be the tank of Jasodā (or Yashodā), the foster-mother of Krishna! (Tr. I. 414 *note*). When Jahāngīr mentions the place again in the itinerary of his return journey from Aḥmadābād to Dāhod, *via* Peṭlāḍ and Nariāḍ, he locates it at about nineteen *Kos* west of Jhālod and about six *Kos* east of Bālāsinor. (Text, 219-220; Tr. I. 443-4). The place meant must be, therefore, *Janod* in Rewā Kāṇṭhā. Bālāsinor is also in the Rewā Kāṇṭhā Agency and is shown in Constable, 27 A d. Janod is entered as a village in the Post Office Guide.

VI. 353, *l.* 19. *It [Khambāit] was called Trimbāwati and Rājā Nar Sing Makhwār was its ruler.*

The text gives ترنبک کنوار (206, l. 5) as the name of the Rājā. This form 'Trimbak Kunvār' is *perhaps* connected with the supposed name of the ancient city, which is said to have been called 'Trimbāvati,' but the assonance between the two names engenders the suspicion that both are factitious eponyms shaped by a false etymology. The Prākrit name of Cambay is 'Khambhāvati' and the Sanskrit 'Sthambhavati,' the 'City of the Pillar god (Stambha),' *i. e.* Mahādeva. 'Stambhavati' seems to have been turned into 'Tambhavati' or 'Tāmbavati' and the latter form confused with the vernacular 'Tāmbā' (Sanskt. *tāmra*), which means 'copper.' Mythology may or may not be a "disease of language," but this folk-etymology does appear to have given birth to the local legend about the town having been enclosed by a wall of copper.

Towns with walls of copper are part of the stock-in-trade of Hindu

folk lore. Ahār in Udaipur State, Rājputāna (I. G. V. 93) and Chatsu or Chaksu in Jaipur (*Ibid*, X. 182) are both said to have been anciently called Tāmbāvati for that reason.

The fact that this Rājā's descendant, in connection with whom Jahāngīr relates the story of the 'Pillar', was named 'Abhay *Kumār*' indicates that the second name has been read correctly in the Text as 'Kunvār', [Kumār]. 'Makhwār' must be wrong.

VI. 354, *l.* **2 from foot.** *It was also ordered, in these days, that tankas of gold and silver, ten and twenty times heavier than the current Muhur and rupee should be struck.*

در ینولا حکم‌شد که تنکهٔ طلا و نقره ده بیست وزن مهر و روپیهٔ معمول سکه کنند (207, l. 5). "About this time, orders were issued for the stamping of *Tangas, double* the weight of the ordinary *Muhr* and rupee". ده بیست does not mean "ten times and twenty times," but "in the proportion of ten to twenty", *i. e.* 'as one is to two' or 'double.' See my H. S. M. N. 173-176.

Jahāngīr uses the parallel expressions - ده دوازده ـ ده پانزده ـ ده سی ده چهل (Text, pp. 4-5) and they have been correctly rendered by Sir H. Elliot, who translated the passage, as "ten to twelve", "ten to fifteen", "ten to thirty" and "ten to forty", *i. e.* 20 per cent, 50 per cent, 300 per cent and 400 per cent, at 286 *ante*. See my notes on Vol. II. 76, l. 20; III. 321, l. 1 and 327, l. 6.

VI. 355, *l.* **6 from foot.** *The Rājā of Khurda and the Rājā Mahendra.*

Read "Rājās of Khurda and Rājmahendra." Khurda is a well-known place in Puri district, Orissa. 'Mahendra' is not the name of the Rājā, but the tail of the toponym راجمهندره "Rājāmahendra" or Rajmundry. The town is "called after the *Mahendra* range of mountains, which is the principal physical feature in this tract of country and is mentioned in the *Mahābhārata* and the *Vishnu Purāna* ..... The range divides Ganjām from the valley of the Mahānadi." (Cunningham, A.G.I. 516).

VI. 357, *l.* **11 from foot.** *20000 darabs were given to Hakīm Masīhu-z-zamān.*

"Darab" or "Darb" was a fanciful name given to the half-rupee by Akbar. It is derived from the Sanskrit, *dravya*, wealth. So, *charan*, Akbar's new-fangled denomination of the quarter-rupee is connected with Sanskt. *charaṇa*, foot. (Historical Studies in Mughal Numismatics, 93-100).

VI. 358, *l.* **3.** *And by the advice of some physicians of Multān, I took my normal quantity of wine.*

The words "of Multān" are due to a misreading باستصواب حکما شب ثلثان معتاد پیاله (231, l. 3). "And by the advice of physicians, I took on the third night, my customary cups (of wine)." ثلثان is not unlikely to be misread and miswritten as ملتان by a careless scribe.

VI. 360, *l.* **2.** *Mansūr is also a master of the art of drawing and he has the title of Nādiru-l-'Asli.*

Recte, 'Nādiru-l-*'Aṣri*,' as in the text, (235, l, 7 f.f.). *Nādiru-z-zamāni*

was the title conferred upon his colleague and rival Abul Ḥasan. (359 *ante*). '*Aṣr*' and '*Zamān*' are synonyms and both mean 'time,' 'age.' *Abu-l-Hāi* (359, l. 6 f. f.) "Father of the Ever-existing," *i.e.* of the Supreme Being, is an impossible name. Read '*Abdu*-l-Ḥayy, 'Servant of the Living God.'

VI. 364, *l.* **3**. *Upto the present time, nearly eight years have elapsed since its first appearance.*

The text correctly reads هشت شب "eight nights," not هشت سال 'eight *years*.' (250, l. 11 f.f.). The Cawnpore lithograph also has هشت شب (252, l. 15). The *Iqb. Nām.* states that the *maleficent effects* of this astral phenomenon *were felt for seven or eight years.* (Text, 118, l. 9. See also 407 *infra*). Elliot's surmise that it was a 'new star' is not correct. Jahāngīr records in a somewhat confused manner two starry visitations—the second of which was observed some nights after the first. Both of them were comets and are mentioned in Fergusson's Astronomy (Ed. Brewster, II. 360) and also in Russell Hind's (128, 144) and Chambers' works (p. 25) on Comets. The year 1618 witnessed the appearance of two comets, the first of which passed its perihelion on August 17th, the second on 8th November (New Style). Jahāngīr's date 17th Ẕī-l-q'ad 1027 A. H. corresponds with 26th October 1618 *O. S.* The *Iqb. Nām.* (117, l. 15) gives 16th *Dai*, but this must be an error for 16th *Ẕī-l-q'ad* 1027 H. The immediately preceding event recorded by Mu'atamad Khān is the appointment of Muqarrab Khān as Ṣūbadār of Patnā on 21st Shahrīvār, the immediately following event, the birth of Aurangzeb on 11th (*recte*, 15th) Ẕī-l-q'ad=12th Ābān [the 8th month]. (118, l. 3 f. f.). Dai [the tenth month] is therefore impossible. The date given in the 'Alīgarh Text is not 17th Ẕī-l-q'ad, but Saturday, 18th Ābān, which corresponded with 31st October, 1618 (O. S.).

Sir Thomas Roe's chaplain, Edward Terry, has left it on record that two comets were seen by himself in India in 1618, when he was at the Mughal Court. (Voyage to the East Indies, Ed. 1777, p. 393). Mr. Beveridge's conjecture that the first phenomenon was not a true comet, but the Zodiacal Light, is conclusively negatived as both these comets are registered in modern astronomical works.

VI. 364, *l.* **11**. *It recalled to my mind the tale of the King and the Gardener.*

This is an ancient folk-tale which is found in Firdausi's *Shāhnāma*, 'Awfi's *Jāwāmi'a*, the *Alf Laila wa Laila*, the *Akhlāq-i-Muḥsini* and the *Tārīkh-i-Firūz Shāhi* of Shams-i-Sirāj. See my note on III. 317, l. 14.

VI. 366, *l.* **7 from foot**. *Shaikh 'Abdu-l-Hakk Dehlawi . . . . . presented to me a book which he had written upon the Shaikhs of India.*

This hagiography must have been the *Akhbāru-l-Akhiār*. It has been lithographed and is well-known. *Vide* also 175, 176 *ante* and 485, 486, 488, 491 *post*.

VI. 368, *l.* **12**. *We entered the pargana of Hazāra Fārīgh.*

Recte "Hazāra-i-*Qārlugh*" as in the Text, 289, l. 10 (قارلغ). This district is also called Chach Hazāra. The old district of Pakhlī is now called the Hazāra Country in our Maps. The name 'Hazāra' is traced by some authors to *Abhisāra*, the kingdom of Abisares of Alexander's historians, while Sir Aurel Stein derives it from *Urasā* the ancient Hindu name of Pakhli, which is said to be still preserved in Rāsh or Orāsh, a village in the district. (I. G. XIII. 76; V. Smith, E. H. I. 55 note, quoting the *Rājatarangini*. Tr. Bk. I. 180). A third and more probable opinion is that the district is so called, because the *Hazāras* of the Qārlughs had settled and ruled in these parts since the invasions of Chingiz Khān.

VI. 370, *l.* **10**. *The people themselves say they are by origin Fārsīs (?). ..... They are now called Lāhori and their speech is that of the Jats.*

میگویند که ذاتِ ما قارلغ است. ..... الحال خود لاهوري محض آند و بزبان چنان متکلم (290, l. 21). See also the *Iqb. Nām.* (136, l. 2). "They say that they are of the *Qārlugh* tribe. But now they are pure Lāhoris and their tongue [speech] proclaims them as such [bears witness to the same fact], *i. e.* they speak just like Lāhoris". فارسی and چنان are errors for قارلغ and چنان

VI. 371, *l.* **20**. *Khwājā Abu-l-Hāsan Nakhshabi.*

The text has "Bakhshi" (291, l. 12) and this is correct. See 363 *ante*, where he is designated Mīr Bakhshi—Chief Bakhshi. His origin was not from "Nakhshab" but from Turbat-i-Ḥaidari or Zāvah in Quhistān. This place is called Turbat-i-Ḥaidari because Shaikh Quṭbu-d-dīn Ḥaidar, the founder of the Ḥaidari Dervishes, is buried there. (M. U. I. 737, l. 2; Lestrange, L. E. C. 356).

Jahāngīr's derivation *of* the name *Pham Dirāng* from Kashmīri *Pīm* or '*Pham*' cotton, and the Persian word *Dirang* delay, is not sound. Here 'Dirang' is really the Kashmīri word 'Drang' signifying "custom-house, toll-house."

VI. 373, *l.* **11**. *I went five Kos, in a boat and anchored near Mānpūr.*

Recte, "Pāmpur", as in the text (312, l. 3). See also *ante* 303, where it is called by its right name and mentioned in connection with Vīrnāg and the source of the Behat. It is the ancient 'Padmapura', which was founded by Padma, the minister of King Vrihaspati, who reigned from 832 to 844 A. C. (Cunningham, A. G. I. 102). It lies on the right bank of the Behat, eight miles south-east of Srīnagar. Constable, 25 A a.

VI. 374, *l.* **4 from foot.** *Chaupar Mal, son of Rājā Basu.*

The text has جوهر مل *Jauhar* Mal here, (319, l. 19), and so also the Lithograph. (324, l. 7 f.f.). But the *Iqb. Nām.* calls him *Sūraj* Mal (173, l. 6 f.f.) and this is the form found in the contemporaneous *Shash Fath-i-Kāngra* also. (520, 521, 527, 528, 529, 530, *infra*). Jahāngīr himself calls him Sūraj Mal repeatedly on subsequent occasions. Rājā Basu had, Jahāngīr tells us, three sons, Sūraj Mal, Jagat Sinha and Mādhav Sinha, and they are all mentioned in the T.J. (254, l. 2; 264, l. 8; 376, l. 30; 377, l. 26; Tr. II. 54, 75, 287, 289). Faiẓi Sirhindi also mentions Sūraj Singh, son

of Rājā Basu of Maū in the 40th year of Akbar's reign. (126 *ante*).

VI. 375, *l.* **11.** [*Kāngra*] *surrendered on Monday, 1st Muharram* (*1031*).

The year is wrongly given and should be 1030 H. The news reached Jahāngīr on the 5th of Muḥarram of the 15th year of his reign (p. 374 *ante*), which had begun on 15th Ra'bi II. 1029 H. (373 *ante*).

VI. 376, *l.* **7 from foot.** [*The rebels in the Dakhin*] *were burning and destroying ships and provender.*

The destruction and burning of *ships* by the Dekkani armies in Aḥmadnagar and Birār is not likely. کشتیہا 'Kishtīhā' has been wrongly read here by Dowson for کشتہا "cultivated fields." See Text, آتش زدن و ضایع ساختن کشتہا و علف زارہا 321, l. 16.

VI. 375, *l.* **27 and footnote.** *Salt is not produced in Kashmīr and even in the beauty of the inhabitants, there is but very little, i. e. they have but little expression* ..... Malābat *is the word and a double meaning is intended.* (*Footnote*).

The right word is *Malāḥat* ملاحت, not *Malābat*. There is no such word as *Malābat* in the Dictionaries. The former signifies 'a peculiar kind of charm or beauty, piquancy, delicacy or elegance, and is from the Arab *Milḥ*, salt. Its literal meaning is 'being salt.' Jahāngīr is playing upon the word and observes that there is as great a lack of salt, *i. e.* expression in the faces of the inhabitants, as there is of edible or mineral saline matter in the country. As Kashmīr possesses no salt mines and no facilities for the artificial manufacture of that commodity, all salt has to be imported. The sarcastic remark is an interpolation. It is not to be found either in the text (315, l. 5 f.f.), or Mr. Beveridge's Translation. (II. 178).

VI. 377, *l.* **10 from foot.** *The rebels advanced fighting as far as Azdū.*

This 'Azdū' is another apocryphal toponym and the reader will vainly search for a place called 'Azdū' on any map or in any Gazetteer. It is an error for اردو, Urdū, *i. e.* the Mughal Camp. See Text, 322, l. 6. The lithograph also has اردد و. (327, l. 10).

VI. 379, *l.* **4.** *The sword bent like the genuine Almāsi swords or those of the Dakhin.*

The 'Alīgarh text reads یمانی *yamāni, i. e.* 'of Yemen,' not 'Almāsi' (330, l. 3) and so also the Lithograph (335, l. 6 f.f.) and the *Iqb. Nām.* (180, l. 12). The author of the *Mirāt-i-Sikandari* speaks of Egyptian, *Yamāni*, Maghribi [Spanish, Moorish or African] and Khurāsāni swords. (Text, 98, l. 4). Sir E. C. Bayley thinks it possible that German swords are meant, as "European sword-blades found their way to India at an early period and are still occasionally to be met with in the country." (Tr. *Mirāt*, 184 *note*). But he cannot be right, as Ḥasan Niẓāmi also speaks of the "swords of *Yemen* and the daggers of Hind." (*Tāju-l-Maāṣir* in E. D. II. 217). 'Unṣuri also uses the phrase تیغ یمانی (*Diwān*, p. 74, V. 9). On the other hand, Hawkins in his Inventory of Jahāngīr's Treasure states that "of swords of *Almaine* (German) blades, with the hilts and

scabbards set with divers sorts of rich stones of the richest sort, there are two thousand and two hundred." (E. T. I. 103). Terry (*Ibid*, 314) and De Laet (Tr. 115) also note that as " the swords made in India will break rather than bend, there is a great demand for European sword-blades, which fetch high prices because they bow and become straight again."

If Jahāngīr wrote *Almāni* المانی [Allemand], not *Al-yamāni* or *Ya-māni* and meant " German," *Janūbi* might signify ' Genoese '. The famous Andrea Ferrara blades came from Genoa. Mr. M. J. Wallhouse states in an article on the old weapons in the Tānjore Palace Armoury, that many of the *Kaṭārs* [daggers] were of European manufacture and "one of them bore the name of Andrea Ferrara." (Ind. Ant. 1878, VII. 193). Shivāji's sword Bhavāni is also said by Grant Duff to have been an excellent Genoa blade of the first water. (Reprint, I. 230, Note. See also Ind. Ant. 1924, pp. 18-19). But, all this notwithstanding, it seems preferable to understand *Janūbi* as ' Southern ' or 'Dekkani' and ' Yamāni' as ' Arabian.'

VI. 380, *l.* 11 from foot. *It was settled that a space of fourteen Kos beyond should be relinquished.*

So also in the Text, 331, l. 6 f.f. where the words are چهارده کروه. But the *Iqb. Nām.* reads چهارده کرور دام *i. e.* territories yielding an annual revenue of *fourteen Krors of Dāms*. (183, l. 2). The author of the *Maāṣir-u-l-Umarā* has understood the passage in the same way and states that (II. 15, l. 11). چهارده کرور دام از محلات تعلقه ملك قدیم پادشاهي " Territories yielding *fourteen Krors of dāms* from the districts adjoining the old dominions of the Empire " were to be surrendered. The *Bādshāhnāma* (I. ii. 200, l. 4) and the *'Amal-i-Sālih'* (I. 158, l. 4 f.f.) also read کرور and not کروه and this indicates that in their Mss. of the *Tūzuk* and *Iqbālnāma*, the word was written as کرور. See also Khwāfi Khān (I. 332, l. 13), who has copied the I. N. in his slovenly way. Jahāngīr says that the Dekkanis had " got many of the districts of Aḥmadnagar and Birār into their power " (376 *ante*), and that they had occupied many parts of the Imperial dominions." A cession of only fourteen *Kos* of territory in such circumstances seems quiet paltry and ' not worth the candle '.

VI. 382, *l.* 6. *Village of Bahlūn, a dependency of Sībā.*

'Bhalon' and ' Sība ' were *Maḥāls* in the *Sarkār* of Beth Jālandhar Duāb. (*Āīn*. Tr, II. 316-7). ' Sība ' is now part of Kāngra district, but was formerly an independent principality. The town is seventeen miles south-west of Kāngra. Baffin, Terry and some other European writers of the 17th century extend ' Sība' so as to include Hardwār and even speak of Hardwār as the capital of Sība, but this is an error. (Sir W. Foster's note to Terry in E. T. I. 294). De Laet says ' Siba ' lies to the south of Nagarkot. (Tr. Hoyland, 12). Cunningham mentions it along with Kāngra, Goler, Jaswāl, Kulu, Chamba, etc. in his list of States attached to the Eastern or Jalandhar division of the Alpine Punjab. (A. G. I. 135-6).

VI. 382, *l.* 17. *Nūr Jahān, who was by my side, made signs and asked if I perceived [her father's] critical condition.*

The real meaning is turned upside down. What the Begam did was to ask *her father*, not Jahāngīr, if he recognised the Emperor who was standing by the bedside (می شناسید) and the dying man replied by quoting a couplet of Anwari's which means: "If even a congenitally blind man were present here, he could recognise in such a perfectly splendid mien a leader of men (or nobility and grandeur)." An example of the strength of the ruling passion or lifelong habit of adulation even in death!

VI. 383, *l.* 3. *A letter from Khurram informed me that Khusrau had died of colic.*

Though all the contemporary European authors, Terry (Voyage, p. 412), De Laet (Tr. Hoyland, 198-9), Herbert (Travels, p. 80), Peter Mundy (Travels, II. 124-5) and Pietro della Valle (Travels, I. 58) state that Khusrav was murdered by the orders of Shāh Jahān, Mr. Beveridge maintains that "there is no evidence worthy of the name" in favour of the charge. (J. R. A. S. 1907, pp. 597-602). Sir Richard Burn also holds that "the cause of his death has never been established beyond doubt," though he admits "that the probability of murder is strengthened by Shāh Jahān's later action," in regard to Shahriār, Dāwar Bakhsh and other princes of the blood royal. (C.H.I., IV. 169). Dr. Beni Prasād, after reviewing the question at some length (Jahāngīr, 336-9), declares Shāh Jahān guilty, but he does not adduce the authority of any *contemporary Mughal* historian of credit in support of his contention. It may be therefore pertinent to draw attention to the damning and decisive testimony of Muḥammad Ṣāliḥ Kambū, *the official chronicler and* ardent panegyrist of Shāh Jahān. His statement has been overlooked by all writers on the subject, and is therefore all the more important. This author boldly *avows and justifies the crime*, just as Jahāngīr unblushingly admits his instigation of the assassination of Abu-l-Faẓl. He tells us that the destruction of the brothers and relatives of great kings is often for the peace and well-being of their subjects and that many leaders of church and state have declared the extirpation of such domestic enemies an unavoidable necessity in the interests of good government [مصالح ملکی]. He then argues that the utter incapacity and insouciance of Jahāngīr, the intrigues of the Nūr Jahān junta, and their machinations in favour of Shahriār left Shāh Jahān no other course than the immediate removal of Khusrav and that it was an absolutely necessary preliminary to the discomfiture and destruction of his other rivals. He also states that the order for handing over Khusrav's person to Shāh Jahān had been given by Jahāngīr when he was not in his senses after one of his drinking-bouts and that the eldest prince was *strangled* (خفه) on the 20th Rab'ī II. 1031, A. H. (22nd February 1622). (*'Amal-i-Ṣāliḥ*, I. 162, l. 2 f. f.—165, l. 3). 20th Rab'ī II is probably an error for 20th Rab'ī I=23rd January, 1622.

VI. 383, *l.* 8. *A despatch arrived from the son of Khān Jahān,* عرضداشت فرزند خانجهان رسید (345, l. 1). The despatch arrived from

Khān Jahān himself, on whom Jahāngīr had conferred the title of فرزند 'Son.' (T. J. 42, I. 13, Tr. l. 87). In the counterpart passage of the *Iqb. Nām.* also, the missive is stated to have arrived from Khān Jahān himself (192, l. 13; see also *Ibid.* 19, l. 7). Jahāngīr again speaks of Khān Jahān as 'farzand' (323, l. 5 and 324, l. 5). Akbar had bestowed the identical title on Rājā Mān Sinha of Amber. (A.N. III. 136; Tr. 236).

VI. 387, *l.* **8.** *When the army passed over the mountains of Chāndā and entered Mālwā.*

The 'Pass of Chāndā' or 'the defile of Chāndā' has been mentioned before at pp. 154 and 352 also. It is there called '*Ghāt i*-Chānda." It is the *Gate* [Gāté] of Tavernier, who locates it at three *Kos* from Dongri and four from Narwar. He speaks of it as a pass in the mountain which is half a quarter of a league long and so narrow that chariots can only pass one another with the greatest difficulty. (Tr. Ball, I. 59, 61). Dongri is 8 miles from Sīpri, which is 15 miles from Kolāras. Cunningham says that 'Dhongri' is a village about ten miles south-west of Narwar and there is a place called 'Patti Ghatti' near it, where a bridge was built in the time of Aurangzeb." (Arch. Surv. Rep. II. 325). For Kolāras, see Constable, 27 C c.

VI. 387, *l.* **18.** *He [Khurram] sent his forces against the royal army near the village of Kālīya.*

The text (368, l. 5) reads در حوالی کالیاده 'in the environs of *Kālīyādeh,*' the real name of the place. Dowson has disjointed ده from کالیا and translated it as 'village.' *Kālīyādeh* was a well-known beauty-spot, three miles from Ujjain. It is described as "one of the most delightful places in the world" (134 *ante*). See also 'Abbās in E D. IV. 393.

VI. 389, *l.* **17.** *He [Khurram] crossed the river Mati and went off towards the Dakhin.*

No such river is known. Read تپتی as in the *Iqb. Nām.* (212, l. 6 f.f.). See *infra* line 26, where the *Tāpti* is mentioned as the river across which Parvīz and Mahābat Khān had pursued the fugitive Shāh Jahān.

VI. 393, *l.* **10 from foot.** *When Sultan Parwez...arrived at Allahābād, 'Abdulla Khān raised the siege and returned to Jhaunsi.*

This is not Jhānsi in Bundelkhand, but *Jhūsi* or Hādiābās, opposite Allahābād "with which it communicates by a ferry across the Ganges." The printed text reads 'Jhūnsi' (388, l. 5 f.f.). The *Iqb. Nām.* explicitly states that this "Jhūnsi was on the Ganges opposite Allahābād." (411 *infra,* Text 223, l. 6). It has been supposed by some authors to be the Purāṇic *Pratishthān,* which was the residence of Pururvas, the first prince of the Lunar dynasty and grandson of Chandra, the Moon. It is also a sort of Hindu Gotham and known as Harbongpur, the capital of a legendary noodle named Rājā Harbong. (Elliot, Races, I. 262-3). It is shown in Constable, 28 C c.

VI. 394, *l.* **8.** *Prince Parwez and Mahābat Khān arrived at Damdama.*

Damdama is a village in Allahābād district. The battle of the 'Tūnus', *Recte*, Tons, which is described here, took place at the junction of the Ganges with that river. (C. H. I., IV. 173 Note and Map).

VI. 396, *l.* 5 from foot. *Mahābat Khān had married his daughter to Khwājā Barkhurdār, the eldest son of Naqshbandi.*

بخواجه برخوردار نام بزرگزادهٔ نقشبندی نسبت کرده (401, l. 16 f. f.). *Buzurg-Zādeh-i-Naqshbandi* really means 'a nobly-born Saiyid of the Naqshbandi family'. The real name of Barkhūrdār's father was Khwājā-'Umar. (*Iqb. Nām.* 253, l. 13; see also 420 *infra*). 'Abdullā Khān Bahādur Firūz Jang was also a Naqshbandi Saiyid. (T. J. Text, II. l. 3 f. f.; Tr.). Mahābat Khān himself was a Raẓwi Saiyid and his father Ghiyūr Beg had emigrated from Shirāz to Kābul. (M. U. III. 385).

The Naqshbandi Saiyids are descended from Khwājā Burhānu-d-dīn Naqshbandi of Bukhārā [born 728, died 791 A. H.], who was so called because he and his father used to weave *Kamkhā* (Kincob) brocades adorned with figures. (*Āīn*, Tr. I. 423 *note*). The Naqshbandis had married more than once into the Imperial family. Mirzā Muḥammad Ḥakim's sister was the wife of Khwājā Ḥasan Naqshbandi. Jahāngīr's brother, Dāniyāl, had married a daughter of Sultān Khwājā Naqshbandi. The father of Salīma Sultān Begam, who was Bābur's granddaughter and Akbar's wife, was Khwājā Nūru-d-dīn Naqshbandi. (A.N. II. 65; Tr. 98 *note*). نسبت کرده does not mean "married," but only 'betrothed or affianced'.

VI. 398, *l.* 14 from foot. *The old servant called Dila Rāni, who had nursed the favourite lady of the king, [Nūr Jahān] superseded Hāji Koka.*

'Dila Rāni' is certainly wrong. The woman is said, by Mu'atamad Khān, to have been the wet-nurse of Nūr Jahān and she is described as پیر کنیز دای دلارام 'the old slave-girl, *Dāi Dilārām*'. (*Iqb. Nām.* 56, l. 14). See also the Preface of Muḥammad Hādi (*Dibācha* to T. J. 21, l. 4). The M.U. (I. 133) speaks of her as هیره کنیز دای دلارام, which may mean that she had been originally, "a slave girl, named *Hīrā* and had afterwards come to be known as *Dāi* (nurse) *Dilārām*," or that she was "*Hīrā* who had been the slave girl of Dilārām, the nurse" of Nūr Jahān. The meaning turns upon reading or not reading an *iẓāfat* after کنیز. But هیره *Hīrā* is, most probably, a miswriting for پیر [old].

VI. 403, last line. *On the road, as he [Ghiyāṣ Beg] was passing through Qandahār, another daughter was born to him.*

The popular tale of Nūr Jahān's birth in the desert of Qandahār, the abandonment of the infant by the parents and the selection of the mother herself as wet-nurse, appears, like all such historical romances, to have been considerably embellished in passing from mouth to mouth. There is no reference to her birth *in a desert* or the extreme destitution of her parents in any of the contemporary European writers, who do not spare her character and even repeat the vile and scandalous tittle-tattle of

the bazars. It appears for the first time in the pages of Khwāfi Khān, who wrote more than a hundred years after Jahāngīr's death. He quotes as one of the sources of his information the Memoirs of a man named Muḥammad Ṣādiq Tabrīzi, who is said to have been a servant of Prince Shuj'ā, the brother of Aurangzeb. (B. I. Text, I. 263-4). He also speaks of having heard the circumstantial details which he relates from an old Darwīsh named Mirzā 'Ābid, who was living in retirement at Sūrat in 1107 A. H. (1696 A. C.) and claimed to be about 105 years of age at the time. This man is reported to have stated that he was, along with his mother, a member of the identical caravan which brought Nūr Jahān's parents to India. The story of the extremely sordid and beggarly circumstances in which she came into the world is explicitly stated to have been derived mainly from what this old man had seen with his own eyes.

But Khwāfi Khān's chronology is, as is usual with him, shaky and a comparison of the dates given by him with other well-ascertained facts goes far to prove that this Darwīsh could not possibly have been the eye-witness he pretended to have been. If he was 105 years old in 1107 H., he must have been born in 1002 H. and if he was only seven years of age, when he accompanied his mother and Ghiyāṣ Beg, the latter's arrival in India and the birth of Nūr Jahān must be dated in 1009 H. But we know from Abu-l-Faẓl's record, that Ghiyāṣ Beg was already high up in the Imperial service as *Dīwān-i-Buyūtāt* in 998 H. (A. N. III. 579, l. 4=Tr. 877) and that when Akbar appointed twelve *Dīwāns* for each of the twelve *Ṣūbās* of the Empire in the 40th year (1003 H.), Ghiyāṣ Beg was promoted to be *Dīwān* of Kābul. (*Ibid*, 670, l. 9=Tr. 1049). Again, if Nūr Jahān was born in 1009 H., she must have been only 46 years old at the time of her death in 1055 H., 28 in the year of Jahāngīr's demise in 1037 H. and a child of only 12 when she married the Emperor in the 6th year of his reign (1020 H.). This is manifestly absurd, as she had already had, by Shīr Afgan, a daughter who was then at least five years old. Briefly, the old man's pretensions to have been narrating what he had seen with his own eyes, must be dismissed and Khwāfi Khān would appear to have swallowed too readily a fable. I may also mention that Nūr Jahān is stated to have been born at Qandahār in 1577=985 A. H. (M. U. I. 127; Beni Prasād, Jahāngīr, 173; Houtsma, E. I., III. 891). If this date is correct, the Darwīsh must have been 129 years old in 1107 A. H.!

VI. 404, *l.* 7 from foot. [*Jahāngīr*] *entrusted her* [*Nūr Jahān*] *to the keeping of his* [*Jahāngīr's*] *own, royal, mother.*

The phrase in the original is مادرِ سببی خویش (*Iqb. Nām*, Text, 56, l. 1), the real meaning of which is just the reverse. The 'Mādar-i-Sababi,' was a step-mother, a mother made by law, custom, or some man-made institution, as opposed to the Law of Nature. Minhāj states that Sultān Sanjar vowed vengeance against Arslān Shāh Ghaznavi, because he had ill-treated his مادرسببی or step-mother who was Sanjar's sister. (Ṭ. N. 23, l. 4). Some writers explain this by stating that Arslān had forced her to dance before

himself.

VI. 405, *l.* **11.** *Coin was struck in her name.....On all farmāns also.....*, *the name of 'Nūr Jahān, the Queen Begam' was jointly attached.*

The words in the original are 'Nūr Jahān Pādshāh Begam'. 'Padshah Begam' was a specific title which is heard of for the first time in the reign of Jahāngīr. It implied that the recipient was the 'First Lady in the Land'. The phrase has been rendered as 'Imperatrix Consors' by Marsden, as 'Imperatrix, Queen Begam,' by Blochmann (Proc. A.S.B. 1869, p. 255) and as 'Empress' by Mr. Whitehead in his 'Catalogue of Mughal Coins in the Punjab Museum'. All these equivalents are more or less wanting in accuracy and liable to obscure the true meaning of the title. They are also calculated to convey a false impression in regard to the relationship to the Emperor of the person who bore it. The title did not imply that the lady was Empress or the wife of the reigning Emperor or even of his predecessor. It was borne by the Princess Jahānāra, the eldest daughter of Shāh Jahān. (Khwāfi Khān, II. 77, l. 19; 110, l. 13). Bahādur Shāh, Shāh 'Ālam I conferred it on Zīnatu-n-Nisā, his own half-sister and full-sister of 'Aẓam Shāh. (*Ibid*, II. 30, l. 3; 600, l. 10; 735, line 2 f. f.; 736, l. 1). 'Pādshāh Begam' appears to have been the title given to the First Lady of the Court or Empire, the individual who in the feminine world, took precedence of all other women, as the Emperor did of all other men. See my H. S. M. N. 319, where the subject is more fully discussed.

Mu'atamad Khān states that "coins were struck in her name," but this was done only in a few places and for only about five years from 1033 to 1037 H. See my article on the 'Coins bearing the Name of Nūr Jahān' in Num. Supp. XLII to the J. A. S. B. 1929, Art. 293. The number of *Farmāns* on which her name is found to have been endorsed also appears to be very small.

VI. 408, *l.* **20.** *Ahmad Beg Khān, the Governor of Orissa, had gone forth against the Zemindārs of Garha.*

The B. I. Text of the I. N. reads كرده or كرده (217, l. 3 f. f.). The real name is 'Khurda'. Sir Jadunāth Sarkār has pointed out that there is a detailed account of this invasion of Khurda in the *Bihāristān-i-Ghaibi*, a contemporary Chronicle of Events in Bengal from 1608 to 1624 A. C., which was written by 'Abdullā Isfahāni, who was also called Shitāb Khān. (J. B. O. R. S. IV. 54; see also T. J. Tr. II. 298).

VI. 417, *l.* **8 from foot.** [*His Majesty gave him to eat*] *a quarter of a Ser of saffron equal to forty miskāls.*

The *Zakhīra-i-Khwārizmshāhi*, which is quoted here for the supposed fact, is an old Cyclopaedia of Medicine written in 1110 A. C. by Ism'aīl bin Ḥusain Jurjāni. It is a *résumé* or digest of the Theory and Practice of Medicine as expounded in the *Qānūn* of Avicenna. (Stewart, Catalogue of Tippoo Sultān's Library, 106; Browne, L. H. P. II. 346).

As the *miṣqāl* was equal to about 72 grains, the *Ser* must be the

Jahāngīri *Ser* of 36 *dāms* 40 × 72 × 4=11520 grs. and weighed about 1⅔ lbs. 36 *Dāms* also would be equal to 36 × 320=11520 grs. On pp. 343, 361 *ante*, 7½ tolās are equated with 18¼ *miṣqāls*, which shows that 73 grs. went to one *miṣqāl*.

VI. 417, *l.* **14 from foot.** *The twentieth year of the reign commenced on the 10th of Jumāda-s-sāni, 1033 H. (10th March 1624).*

Sic in the Text also (241, l. 1), but it is wrong and the Hijri year was the 1034th. *Vide* 390 and 393 *ante*, where the 19th year is correctly stated to have begun on 29th Jumāda-l-awwal 1033 H. (406, l. 6). Muḥammad Hādi (Continuation of T. J., 'Alīgarh Text, 396, l. 2) and the Cawnpore Lithograph also (406, l. 6), have 1034 H. The Christian year was 1625.

VI. 418, *l.* **9.** [*Shāh Jahān*].....*was compelled to go away to Rohangarh in the Bālāghāt.*

روہنگر in the B. I. Text also (244, l. 7), but the real name is 'Rohan*kheda*,' now in the Malkāpur *taḥṣīl* of Buldāna district, Berār. It lies just below the Bālāghāṭ Pass. Lat. 20°-37′ N., Long. 76°-11′ E. (I. G. XXI. 304). It has been the site of two battles, one between the Bahmanis and the Fārūqīs in 1437 A. C. and another in 1590 A. C. between Burhān Niẓām Shāh and his own son Ism'aīl. (I. G. IX. 60).

VI. 419, *l.* **4 from foot.** *The twenty-first year of the reign began on 10th Jumādu-s-sāni, 1035.*

Here, the year is given correctly, but the date of the month is wrong. It should be 22nd, as in the *Iqb. Nām.* (Text. 252, l. 5; Hādi, 401, l. 8 f. f.).

VI. 425, *l.* **16.** *On Sunday, the 20th Farwardīn of the Ilāhi era* [*XXI. R. Y.*], *agreeing with 21st Jumāda-s Sāni, Āsaf Khān .....resolved upon giving battle.*

Both the dates must be wrong. The 21st year began on the 22nd Jumādiu-s-Ṣāni. (*Iqb. Nām.* 252, l. 5; Hādi, 401, l. 8 f. f.). See also note on (419, l. 4 f. f. *ante*). The day on which the attack was made was هشتم or the *eighth*, and not twentieth of Fravardīn, corresponding to the 29th بیست نهم (not 21st), of Jumādi II. as in Hādi. (405, l. 9). The editors of the printed text note that *29th* Jumādi II. is found in one of their Mss. (261, l. 6 f. f. and *note*).

VI. 429, footnote. *It is not stated when the Begam rejoined the Emperor.*

But see *ante* 427, l. 8, where we are told that the elephant "swam to shore and the Begam proceeded to the Royal Abode." (*Iqb. Nām.* 264, l. 6). This Shāh Ism'aīl, to whom Jahāngīr is said to have paid a visit (l. 5), was not a *Shāh* or king, but a *pīr*, *i. e.* a sort of saint or spiritual leader of the Hazāras who had encamped with his family at a village near Kābul. (I. N. 272, l. 8 f. f.).

VI. 433, *l.* **10.** *He* [*Shāh Jahān*] *determined to return by way of Gujarāt and the country of Bihāra* (*Birār* ?) *to the Dakhin.*

The real name is neither 'Bihāra,' nor 'Birār,' but 'Bhārā' and the 'country' was the province ruled over by Bhārā (Bhārmal or Bhārāmal) Jādeja, the Rāo of Kachh. Abu-l-Faẓl says that 'Bihāra Jāreja' was the ruler of Kachh in 1592 (A. N. III. 629=Tr. 963), and he also records the death of his father, Khengār in 1585 A. C. (*Ibid.* 472; Tr. 711 and Note). Rāo Bhārā and Jām Jasā of Nawānagar were compelled by punitive expeditions sent against their territories to attend the Court and pay homage to Jahāngīr at Aḥmadābād, in 1027 A.H. (T.J. 234-5, Tr. II. 19-21, 34). See also my Note on Vol. I. 268, l. 21. Dārā Shikoh also passed through Kachh in his flight after the defeat at Deorāi, near Ajmer.

VI. 435, *l.* 14. *When he [Jahāngīr] reached Bairam Kala.*

Recte, Bīramgala, on the southern slope of the Pīr Panjāl Range. It lies at the extremity of a dark and deep defile through which the river of Punch flows. Lat. 33°-36′ N., Long. 74°-40′ E. The Pīr Panjāl Pāss really begins here, about 24 miles east of Rājauri. 'Bīramgala' is the 'Bhairava-gala' of the "*Rājataraṅgiṇi.*"

VI. 437, *l.* 18. *Banārasi, the runner, left Jangazhati in the mountains of Kashmīr.*

Jangiz or *Chingiz* Sarāi lies on the right bank of the Tawi, about half way between Naushahra and Rājauri and five miles N. N. E. of the former. It is situated at the foot of the hills on the road to Kashmīr, about twenty-one miles north of Bhimbar. (*Chihār Gulshan* in I. A. p. cv).

VI. 439, *l.* 13. *The author himself gives no name to the work.*

This is denied categorically by Dr. Rieu, who states that the title, '*Maāṣir-i-Jahāngīri*' *is* found in the prefaces of both the copies which are in the British Museum. Dowson's assertion is, besides, conclusively negatived by the fact that the *Abjad* value of the title (40 + 1+ 500 + 200 + 3 + 5 + 1 + 50 + 20 + 10 + 200 + 10) is just 1040—the year of the Hijra in which the author says that "he was induced to undertake its composition" by the Emperor Shāh Jahān. The M. U. commends the work for its candid and veracious account of the rebellion of Prince Salīm. (II. 865).

VI. 442, *l.* 13. *They said that he [Prince Salīm] had ordered coins to be struck in his name during his rebellion.*

No such coins have been hitherto found, though they *do* appear to have been struck, as I have shown in H. S. M. N. 76-79. Abu-l-Faẓl (A.N. III. 773; Tr. 1155) and Khāki Shirāzi (205 *ante*) both state that Salīm "assumed the title of king." The question relating to certain coins which exhibit the name 'Salīm Shāh' is discussed in the Num. Suppl. to the J. A. S. B., Nos. I, art. 5, X. art. 59, XI. art. 70 and XII, art. 72 by Dr. G. P. Taylor. The arguments on the other side are stated by Mr. Beveridge in the J. A. S. B. 1908 (May) and Num. Supp. XII 71. They were struck only after Akbar's death.

VI. 443, *l.* 22. *Rājā Nar Singh Dev son of Rājā Budhkar.*

Both names are wrong. Read 'Bīr Sing [Vira Sinha] Deva' and

'Madhukar.' Rājā Madhukar Bundela was the son of Pratāp Rudra and was the father of eight sons. (J.A.S.B. 1902, p. 111).

VI. 447, *l.* 21. *Shaikh Sikandar Gujarāti [was appointed to] introduce the people of Gujarāt.*

This must be Shaikh Sikandar bin Manjhū, the author of the *Mirāt-i-Sikandari.* Jahāngīr visited his house and garden at Aḥmadābād, which was famous for its figs. "As picking the fruit with one's own hand," the Imperial gourmet writes, "gives it quite a different relish and I had never before picked figs with my own, I did so, and their excellence was proved." (T. J. Tr. I. 427; Text, 211).

For "Gujat Khān, the Superintendent of the Elephants," read 'Gaj*pa*tkhān' as at 423 *ante. Gajpati* in Sanskrit means 'master of elephants.'

VI. 448, *l.* 10 from foot. *When the wire was put in his [Khusrav's] eyes, [unspeakable] pain was inflicted on him.*

There appears to be some truth in this anecdote. Pietro della Valle, who was in India about 1620, says that Khusrav's "eyes were sewed up, as is the custom here, to the end to deprive him of sight without excaecating him, so that he might be unfit to cause any more commotions, which sewing, if it continue long, they say, it wholly causes loss of sight. But after a while, the father caused the prince's eyes to be unripped again, so that he was not blinded, but saw again and it was only a temporal penance." (Travels, Trans. of 1665, p. 29; Hakluty Society's Edition, I. 56). Finch says that, "according to some, his eyes were burnt out with a glass, but that according to others, he was only blindfolded by a napkin tied from behind and sealed with the emperor's own seal". (Purchas, His Pilgrims, Ed. Maclehose, IV. 51; E.T.I. 160). Tavernier states that the sight was destroyed by a *hot iron* passed over the eyes (Tr. Ball, I. 334), which may be the 'wire' of this author. According to the Jesuit accounts and De Laet (Tr. 179), they were "smeared with the juice of the *Āk* or *Madār*, [*Calotropis Gigantea*], as a result of which the sight of one eye was entirely destroyed, though he could still see dimly with the other." Now we know from Jahāngīr himself that the title of *Masīḥu-z-zamān* and the *manṣab* of 500 *Zāt* and 30 *Suwār* were actually conferred upon Ḥakīm Ṣadrā on or about the 6th of Jumādi I, 1018, during the *Naurūz* festival of the 4th year of his reign. (T. J. 74, l. 10 f. f.; Tr. I. 155). It is not improbable that this was his reward for restoring the sight of the Prince after the temporary revival of paternal love, of which this chronicler speaks. Jahāngīr says that he sent for Khusrav and had the chains taken off his legs, so that he might be able to walk in the Shahr-ārā Garden at Kābul on the 12th of Rab'ī I. 1016 H. (Second Year), as his "fatherly affection would not allow of his depriving his son of that delicious pleasure." (53, l. 14= Tr. I. 111). The Prince must have been able to see at that time, as otherwise there would be no sense in allowing him to enjoy strolls in the gardens. Khāki Shīrāzi states that Khusrav was blinded *after* the discovery of the

abortive conspiracy to assassinate Jahāngīr, on the *return journey from Kābul*. (Ms. in the Mullā Firūz Library, Bombay, folio 219 b).

The contemporary European travellers have much to say about the good qualities and cruel treatment of Khusrav, but one statement which they make and which has been repeated by many modern writers also, seems to be unhistorical. This is that he *had only one wife*—the daughter of the Khān-i-'Aẓam—during his life-time. But Jahāngīr records the birth of a son to him by another wife than the daughter of that nobleman. Her father was Muqīm, son of Mihtar Fāẓil, the *Rikāb-dār* or 'stirrup-holder' and the boy was born on the 21st of Farwardin, XI R., *i. e.* 31st January 1616 (157, l. 18 ; Tr. I. 321). Khusrav is also known have been betrothed to another lady who was the daughter of Jāni Beg Tarkhān of Ṭhaṭṭa. (T. J. 8, l. 1 f. f. Tr. I. 20; E. D. I. 252, l. 4).

VI. 451, *l.* **19.** *The emperor Jahāngīr ordered them* [*the Seorās*] *to be banished from the country.*

This order for banishing the *Seorās* from the Imperial dominions was issued in the 12th year of Jahāngīr's reign, as Mānsinha, the chief Guru of the Khartara *gachha* or sect, had been guilty of disloyalty and abetment of the treasonable proceedings of Prince Khusrav, as well as of Rāi Sinha, the Rājā of Bikāner. (T. J. 217, l. 6=Tr. I. 437-8). Jahāngīr says that he confiscated the property and condemned to death the Sikh Guru Arjun also for a similar reason. (Text 34, l. 12=Tr. I. 72). The Sikh version is that Arjun was put to death because he refused to pay the heavy fine imposed upon him. (Macauliffe, The Sikh Religion, III. 84-100).

VI. 452, *l.* **10 from foot.** *On the day Mahābat Khān took his leave from the camp at Pakhli, he again said etc.*

This detail also is correct. *Vide* 368-9 *ante*, where it is stated that Mahābat Khān presented "jewels and inlaid arms" on the 20th of Isfandārmaẓ of the 14th year of the reign, at a place named Sālhar, three days before the Emperor entered the boundary of Pakhli. (T. J. Text, 289, l. 6 f. f. Tr. II. 124).

VI. 455, *l.* **3.** *The early use of gunpowder in India.*

This subject has been discussed by several other scholars since Sir Henry Elliot wrote about 1850 and his dissertation is now out of date. General R. Maclagan, an artillery officer who reviewed the question very learnedly in a paper on 'Early Asiatic Fireweapons' in the J.A.S.B. for 1876, (XLV. pp. 30-71) arrived at the conclusion that the ancient Hindus had no knowledge of gunpowder or fire-arms or cannon, that the knowledge of gunpowder and of the most important weapons of war came from Europe to India and other Asiatic countries, that the missiles or machines described in ancient Hindu books were some sort of fire-arrows discharged from a bow, and that the various preparations for which recipes are given in the old Arabic books quoted by Reinaud and Favé (to which Elliot refers on p. 459 *infra*), were forms of 'fire-powder' and not "gun-powder." (*loc. cit.* 56). Dr. P. C. Ray also opines in his 'History

of Hindu Chemistry' that "there is no reason to suppose that the combustible matter which the ancient fire-missiles (*Agneyastra*) contained, supplied motive power of the nature of gunpowder." (Ed. 1907, I. 179-180). It is true that Dr. Oppert contends, in his treatise on the "Weapons, Army Organisation and Political Maxims of the Ancient Hindus" (Ed. 1880, 43-82) that the *Shataghni*, and other *Astras* and *Yantras* mentioned in the Epics and the works on *Rājnīti* were just like our own cannon and guns, but Dr. Hopkins is sure that they were only "machines for throwing stones or other missiles". More recently still, the question has been canvassed by two Hindu scholars, by Mr. N. G. Vaidya, in a paper on "Fire-arms in Ancient India" (J. B. B. R. A. S. 1928, pp. 26-38) and Mr. G. T. Dāté, in an Essay on the "Art of War in Ancient India" (1936). Both of them have, after discussing all the relevant passages, pronounced the opinion that the ancient Hindus "did not know the secret of making gunpowder", that the powder described in the *Arthashāstra* was only inflammable and not explosive, and that neither the *Nālika*, nor the *Sūrmi* was a gun. Mr. Vaidya goes so far as to state that these conclusions "have to be accepted, however unpalatable they may be to orthodox sentimentalists and uncritical theorists". (*loc. cit.* 38).

VI. 468, last line and footnote. *Between every two gun-carriages, were six or seven* tūbras.

The word is, correctly, 'Tūra' not 'Tūbra'. Budāuni's gloss that they were "*tobras* or nosebags filled with earth" gives an entirely erroneous turn to the meaning, instead of "making it plain". The "Tūra" was a mantlet, and was "made by binding together pieces of wood with chains and hooks, behind which the soldiers took shelter." (Irvine, A. I. M. 145-9).

VI. 521, *l.* 29 and footnote. *Sūraj Mal...was overwhelmed with fear... and ran away towards Pathānkot. The local traditions and poems universally call Jagat Sing the son of Basū, and to him they ascribe the defeat of the Muhammadan armies.*

The note appears to be founded on error. These local traditions and poems relate, not to the events narrated in the *Shash Fatḥ-i-Kāngra* or to the rebellion of Sūraj Mal, which took place in the reign of Jahāngīr, but to the much later revolt of his brother and successor, Jagat Sinha, which occurred about 24 years later in 1051 H., under Shāh Jahān. Sir Henry Elliot seems to have mixed up the two revolts.

Jagat Sinha was made Rājā after Sūraj Mal's death in 1028-9 H. He served with distinction in Bangash and was appointed Faujdār of Bangash in 1049 A. H. Soon after, he and his son Rājrup went into rebellion, which was suppressed in about six months. Both the insurgents surrendered and were consequently pardoned and their territories restored to them. The lengthy account of this campaign in the *Bādshāhnāma* (Text, II. 237; E. D. VII. 69) has been translated in the J. A. S. B (1875, XLIV, 194-200) by Blochmann for Mr. Beames, who has edited and translated the "Rhapsodies of Gambhīr Rāi", a contemporary panegyrist of Jagat Sinha, in the same Journal. (*Ibid.* pp. 201-212).

VOL. VII. SHĀHJAHĀN TO MUḤAMMAD SHĀH.

VII. 4, *l.* 5. *Khāfi Khān.....has based his history of the first twenty years of Shāh Jahān's reign almost entirely on this work* ['*Abdu-l-Ḥamīd's Bādshāhnāma*].

Dowson has copied this statement from Col. Lees, but it is not quite correct. Khwāfi Khān himself declares that his account of the first decade of Shāh Jahān's reign is abridged from the earlier *Shāhjahān Nāma-i-Deh Sāleh*, compiled by Mirzā Muḥammad Amīn Qazvīni, generally known as Amīnā Munshi, and the authority of that work is expressly cited at least four times in his pages. [B. I. Text, I. 165, 248, 346, 547]. He has drawn upon 'Abdu-l-Ḥamīd's Chronicle only for the events of the 2nd decade. Jalāl Ṭabāṭabāi, the author of another fragmentary chronicle of the years 1041-5 H., has also followed the compilation of Amīnāi Munshi. [Rieu, III. 933]. Muḥammad Ṭāhir 'Ināyat Khān, another annalist of the same reign, explicitly informs his readers that from the fourth year to the tenth, he has preferred the guidance of the *Pādshāhnāma* of Mirzā Muḥammad Amīn to that of 'Abdu-l-Ḥamīd. (Rieu, III, 961. See also 75 *infra*).

VII. 5, *l.* 4. *Col. Lees says, "This copy of the Second Part.....is written by Muḥammad Sālih Kambū, the author of the 'Amal-i-Sālih."*

Col. Lees has confounded here two persons who are now known to be distinct individuals and require to be differentiated. Muḥammad Ṣāliḥ the *Khūshnavīs* (caligraphist), whose sobriquet was *Kashfi* and of whose elegant penmanship the manuscript referred to is a fine example, was a different person from Muḥammad Ṣāliḥ Kambū, the author of the '*Amal-i-Ṣāliḥ*. The *Khūshnavīs* is known to have died in 1061 A. H. nine years before the composition of the History. (Rieu, I. 263). The mistake is again committed at 123 *infra*.

VII. 5, *l.* 15. *He* [*Shahriār*] *now cast aside all honour and shame, and before Shāh Jahān started, repudiated his allegiance and went off in hot haste to Lāhor to advance his own interests.*

'Abdu-l-Ḥamīd says nothing about Shahriār "casting aside all honour and shame" or "repudiating his allegiance before *Shāh Jahān* started," and Dowson has misunderstood his involved and figurative verbiage. What he really states is that "before the date of *Jahāngīr's return journey* from Kashmīr, Shahriār had lost (*lit.* cast to the winds) his eyelashes and eyebrows [ابرو not آبرو], was ashamed to show his face to his father and patron or to other people and obtained, after great importunity, permission to proceed in advance to Lāhor with a view to secure in the interval skilled medical treatment for his disease". Mu'atamad Khān also writes thus: "Just at this time, Sultān Shahrīyār inopportunely fell ill. The fox's disease (*Dāu-s-Ṣ'alab*, scald or loss of hair) robbed him of his honour, for all his hair, his whiskers, his eyebrows and his eyelashes fell off.....So he returned covered with shame to Lāhor". (*Iqbālnāma*,

Tr. in E. D. VI. 435, Text, 291, l. 3 f.f.). Khwāfi Khān also says that Shahrīār lost the hair on his beard and moustache موی ریش و بروت بیاد داده (B. I. Text 388, l. 11). The *'Amal-i-Ṣāliḥ*, (B. I. Text. I. 204, l. 9) roundly states that he was suffering from آتشك (syphilis) and had pustules all over his body.

VII. 6, *l.* 11. *Shāh Jahān ascended the throne on the 18th Jumāda-s-Sāni, 1037 A. H. (6th February 1628).*

The day of the Hijri month is wrongly recorded. The text has it correctly as Monday, 8th Jumādi II. 1037 A.H. corresponding to 25th Bahman Māh-i-Ilāhi. (I. i. 87, l. 2). The *'Amal-i-Ṣāliḥ* gives 7th Jumādi II. at I. 225, l. 4, but 8th on I. 261, l. 16. *Vide* also p. 137 *infra*, where the *Majālisu-s-Salāṭīn* is said to give the 7th Jumādi II. Khwāfi Khān also has 7th. (I. 395, l. 9). See also my H. S. M. N. 270-1.

VII. 10, *l.* 16. *The Khwāja reached the fort of Dholiya near the fort of Alang.*

Dowson observes in the footnote that "the text here has 'Lalang', but afterwards 'Alang'. The text is right and Dowson has only made confusion by altering the name to 'Alang'. 'Alang' and 'Laling' are entirely distinct places. 'Alang' is said at p. 35 *infra*, to be near Gālna (or Kālna), but this also is an error for "Laling". Laling fort stands on the summit of a high hill, six miles south of Dhūliya and commands the Āgra road and the Avīr pass, leading to Mālegāon, which is about 27 miles south of Dhūliā". Dhūliā was at this time a village subordinate to Laling. (I. G. XI. 337; B. G. XII. (Khāndesh), 454). Gālna lies about 14 miles north of Mālegāon town and Laling is about 13 miles north of Gālna. (I. G. XII. 124). 'Laling' and 'Gālna' are both shown on the Map in Bayley's Gujarāt.

'Alang' and 'Kulang' are situated on the Aḥmadnagar frontier of Igatpuri, about ten miles south-east of Igatpuri town. They are twin hill forts, about two miles distant from each other and lie at the southern-most point of Nāsik district. (B.G. Nāsik, XVI. p. 136). Alang is not near Gālna.

VII. 11, *l.* 13. *Those who escaped fled from Daulatābād to Sindghar near Jālnāpur in their native country.*

سند کهیر Sind*kher*, as in Kh. Kh. (I. 428). It is in Buldāna district, Berār, about 25 miles north-east of Jālna. Constable, 31 D b. Lat. 19°-57′ N., Long. 76°-10′ E. In the M. U. (I. 523), it is said to be in *Sarkār* Mehkar, *Ṣūba* Berār, thirty *Kos* from Aurangābād, and six or seven *Kos* south of Deulgāon Rājā. The latter town also lies in Buldānā district, and is shown in Constable, 31 D a.

VII. 12, *l.* 17. *When he reached the village of Rāmbhūri on the Bāngangā river.*

This must be 'Vāmbori' or 'Wambooree' of Thornton, 14 miles north of Aḥmadnagar. It is now a station on the G. I. P. Railway. It lies on a small river, which is, I understand, called 'Bāṇgangā' by the residents. There is a place called Rāhuri, 21 miles north-west of Aḥmadnagar, but Vāmbori seems to be the village intended.

VII. 12, *l.* 3 from foot. *Khān Jahān was at Rājauri, twenty-four Kos from Machhligāon, employed in dividing the spoil.*

According to the M. U., the author of which displays a personal acquaintance with the geography of the Dekkan, this Rājauri was in Bhīr district (I. 416, l. 1 f. f.), and lay only four *Kos* from the town of Bhīr (*Ib.* I. 725, l. 7). Constable, 31 C b.

'Machhligāon' must be an error for مجهلگانو *Majhalgāon* or Māzalgāon which lies about thirty miles north-east of Bhīr. (I. G. XVII. 244). Constable, 31 D b.

VII. 14, *l.* 4. *Bihār Singh Bundela.*

The variant بهار *Pahār* Singh [Pahāḍ Sinha] occurs more frequently and is the correct form. (*Bād. Nām.* Text, I. 197, 205, 248, 325; 'A.Ṣ., I. 386, l. 2). Pahār Sinha was one of the sons of Vīra Sinha Deva, the murderer of Abu-l-Faẓl.

VII. 14, *l.* 15. *A ball struck Bahādur Khān, and he was unable to continue his flight.*

The ball did not strike Bahādur *Khān* Rohela, who was the son of Darya Khān and one of the Imperial Commanders, but Bahādur, the nephew of the rebel Khān Jahān Lody. (B. N. I. i. 325, l. 2). The courtly historian is careful never to style this Bahādur 'Khān' and some opprobrious epithet like تیره اختر 'ill-starred,' or مرتد 'renegade' is almost always affixed to his name. (Text, I. i. 324, l. 3 f.f., 325, l. 3). His *father* also is said to have fled, but this is due to پدر having been wrongly read for پیرا Pīrā. Khān Jahān's original name was Pīr Khān. Bahādur's head is said to have been cut off and sent to 'Aẓam Khān, a few lines lower down. He is called 'Bahādur' without the title, in Dowson's version also, on l. 8, p. 9 and l. 25, p. 13 *ante*. See also 'A. Ṣ. 389, l. 13; 390, ll. 3-9.

VII. 15, *l.* 9 from foot. *Sāmāji son of Sāhūji.*

Recte, Sambhāji or Shambhuji, son of Shāhji. He was the elder brother of Shivāji and was killed in an attack on Kanakgiri in 1653 A. C. (Grant Duff, H. M. 66). 'Bīzāpur' which lay about 25 miles west of Aurangābād is shown as 'Vaijapur' in the I. G. Atlas (40 A 2), but as 'Baizapur' on Constable's, Pl. 31 C b.

VII. 16, *l.* 4. *Went to Ir-Kahtalā, half a Kos from Daulatābād.*

This 'Ir' or 'Er' appears to be intrusive and has been probably transferred by a slip, from '*Er*andol,' which has been decapitated and written as 'Andol' five lines lower down. The copyist has robbed Peter to pay Paul. '*Er*andol' and 'Dhārangāon' are near each other and are both in East Khāndesh. Dhārangāon is now in *Er*andol taluka, thirty-five miles north-east of Dhūliyā. (Bom. Gaz. XII. (Khāndesh), 439). Both the places are shown in Constable, 31 C a.

VII. 16, *l.* 20. *Mukarrab Khān and Bahlol who were at Dhārūr and Amba-jogāi.*

Ambā Jogāi is in Bhīr district, Ḥaidarābād State. "The portion of

Ambājogāi, which lies south-west of the Jivanti river is now called Mominābād. (I. G., V. 275). Ambā and Jogāi are two distinct villages in proximity to each other. The names are derived from two synonymous designations of one and the same goddess, Pārvati or Durgā. Dhārūr also lies in Bhīr. Constable, 31 D b. 'Ojhar' may be Thornton's 'Wozur,' which lies about 10 miles north-east of Nāsik. Lat. 20°-4′ N., Long. 73°-54′ E. But Dowson locates it 20 miles south of Sangamner. (VIII, p. xli). 'Mānikdūdh' (l. 23) must be 'Mānik-punj' near Nāndgāon in Nāsik district, *q. v.* my note on III. 257, l. 9 f. f. It is shown on Bayley's Map. Dāmangāon (l. 9 f. f.) is Dhāmangāon in Bhīr, Constable, 31 C b.

VII. 17, *l.* 6. [*'Azam Khān*] *proceeded from* [*Bhīr*] *to Partūr on the bank of the river Dūdna.*

Pārtūr is now in Parbaini district, Ḥaidarābād State. It lies on the right bank of the Dūdna. Constable, 31 D b.

VII. 18, *l.* 2 from foot. [*'Abdulla Khān*] *encamped at Lonīhara.*

This is 'Lūnhera', 'Nūnhera' or 'Lūnera'. It is mentioned in the itineraries of two European travellers. Finch (E. T. I. 142) and Jourdain (Journal, 149) who passed through it put it four *Kos* north of Mandū and about ten from Akbarpur. This Akbarpur, where the Narmadā was crossed by ferry, is 25 miles north-west of Gogāon, 12½ west from Mandlesar (I. A. cxii) and 43 south-west of Indore. Lat. 22°-8′ N., Long. 75°-33′ E. (Th).

Khiljipur, which is mentioned on l. 14, p. 19, is now the chief town of a feudatory state and is shown in Constable, 27 C c. The correct name is Khichīpur, the town of the Khīchi Chauhāns. It has nothing to do with the Khiljis or Khaljis. Lat. 24°-2′ N., Long. 76°-34′ E.

VII. 23, *l.* 12. *And the troops drove zigzags upto the end of the ditch.*

The phrase which is rendered by 'Zigzags' is كوچهٔ سلامت *lit.* 'narrow passages or streets of safety'. (Text, II. 358, l. 18). The Lucknow editor of the *Akbarnāma* states that كوچهٔ سلامت is synonymous with *Sābāt*. (Text, II. 245, note). Steingass defines 'Sābāt' as 'a covered passage connecting two houses,' but it is used by the Timuride historians for "the covered ways or galleries of approach which were erected for the conduct of sieges". There is an elaborate description of these 'Sābāt' in the Ṭ. A.'s account of the siege of Chītor (282 l. 13=E. D. V. 326) which F. (I. 257, l. 6 f. f.=Briggs' Tr. II. 230) has copied almost word for word. See also Budāuni, II. 103; Tr. 106 and note) and Irvine, A. I. M. 273.

VII. 23, *l.* 4 from foot. *The eldest son of Ibrāhim 'Ādil Khān by the daughter of Kutbu-l-Mulk.*

The word in the original is همشیره (I. i. 160, l. 6), which means 'sister' not 'daughter'.

VII. 25, *l.* 14. *Taxes amounting to nearly seventy lacs of rupees were remitted by the revenue officers—a sum amounting to nearly eighty Krors of dāms, and amounting to one-eleventh part of the whole revenue.*

This is not the meaning. What 'Abdu-l-Ḥamīd really says is that the

total *Jam'a* [Land Revenue] of the Empire was 880 *Krors* of *Dāms, i. e.* about 22 *Krors* of Rupees. Lands yielding about one-eleventh of this amount, *i. e.* 80 *Krors* of *Dāms* or Two Krors of Rupees were *Khāliṣa, i. e.* managed directly by the Imperial officers appointed by the *Dīwān-Vizārat*. The remissions made in consideration of the famine, *out of this Khāliṣa revenue* of two Krors, amounted to seventy laks of rupees or about 28.5 per cent. of the total. As the rest of the جمع had been assigned to Manṣabdārs as تنخواه, those lands were managed by them and as the remissions granted by them were not known to him, he leaves it to his readers to imagine what they must have amounted to. قریب هفتاد لك روپیه در هشتاد کرور دام محال خالصهٔ والا که یازدهم ممالك محروسه است تخفیف دادند (Text, I. i. 364, ll. 3-7).

VII. 25, *l.* 10 from foot. *Sipahdār Khān, after obtaining possession of the fort of Taltam ..... laid siege to Sitūnda.*

'Sitūnda' is 50 miles north-east of Aurangābād and is in Lat. 20°-32′ N., Long. 75°-20′ E. Constable, 31 C a. 'Taltam' cannot be satisfactorily identified. The diacritical points or the letters seem to have been jumbled together. It is mentioned along with Sitūnda in the A.N. also (III. 756; Tr. III. 1131) in the chronicle of the 43rd year and said to be one of the choice forts of Berār. (*Ibid*, 762=Tr. 1139). This description seems to apply to باثم Basīm, but the latter is mentioned as 'Bāsim' elsewhere.

VII. 26, *l.* 8 from foot. *Rockets, mortars, stones and grenades.*

بان و تفنگ و حقه و سنگ و مشکهای باروت (I. i. 376, l. f. f.). "Rockets, *musket-bullets*, hand-grenades, stones, and leather-bags filled with gunpowder." The مشکهای باروت must have been sacks or bags like those used by *Bhīstis*, filled with gunpowder with a fuse attached to them.

VII. 29, *l.* 6. *Encamped near the river Nahnūrā.*

نهنورا is an error for بهونرا 'Bhūnra', 'Bhīmrā', *i.e.* the 'Bhīmā'. See note 54 *infra*. 'Nauraspur' was a village near Bījāpur, founded by Ibrāhim 'Ādil Shāh who had assumed the pen-name 'Nauras'.

Mullā Muḥammad is styled 'Lāhori' (l. 22), but his correct 'Nisba' was Lāri, as Khwāfi Khān calls him. (I. 464, l. 5). He was a *Nawāyat* and came like the renowned 'Abdur-Razzāq Lāri from Lār in Persia and not from Lāhor. He is mentioned as Lāri by Jahāngīr also. (T. J, 385, last line, Tr. II, 296). The 'A. Ṣ. also reads 'Lāri' (I. 470, l. 12).

VII. 32, *l.* 18. *And he resolved to put an end to them if ever he ascended the throne, that the coinage might always bear the stamp of the glorious dynasty and the pulpit might be graced with its Khutba.*

The clauses in this sentence do not hold together and the inconsequence is manifest. The correct rendering is this: "And with the most pious intentions, he took a vow that *when* the faces of coins *should be exalted* by the stamp of his own name and the dignity of the pulpit enhanced by the recitation of his own titles in the *Khuṭba*, [*i. e. when* he became, at some time in the future, the ruler of the Kingdom], he would

extirpate the mischief created by these misbelievers." . . . و بنیت ثبك طویت تصمیم یافته که هرگاه روی دتافیر بسکه این دولتِ روز افزون بر افراخته گرد د و پایهٔ منبر بخطبهٔ این سلطنتِ والا مرتبت بر افراخته خارین فساد این ضلالت کیشان از این دیار بر کنده آید (Text, I. i. 435, l. 3).

VII. 32, last line. *Makhsūsābād.*

This is the old name of Murshidābād. 'Maqṣūdābād' is another form which occurs in Tieffenthaler, who says that it was founded by Akbar. Tavernier speaks of it as 'Madeṣou Bazār'. (Travels, I. 132). Blochmann says that the name was derived from Makhṣūṣ Khān who served in Bengāl and Bihār under Akbar and whose brother S'aīd Khān was at one time Governor of Bengal, *q. v.* A. N. III. 42=Tr. 62 (J. A. S. B. 1873 (LXII), p. 218 note; *Āīn*, Tr. I. 388. See also *Riyāẓu-s-Salāṭīn*, Tr. 28). Maqṣūd was the son of Makhṣūṣ Khān. Murshidābād gets its name from Murshid Quli Khān, who was governor of Bengal and moved the seat of government to it in 1704 A.C.

VII. 33, *l.* 10. *When the flotilla arrived at Mohāna, which is a dahna of the Hugli.*

Dowson questions the correctness of the reading 'dahna' and asks if it is not the Bengāli 'dahra' which means 'lake'. But دهنه is quite right and means in Persian 'mouth, opening, entrance'. 'Mohāna' was, probably, the name by which one of the *mouths* of the Hūgli was known and it is derived from the vernacular word *Munh*, Sans. *Mukh*, mouth. Thornton says that "Hidjelee was situated on the right or western shore of one of the *entrances* to the Hoogly, called the Inner Channel, and at the *mouth* of a small river falling into it." According to the I. G. also, Hijli was an old village in Midnāpore district at the *mouth of the Rasúlpur river*, which has been now washed away. (XIII. 116). Hijili was a place of importance at this time, as cargoes were landed here for transport up the Hūgli. It lay at some distance south-west of Hūgli town and about 48 miles south-west of Calcutta. (Foster's note to E. T. I. 25). دهنهٔ کوهستان 'Entrance to the hilly region' and دهنهٔ کوه "mouth of a mountain pass" occur in the M. 'Ā. (44, l. 12 and 46, l. 3). As regards 'Muhna', Alberūni says that the mouths of the Indus were known in his day as the 'Small *Munha*' and the 'Great *Munha*.' (Indica, Tr. Sachau, I. 208 and Note at *Ibid.* II. 320). The 'A. Ṣ. says that "the mouth (دهان) of the *Khor* of Hūgli is known as Mohāna" (I. 498, l. 3) and speaks of سد موهانه 'blocking it up.' (I. 502, l. 14).

VII. 34, *l.* 3 from foot. *Out of the sixty-four large* dingas, *fifty seven* ghrābs *and two hundred* jāliyas, *one* ghrāb *and two* jāliyas *escaped.*

'Dinga,' is the Bengali 'Dīngi' or 'Dongi', which is from the Sanskrit, '*Droṇa*', a trough. The word seems to be used here, not in the usual sense of a small skiff or boat, but for a large vessel employed in war. 'Ghrāb' is the parent of the Anglo-Indian 'Grab', a "kind of vessel, which is frequently mentioned in the sea and river fights in India from the arrival of the

Portuguese to the end of the 18th Century." (H. J. 391). It is described as "a square-rigged Arab vessel with two or three masts and a sharp or projecting prow, but no bowsprit". Morier explains this absence of a bowsprit by sayingt hat the Arabs know how "to extend the timbers of a ship until they connect themselves into a prow, but they have not yet attained the art of forming timber fit to construct *bows*." (Journey to Persia, Ed. 1812, p. 8). Both names are derived from the Arab *Ghurāb*, a raven. Compare the English 'Corvette,' from the Latin *Corvus*, a crow. Like the Corvette, the *Ghrāb* also was used in naval warfare and in Mīr Jumla's invasion of Āssām, each *ghrāb* carried fourteen guns and fifty or sixty fighting men and was towed by four *Kosahs* or lighter vessels propelled by oars. (Gait, History of Assam, 128). The 'Jāliya' is another form of our 'Galley', the hard 'g' having been replaced by the soft one in Arabic. (Yule, H. J. 362).

VII. 35, *l.* **6 from foot.** *Commandant of the fort of Alang, which is near to Gālna.*

Here also the right reading and the place meant is Laling. See note on p. 10, l. 16, *ante*. The text reads لالنگ (I. i. 442, l. 13). At 462 *infra*, 'Gālna' is said to be seventy *Kos* from Aurangābād, which is correct.

VII. 36, *l.* **6.** *Bhāgirat Bhīl,.....relying on the strength of his fort of Khātākhīri, had refused obedience.*

Dowson says that this is 'Kuntherkhera' on the Kāli Sind, about thirty miles north of Ujjain, which is shown on Malcolm's Map of Central India. But the place meant seems to be 'Khātākheri', or 'Khānākhedi' which is mentioned in the *'Ālamgīrnāma* also (474, 615). It is stated there that when Chakrasen the Bhīl Zamīndār of *Khātākheri*, rebelled in 1660 A.C., Bhagwant Singh Hāḍā was sent against him and captured his stronghold. Chakrasen's contumacy is said to have made it necessary for another punitive expedition to be despatched against him in 1677 also. (Sarkār, H. A., III. 24-25). See also Hind Rājasthān, 729. The place is now in the State of Kotah and lies about 15 miles north of Rājgarh (Biaora), *q. v.* Constable, 27 C d. The Zemindār of 'Kanūr', who is said to have interceded for Chakrasen (l. 12) was, most probably, the chief of Gannūr or Gannūrgarh, which lies thirteen miles north-west of Hoshangābād and 30 south-east of Bhopāl (Th). There is a 'Khātkhari' in Rewā or Bāghelkhand also, about 83 miles south-west of Allahābād. (Constable, 28 B c), but it cannot be the place meant, as it is not in Mālwā.

VII. 37, *l.* **11 from foot.** *When Khān Khānān who was at Zafarnagar, was informed of these proceedings.*

Ẓafarnagar is now called 'Jafarābād' [Ẓafarābād] and is in Aurangābād district, Ḥaidarābād State. Its old name was Tamarni. Sundar, Rājā Bikramājit, cantoned here during the rainy season of 1026 H. and gave the cantonment the name of 'Ẓafarnagar.' See my article in the Num. Suppl. No. XXXIV to the J. A. S. B. (1920), pp. 240-249, where the evidence for the identification is set out. Jafarābād is marked in Constable, 31 D a.

VII. 47, *l.* 7. [*Jajhār Singh*] *attacked Bīm Narāyan, Zamīndār of Garha.*

Recte, Pem پیم Nārāyan, *i. e.* Prem Nārāyan. He belonged to the old Gonḍ dynasty of Gaḍha-Māṇḍla. (Sleeman, History of the Garha Mandla Rājās in J. A. S. B. 1837, VI. p. 631 *sq*). 'Bhānder' (last line), is in Jhānsi district, about 25 miles north-east of Jhānsi town. Constable, 27 D c.

VII. 52, *l.* 10. *Chamārgonda and Ashti near to Ahmadnagar.*

There are several places called Āshti. This must be the one in Naldrug district, Ḥaidarābād State. It lies a few miles south-east of Aḥmadnagar and north-east of Chamārgonḍa in Lat. 18°-50′ N., Long. 75°-15′ E. Chamārgonḍa is better known as Shrīgonḍa. Constable, 31 C b. It has been mentioned at 56 *infra* and was the native place of Shāhu, *i. e.* Shāhji, the father of Shivāji. (M. U. II. 25, l. 2 f. f.).

VII, 53, *l.* 5 from foot. *Surrender of the hill forts of Anjarāi, Kānjna and Mānjna, Rola, Jola, Ahūnat, Kol, Būsrā, Achlāgar ..... Conquest of the fort of the Rājā of Bīr ..... Surrender of Dharab.*

Many of these toponyms are spelt incorrectly and all of them are more or less obscure. 'Anjarāi' is, correctly, 'Indirai' or 'Indragīri', which lies about four miles north-west of Chāndor, on the Roura Pass. It is 4526 feet above sea-level. (B. G. XVI. (Nāsik), 445). 'Kanchan-Manchan' or 'Kachna' is about 2½ miles west of another fort in the same district, named Koledhair and about ten miles west of Chāndor. (*Ibid*, 445). 'Rola-Jola' is 'Rāvalya-Jāvalya', another of the hill forts on the Chāndor Range. There are two peaks to the east of Markinda, which jut out, 'Rāvalya' on the west and 'Jāvalya' on the east of a hill, fifteen miles north-east of Dīndori. (*Ibid*, 642 and 411). 'Ahūnat', *Recte*, 'Ahvant' or 'Ahivant'—'Serpent-fort'—is also on the Chāndor range, fifteen milesn orth of Dindori. (*Ib.* 415). 'Kol' is Koledhair, about seven miles north-west of Chāndor and four miles north-west of Rājdhair. (*Ib.* 449). 'Būsra' must be 'Bhurāgaḍh', about two miles north-west of Rāmsej. (*Ib.* 641). 'Achlāgar' is the westernmost fort in the Chāndor range and lies about twenty miles north of Dīndori. (*Ib.* 414). The 'fort of the Rājā of Bīr' is an error for "the fort of 'Rājdhair." Khwāfi Khān calls it 'Rājdhir'. (I. 524, l. 1). It lies about fourteen miles south-west of Chālisgāon town (B. G., Khāndesh, XII, 467). It is called 'Dhīr' or 'Dehera' also, (*Ib.* 439), and is spoken of in the M. U as 'Rājdhar' (I. 209). Lastly, 'Dharab' is 'Dhoḍap', fifteen miles north-west of Chāndor on the highest hill in the Chāndor range. (B. G. (Nāsik), XVI. 432).

VII. 55, *l.* 12. *Capture of Sarādhun, Dhārāsiyūn, Kānti six Kos from Sholāpur and the town of Deogāon.*

'Dhārāsiyun' or 'Dharaseo', which is 50 miles north-east of Sholāpur, is now known as Oṣmānābād and is in Naldrug district, Ḥaidarābād State. (I. G. XIX, 276). Constable, 31 D b. 'Sarādhūn' (l. 11) is Thornton's 'Sheradone,' 172 miles W. N. W. of Ḥaidarābād and 60 north of

Sholāpur. Lat. 18°-31′ N.; Long. 76°-13′ E. Constable, 31 D b. 'Kānti' is 'Kati,' which lies about twenty miles north-east of Sholāpur and is also in Ḥaidarābād State. Constable, 31 C c.

VII. 56, *l.* **7.** *Sāhu was about to proceed by way of Pārganw to Parenda.*

This must be 'Pārgāon' in Aḥmadnagar district, 4 miles north of Chamārgonḍa, which is mentioned on line 12.

Māhūli (l. 6) is in North Konkan, about 50 miles north-east of Bombay. (B. G. XV. 219).

VII. 57, *l.* **8.** *Capture ..... of the forts of Anki and Tanki, etc.*

'Ankai-Tankai' are two forts in Nāsik district, about six miles north of Yeola and near the Manmāḍ and Aḥmadnagar road. They stand about 3200 feet above the sea and are now included in the Chāndor *taluka* of Nāsik district. (B. G. XVI. 419; I. G. XVII. 199). Constable, 31 C a.

'Alka Palka' (l. 9) are two unfortified hills to the west of Ankai Tankai and divided from them by the road and Railway. They are so close to Ankai Tankai, that, according to one local authority, they are said to be identical with them. (B.G. 420 *note*).

VII. 59, *l.* **4.** *When he reached the Khorandi, he was detained on its banks.*

An error for the *Ghoḍ-nadi*, the name of a river as well as of a town on its banks, which is in the Sirūr taluka of Poona district. (I.G. XII. 232). Constable, 31 C b. 'Gondhāna' (l. 9) must be '*Konḍna*', the old name of 'Sinhagaḍh', about 12 miles from Poona. Constable, 31 B b. 'Nūrand' is a mistake for the 'Nirānadi'. Tringalwāḍi (l. 6 f.f.) lies 12 miles south of Nāsik. (B. G. XVI. 439, 660).

VII. 60, *l.* **12 from foot.** *Forts of.....Harīs, Jūdhan, Jūnd and Harsīrā were delivered over to Khān Zamān.*

Dowson says 'Harīs' is Harishchandragarh, which is 56 miles north of Poonā, and not far from Shivner, the hill fort of the town of Juner. (E.D. VIII. Index, p. xxxix). But it must be Harīsh, four miles south of Trimbak, which is mentioned just before it. (B. G. Nāsik, XVI. 439). 'Jūnd' must be Chāwand. Jūdhan is, really, Jalodhan, sixteen miles from Juner.

VII. 60, *l.* **7 from foot.** *Khān Daurān takes possession of the forts of Kataljahr and Āshta and storms the fort of Nāgpur.*

كلچهر 'Kelchahr' in the '*Amal-i-Ṣāliḥ* (II. 218, l. 8) and M. U. (I. 755). 'Kataljahr' is a miswriting of '*Kheljh*ar' or '*Kel*jhar', [Kelzur in Thornton], now in Wardhā district. It lies 26 miles south-west of Nāgpur. Constable, 32 A a. Āshta is in Seoni district, Central Provinces. Constable, 32 Aa. Kheljhar and Āshta are both mentioned in the *Āīn*. (Tr. II. 233). One of them was a *Maḥāl* in *Sarkār* Paunar, and the other in *Sarkār* Kherla of the same *Sūba, viz.* Berār. Sir J. Sarkār reads the name as 'Katanjhiri' or 'Katanjhar,' but does not say where it is to be found. (H. A., I. 49; V. 404).

VII. 62, *l.* **14.** *He marched by the difficult route of Karcha-barh.*

کراچ in the *'Amal-i-Ṣāliḥ* (II. 254, l. 9). This 'Karcha-barh' is an imaginary toponym like 'Kant-barāhi' and 'Nākhachnuhgarhi', *q. v.* my Notes on III. 261, l. 8. and 318, l. 1. What 'Abdul Ḥamīd really says is از راه کرچه برده نوردی درآمد (I. ii. 282, l. 5). "He entered the country by marching along the route through *Karcha.*" In a subsequent passage, he says that there are two passes into Little Tibet, namely, 'Karch' and 'Lār'. (I. ii. 286-7). The pass is called کرج 'Karaj' or 'Karj' in the corresponding passage of the M. U. also. (II. 758, l. 3). نوردیدن means 'to travel, walk, wander' and ره نوردی signifies "travelling, marching along or traversing a road." 'Karcha' is the 'Kertse' of Constable, 23 B c. Mirzā Ḥaidar Dughlāt tells us that after invading Kashmīr in 939 A. H., he returned by the same route by which he had entered it, namely, through Lār. When he reached the frontiers of [Little] Tibet (Balti), the inhabitants of 'Karsa,' a valley exceedingly dark, narrow and steep, offered resistance and had to be attacked and killed. (*Tār. Rash.* Tr. 432). Mr. Ney Elias says that this is Kertse or Kārtse, a village between 'Kargil' and 'Sūru.' But he thinks it also *possible* that 'Kalsa' or 'Kalsi', another village on the Indus on the main road to Ladāk andnear the foot of an extraordinarily deep and narrow gorge, may be meant. (*Ibid*, note). Lār is another name of the Sind river of Kashmīr, which flows from the Zoji Lā Pass towards the Jailam. The 'Pass of Lār' must be the Zoji Lā Pass (*Ibid.* 423 Note). 'Shakar' (l. 26) is 'Shigar,' which lies a few miles north of Skardo or Iskardo in Baltistān. Constable, 23 A c. Mirzā Ḥaidar says that it was the capital of all Balti. (*Loc. cit.* 422).

VII. 65, *l.* **1.** *Rebellion in Kūch-Hajū.*

Kūch-Hājo corresponded to the modern districts of Goālpāra and Lower Āssām. The second half of the name is derived from Hājo, a village in Kāmarūpa district, on the north bank of the Brahmaputra, fifteen miles from Gauhāti. Sosung (l. 15) lies east of the Brahmaputra, between the Karibari and Garo hills. (Blochmann, J.A.S.B. XLI. (1872) 50, 53, *note*). 'Kohhatah' (l. 5 f. f.) is an error for 'Gauhāti.' 'Utarkol' is the land which lies on the north or left bank of the Brahmaputra. It stretches from Gauhāti to the home of the Mishmi and Mīri tribes. 'Kol' is the Sanskrit *Kūla*, the bank of a river. (J.B.O.R.S. Vol. I. 1915, p. 182).

VII. 66, *l.* **9 from foot.** *Submission of Mānik Rāi, the Mag Rājā of Chātgām.*

The name is really *Matak* Rāi. He "held Chātgām (Chittāgong) on behalf of the Rājā of Ārākān, but having quarrelled with his master, sought the protection of the Mughals and made over the district to the Ṣūbadār of Bengal. (I. G. X. 308).

VII. 67, *l.* **9.** *Sangi Bamkhal, the holder of Great Tibet had seized upon Būrag in Little Tibet.*

'Bamkhal' is an error by transposition of the *nuqṭas*, for 'Namgyal', which means 'King' and is the family title of all the rulers of Great Tibet or Ladākh. Cunningham calls him 'Singgé Namgyal' and says that ac-

cording to the local chronicle, he ruled from about 1620 to 1670 A. C. (Ladâk, 318 note, and 324). The Jesuit Hippolito Desideri, who passed through Tibet in 1714 A. C., states that the name of the then ruler or Ghiampo [*recte*, Gyâlpo] was Nyima *Nanjal* (*Recte*, Nyima Namgyal), son of Dilik Nanjal [Delak Namgya]]. (Raverty, N. A. 294 Note). The rulers of Sikkim also are still called 'Namgyal' and that word always constitutes an integral part of their title. (J. A. S, B. 1904, pp. 85, 88).

'Bûrag' or 'Pûrik' was one of the chief towns of Balti. (*Târ. Rash.* Tr. 15, 410. 442).

VII. 69, *l.* 5. *Surrender of Târâgarh.*

The fort of Târâgarh lies on the bank of the Chakki river, 110 miles N. E. by E. of Lâhor (Th.) and about 15 miles south-west of Chamba.

Palâmau (l. 10) is now in Lohardâga, Chutia Nâgpur. The town is about 145 miles south-west of Patna. Constable, 28 D d.

VII. 76, *l.* 6. *Nazar Muhammad Khân ..... who had stood fast at Nilchirâgh.*

Recte, 'Pul-i-Chirâgh', "The Bridge of the Lamp", which lies below Garzawân, west of Balkh. It stands at the mouth of a triple-bridged defile. The name is also written *Bil*-chirâgh, as 'Bil' signifies 'Pass' or 'Gate.' But 'Nilchirâgh' is certainly wrong. The 'Chirâgh' or Lamp is placed at the shrine of a Saint, just at the entrance of the defile. (Grodekoff, Ride to Herat, Tr. Marvin, 103 *apud* B.N. Tr. 69 note). Sir Thomas Holdich says that 'Pul-Chirâgh or Bilchirâgh' is about 25 miles south-east of Maimana, which lies half way between Balkh and Herât. (G.I. 251). Maimana is in Lat. 36° N., Long. 65° E. 'Belchirâg' is shown in Constable, 22 A c.

VII. 79, *l.* 7. [*Rustam Khân wrote that he was*] *proceeding towards Kâbul* [*from Maimana*] *by way of San-châhrik.*

It is the 'Sang-charak' of modern maps and is shown in Constable, 22 B b, as lying south-south-west of Balkh. See also Holdich, G. I. 259. Abu-l-Faẓl states that it was also known as the 'Chûl-i-Zardak', *i.e.* the Brown (or Yellowish) Desert. (A.N. II. 124=Tr. 191). 'Andkhod' is Constable's Andkhûi, 22 A b. It lies in Lat. 37° N., Long. 65° E.

VII. 80, *l.* 9 from foot. *Nazar Bahâdur Khân, Kheshji Ratan son of Mahesh Dâs, and others charged them.*

'Kheshji Ratan' is an impossible name for a Hindu. The comma should be placed after Kheshgi (خویشکی), which was the name of the Afghân tribe to which Naẓr Bahâdur Khân belonged (M. U. III. 777, l. 14). The Kheshgis were famous for their piety and integrity and were settled round about Lâhor and Kâsûr. (*Ibid*, III. 818, l. 6).

Ghori (l. 3 f.f.) is the Kala [Qil'a] Ghori of Constable, 22 C c. It is in Lat. 36°-0′ N., Long. 68°-30′ E.

VII. 81, *l.* 13 from foot. *After him should come the royal treasure, Kârkhâna* [*Wardrobe*] *and artillery.*

The 'Kârkhânas' did not comprise the 'wardrobe' only. It was a general term for the numerous State establishments, factories and work-

shops which accompanied armies on the march and the Emperor himself on his progresses. There is a lengthy account of the most important of them in the First and Second Books of the *Āīn*. Shams-i-Sirāj also mentions the thirty-six *Kārkhānas* of Firūz Tughlāq. (Text. 337; E. D. III. 356). See also the Ṭ. A. (318, ll. 8-9; E.D. V. 374).

VII. 89, *l.* **11.** *It was commanded that the army should hasten to Kābul, via Bangash-i-Bālā and Bangash-i-Pāyīn, as they were the shortest routes.*

Bangash-i-*Bālā* or Upper Bangash, is what is no wcalled Kurram Bangash-i-*Pāyīn*, Lower Bangash, is Kohāt. (I. G. XVI. 49). See also 95 *infra*, where Kohāt is mentioned in this connection.

'Sāz Khān Baligh' is an impossible name. The '*Amal-i-Ṣāliḥ* calls him '*Sārū* Khān [*Uzbek*]' (III. 73, l. 12). and so also Kh. Kh. (I. 655, l. 1).

VII. 90, *l.* **10.** *Top of the hill of Chihal-Zinah (forty steps), whence guns could be fired.*

"The Koh-i-Chihal-zīnah is a rocky spur.... which overlooks Qandahār from the east..... It is so called because Bābar Bādshāh had a platform made and a seat placed there for his own recreation and *forty steps* had to be cut into the rock to reach it." (Raverty, N. A. 25 Note). It is about a mile from the citadel and commands both the citadel and the city.

VII. 98, *l.* **2 from foot.** *He [Shāh Jahān] quitted Kashmīr.....and set out for the capital by way of Shāhābād.*

This Shāhābād is the place so called which is situated in a narrow valley bounded on the south-west by the Panjāl or Pass of Baīnhāl. Lat. 33°-32′ N., Long. 75°-16′ E. (Th.). Constable, 25 A a.

VII. 103, *l.* **14 from foot.** *When the world-subduing banners were planted at Khalīlpur.*

This town is in Gurgāon district, Punjāb. Constable, 27 C a. It is now a Railway Station, about 25 miles south of Gurgāon and 7 north of Rewāri.

VII. 105, *l.* **3 from foot.** *[The Rājā of Sirmur was invested] with the title of Rājā Sabhāk Prakās.*

Recte, Sobhāg [Subhāgya] 'Prakāsh'. 'Prakāsh' forms even now a part of the style and titles of the Rājās of Sirmūr. Several letters addressed by Rājā Budh Prakāsh of Sirmūr to Shāh Jahān's favourite daughter, Jahānārā Begam and her replies have been published by Mr. H. A. Rose in the J. A. S. B. 1911, pp. 449-458.

VII. 106, *l.* **3.** *From the beginning of the month of Isfandiār.*

This spelling of the name of the 12th month of the Yazdajardi, as well as the Ilāhi year, is found in many competent Musalmān writers, but it is not quite correct. 'Isfandiār,' which was the name of the son of King Gushtāsp [or Vishtāspa] and 'Isfandārmad,' or 'Isfandāmuz,' the designation of the month, are entirely distinct words, which have no real connection with each other. "Isfandiār" is the Modern Persian form of the

Avestaic *Spento-dāta*, meaning 'Given by [Spenta-Mainyush] the Good Spirit or Angel.' 'Isfandārmad' is Neo-Persian for the Avestaic *Spenta-Ārmāiti*, the 'Good Ārmaiti,' [lit. 'the Good Humility'], one of the seven Ameshāspentas. The error is repeated on 115 and 241 *post.*

Mr. Beveridge always transliterates the name of the sixth Ilāhi month as Shahryūr (A. N. Tr. III. 1159, 1256), and Mr. Vincent Smith has followed him. But the correct form must be 'Shah*rīvar*', as it stands for the Avestaic 'Khshthra*vairiya*' (Pahlavi, 'Shatro*var*'), and the Zoroastrians in India as well as Persia pronounce it always in that way.

VII. 106, *l.* **21.** *He [Khalīlu-lla] laid the foundations of a field-work close to Kilāghar in the Dūn, lying outside of Srīnagar.*

'Kilāghar' is 'Kaulāgarh' near Dehra. Sahijpur (l. 107, l. 8) and Basantpur (107, l. 4) were *parganas* in the Eastern Dūn belonging to Garhwāl. (E. T. Atkinson, Gazetteer of the Himālayan Districts of the N. W. P. II. 563 Note).

VII. 117, *l.* **23.** [*Mīr Jumla*] *presented 3000 Ibrāhīmis as Nisār.*

The *Ibrāhīmi* was a gold coin of low matt, worth between two and three rupees. Abu-l-Faẓl says that it was equal to 40 *Kabīrs* and 14 *Kabīrs* were valued at one Akbari rupee. The *Ibrāhīmi* was thus rated at about $2\frac{2}{3}$ rupees.

VII. 117, *l.* **25.** [*Mīr Jumla received*] *a jewelled* tarrah *and dagger.*

According to the Dictionaries, طرہ is 'the edge of a garment, plain or sewed, but not fringed.' It also signifies a 'waving ringlet, a tuft of braided or curled hair.' (Rich.) But here it is used for the "hanging end of a turban. These ends were made of gold and silk brocade and were made as ornamental and costly as possible by the adventitious aid of jewelry." (Irvine, Later Maghals, I. 260 n.). Jahāngīr speaks of a طرۂ مروارید a *Tarrah* or Aigrette of pearls. Aurangzeb sent to Prince Muḥammad Mu'aẓẓam and Prince Muḥammad 'Aẓam in 1087 and 1090 H. a طرۂ جڑاؤ مکلل بجواهر, 'a *Tarrah* with a cluster of jewels' and a طرۂ مرصع, 'a *Tarrah* inlaid with gems,' worth nine and twenty-five thousand rupees respectively. (M. 'Ā. 151, l. 4; 173, l. 5).

VII. 119, *l.* **3 from foot.** *'Ādil Khān had bid adieu to existence..... and his servants had constituted* Majhūl Illāhi *his successor, who professed to be his offspring.*

"Majhūl Illahi" [مجهول علیه] is not a proper name or the title of 'Adil Khān's successor, but a phrase signifying 'a person of whom nothing is known, an utterly obscure individual, a nobody, a pretender.' This obscure individual was 'Ali 'Ādil Shāh II. Fryer, Manucci, Tavernier (I. 183) and Bernier (Ed. Constable, 197) speak of him as an adopted child. The *Basātīn-i-Salāṭīn*, a provincial history of Bijāpūr, represents him as the son of Muḥammad 'Ādil Shāh by a lady in the harem and adopted as her own by the favourite Sultānā, who was the sister of the king of Golkonda

and known as the 'Baḍi Ṣāḥeba'. 'Ali was about 18 years old at this time, in 1656 A. C. In the C. H. I. (IV. 209), Sir Richard Burn states that "some people doubted 'Ali 'Ādil Shāh's right to succeed, though the matter was uncertain," while Sir Wolseley Haig, on another page of the same volume (IV. 271), stigmatises the allegation of his spurious birth as a 'slander' invented by the Mughals, 'for which there is not a scrap of evidence.' The fact that several contemporary European travellers also speak of him only as 'an adopted child', may indicate that there *were* some reasons for doubting his parentage. See also Sarkār (H. A., I. 285-6).

VII. 122, *l.* **13.** *The Shāh of Persia had resolved upon this evil enterprize in that infatuation, which arises from youth and inexperience.*

Shāh 'Abbās II had come to the throne on the 20th Ṣafar of 1052 H. 1642 A. C. at the age of ten and was at this time (1059 H.) only seventeen years old. He died in 1077 H. (Lane Poole, Muhammadan Dynasties, 259; Oliver in J. A. S. B. (LVI), 1887, p. 48 *note*).

VII. 123, *l.* **2.** *'Amal-i-Sālih.*

As so little is known about Muḥammad Ṣāliḥ Kambu, it may be worth while to point out a fact which has been overlooked, not only by Dowson, but by Rieu, Dr. Yazdāni his Editor and others. The '*Maāṣir-i-'Ālamgīri*' states that in consequence of the death of the Ṣadr, Sharīf Khān, on 12th Shawwāl 1093 H., Shaikh Makhdūm Munshi was appointed Chief Ṣadr and Muḥammad Ṣāliḥ Kambu, his *peshdast* or assistant. (222, l. 16).

Another point which is not undeserving of notice is that the title of this work is allusive and also amphibological. '*Amal-i-Ṣāliḥ* may mean "The History of a Beneficent Reign, Regime or Exercise of Authority." But it may be also understood as the "Work, Performance or Book composed by *Ṣāliḥ*."

Similar allusions in the titles of books to the names of the authors or of their patrons are found in the *Ḥabību-s-Siyar* (E. D. IV. 154), *Rauẓatu-ṭ-Ṭahirīn* (VI. 195), *Aḥsanu-t-tawārīkh* (*Ibid*, 201), *Subḥ-i-Ṣādiq* (VI. 453), *Burhānu-l-Futūḥ* (VIII. 26) and many others.

VII. 126, *l.* **8.** *This strong fortress* [*Bīdar*] *was thus taken in twenty-seven days.*

There is a difficulty here. This author says that Aurangzeb was joined by Mu'azzam Khān on 12th Rab'ī II., reached Chāndor fourteen days later, sat down before Bīdar the very next day, *i.e.* on 27th Rab'ī II. that the general assault was delivered on the 23rd of Jumādi II (125 *ante*) and that the fortress capitulated on the day following. The period must be, not twenty-seven days, but *one month and* twenty-seven days, if 27th Jumādī II. is correct. If 'twenty-seven days' is right, Jumādī II. must be wrong and an error for Jumādī I. Sir Jadunāth Sarkār states that Aurangzeb left Aurangābād on 18th January 1657 and reached Bīdar after a march of *one lunar month and fourteen days* on 28th February, as he was encumbered with siege-guns and heavy artillery. He points out

that Muḥammad Ṣaliḥ has left out the month, so as to make it only *fourteen days*. This is the source of the apparent inconsistency and it would seem that the fort *was* taken in only 27 days. (H.A., I. 264-8).

VII. 135, *l.* **8 from foot.** *Bahrām Abiya ..... had revolted in Multān and put 'Ali Akhti to death.*

Both these anecdotes of Muḥammad Tughlaq have been borrowed by this compiler from the history of Budāuni (Text, I. 227,Tr. I. 304), who has copied them from the *Tārīkh-i-Mubārak Shāhi* (Text, 99-100). But both these authors give the sobriquet of this 'Ali', not as 'Akhti,' but as 'Khiṭaṭi' خطاطي, *i. e.* caligraphist. See also Ḥājji Dabīr (Ẓ. W. 863, last line). The name of the saint who interceded for the people of Multān was not 'Shaikhu-l-Hakk', but Ruknu-d-dīn Quraishi. (B. I. 227, 239; Tr. 304, 318). He was the grandson of the Shaikh *Bahāu-l-Ḥaqq wa ad-dīn* Zakariya Quraishi of Multān.

VII. 140, *l.* **8.** *Kāsim Khān.*

The person meant is Qāsim Khān-i-Juwaini, a Sayyid of noble birth who was the husband of Nūr Jahān's sister, Manīja Begam. He was in charge of the government of the Punjāb (T. J. Tr. II. 2 and 182) and took leave of Jahāngīr, when the Emperor was returning from Kashmīr, (T.J. 442-3; Tr. II, 228, 230). He was the man who afterwards took Hūgli from the Portuguese. See 31-35 *ante.*

VII. 142, *l.* **2.** *Khān Jahān Lody was pursued by Rājā Bahādur.*

This whole extract from the *Tārīkh-i-Mufaẓẓali* contains so many inaccuracies and errors that one is compelled to pronounce it a compilation of little value. 'Rājā Bahādur' is an error for 'Raẓā Bahādur', who was a Musalman and not a Hindu. The youthful grandson of Khān Jahān Lody was called, not Ismat Khān, but '*Aẓmat* Khān. (*Bād. Nām.* I. i. 278). The Peacock throne is said by the contemporary official chronicler, 'Abdul-l-Ḥamīd, to have cost only one Kror of Rupees and not *nine Krors, nine lacs* and one thousand rupees. (See *ante* p. 46). 'Mudabbir Khān' (142, l. 20) must be an error for *Muẓaffar* Khān, son of Khwāja Abu-l-Ḥasan, *q.v.* 8, 25, 73, 74 *ante.* Nādira Begam, the wife of Dārā Shukoh, was the daughter of Prince Parvīz and not his grand-daughter, as stated by this author (144, l. 22). The Khān-i-Khānān who took Daulatābād was entitled *Mahābat* Khān, not Muḥammad Khān. The name of the Rājā of Āssām was not '*Jai Bijai* Singh' (144, l. 10), but '*Jaidhwaj* Sinha'. (Gait, History of Āssām, 123). "Karkālū" which is said to have been the chief residence of the Rājā (l. 20) is an error for 'Ghargāon'. (*q.v.* 266 *infra*). The Khān-i-Khānān (Mīr Jumla) is said on the last line to have received, among other honours, the insignia of the *farmān* and the *tūgh*, which is a blunder for *tumān tūgh.*

VII. 143, *l.* **3.** *His Majesty [Shāh Jahān] had been pleased to assure his mother-in-law.*

This canard is repeated by that inveterate gossip-monger, Manucci. "When the said Jahāngīr was told that the mother of Shaistah Khan was

pregnant, he was very glad and he resolved that if she brought forth a son, he would at once assign him pay of three millions of Rupees a year." (Storia, II. 321). The author of the *Maāṣiru-l-Umarā* also had heard the tale, but he denounces it as a fable and warns his readers that the current report about Shāyasta Khān having been made a *Panj-hazāri* on the day of his birth is not founded in truth. He stresses the fact that Abu Ṭālib was given the title of Shāyasta Khān only in the 21st year of Jahāngīr's reign, that he was given the rank of five hundred only at first, that he rose step by step to the *manṣab* of *Panj-hazāri*, and that this grade was attained only at the accession of Shāh Jahān. (Text, II. 691). This last fact is incontestable, as it is stated in the *Bādshāhnāma* that one of the nobles who received promotion very soon after Shāh Jahān's accession was Shāyasta Khān and that he was raised on 1st Rajab, 1037 H. to Five Thousand *Ẕāt*. (I. i. 180, l. 4 f. f.). Jahāngīr himself notes that Abu Ṭālib was promoted to the *manṣab* of 2000 *Ẕāt*, only in the 18th year of his reign. (Text, 361, l. 11; Tr. II. 261). Moreover, as Shāyasta Khān is known to have died in 1105 H. at the age of 91 years, (Beale, *Miftāḥ*, 288), he must have been born in 1014 A. H., when Shāh Jahān himself was only a boy of fourteen and had not become the son-in-law of Shāyasta's mother.

VII. 148, *l.* **15.** *Lānjar Kā-an and his descendants.*

Recte, Būzanjar Khān. He was the ninth ancestor of Chingiz Khān, the fourteenth of Tīmūr and the twenty-third of Akbar. (A. N. I. 67; Tr. I. 183. See also Miles, Tr. *Shajratu-l-Atrāk*, 46, 50 notes).

VII. 160, *l.* **11 from foot.** *Aurangzeb ordered a remission of the transit duties upon grain ..... and tobacco, ... to prevent the smuggling of which, the government officers committed many outrages, especially in regard to the exposure of females.*

The order was issued in 1666 A. C. Tavernier (II. 251), and Manucci (II. 175), both bear witness to such harassment and speak of its leading to reprisals terminating in loss of life. The Governor of Sūrat was stabbed with a dagger by a Rājput in 1653. (Kh. Kh. I. 678). Another Rājput ran *amuck*, killed several officials and afterwards his own wife and daughter in Dehli itself. The M. 'Ā. also states, that the tax-gatherers "insulted the honour (ناموس, *i. e.* women) of the people." (Text, 530, l. 6 f. f.).

VII. 168, *l.* **2.** *The Lubbu-t-tawārikh-i-Hind.*

Khwāfi Khān makes some uncomplimentary remarks about the Chronicle compiled by Bindrāban, on 283 *infra*, and Muḥammad Sāqi disparages his character. "Bindrāban, the artful, sly or tricky" (زبون) was, he says, implicated in the correspondence and intrigues which led to the incarceration of Prince Mu'azzam and he was expelled from the Imperial Camp on the 18th of Shawwāl 1097 A. H. (Text, 293, l. 4 f. f.; 190 *infra*).

VII. 170, *l.* 7. *If the title of the work is intended to be a chronogram, which is nowhere stated by the author, the date would be 1108 A.H.*

This statement must be founded on some error or miscalculation, as the title given by Elliot, لب التواريخ هند, would yield the date 1339, or 1280, if the last word هند were left out. The fact is that the real chronogram, as given in all the three copies in the British Museum, is حالات ملك هندوستان, the numerical value of which would be 1106, or 1100, if 'Hindūstān' were spelt without a 'wāv,' as it actually is, in one of the Manuscripts. (Rieu, I. 229; Ethé, I. O. Catalogue, No. 359, Col. 136).

VII. 172, *l.* 7. *Plaints were so few that only one day in the week, viz., Wednesday, was fixed upon for the administration of justice, . . . and even twenty plaintiffs could not be found.*

A very similar asseveration is found in Manucci. He may have been indebted for it directly or at second-hand to the Hindu Chronicler. However that may be, he also assures us that "though every day, proclamation was made by beat of drum that any one who had a complaint should present his plaint in the royal presence, months passed without a single complaint being heard of." (Storia, I. 209. See also *Ibid*, II. 20).

VII. 174, *l.* 8. *It [the 'Ālamgīrnāma] was dedicated to Aurangzeb in the thirty-second year of his reign; but on its being presented, the Emperor forbade its continuation.*

This statement is borrowed from Morley's Descriptive Catalogue of Persian Manuscripts in the E. I. Company's Library, p. 125, but its correctness is dubious, as the death of the author, Muḥammad Kāẓim in the twenty-fourth year of the reign or 1092 A. H., is recorded in the *Tārīkh-i-Muḥammadi*. (Rieu, III. 1083; Muqtadir, Bānkīpur Catalogue, VII. 85). Moreover, we know that Aurangzeb had promulgated a mandate against the compilation of chronicles, some years before the 32nd year of his reign (282 *infra*), and it is not likely that any author would have had the hardihood to present to him a work written in flagrant defiance of those commands. Little or nothing is known of the author himself. Muḥammad Sāqi states in his chronicle of the XXIst year (1088 A.H.) that Muḥammad Kāẓim, the writer of the *'Ālamgīrnāma* عالمگيرنامه نويس was *dārogha of the* داروغه خانه ابتياع *i. e.* Selling and Purchasing Department. (163, l. 6 f. f.).

VII. 176, *l.* 4 from foot. *And it will contain an account of the undertakings and conquests achieved by His Majesty during the period of eighteen years.*

This assertion is manifestly wrong, as the *'Ālamgīrnāma'* contains only the history of the first *ten* years of the reign. This Chronicle was written in imitation and upon the model of Amīnā-i-Qazvīni's *Shāhjahān Nāma-i-Deh Sāleh* and it was intended, *like it*, to record the events of the First Decade only, each Decade occupying a volume by

itself. A reference to the text shows that the error is due to هرده [every ten] having been misread as مژده [eighteen]. What Muḥammad Kāẓim says is that هرده ساله احوال یک مجلد سازد *i. e.* it was his intention "bind up [collect] the annals of each decade in a separate volume." (Text, 34, l. 11).

VII. 179, *l.* 15. *He [Dārā Shukoh] employed them [the Brahmans and Sannyāsis] in translating the Bed.*

Dārā had only fifty Upanishads translated freely into Persian. He did not touch the Vedas. Anquetil Duperron published a Latin rendering of this Persian version in 1801. It was entitled *Theologia et philosophia Indica ou Oupnekhat.* The Persian version itself is called سرّ الاسرار in some Mss. and سرّ اکبر in others. (Rieu, I. 54; Ethé, I. O. C. Col. 1102; Stewart, Cat. of Tippoo Sultan's Library, p. 53). Dārā also wrote a book called مجمع البحرین "Meeting of the Two Seas" [of salt water and fresh], to reconcile the Ṣūfi doctrines with those of the Vedāntists. (A. N. Tr. I. 498 note). This work has been printed recently in the *Bibliotheca Indica* Series.

VII. 180, *l.* 6 from foot. *Illness of the Emperor Aurangzeb.*

There is great confusion here. The author of the *'Ālamgīrnāma* is made to say by Dowson that on the night of the 12th of Rajab in the 8th year, *Aurangzeb* was suddenly attacked with strangury and that he recovered in a few days owing to the skill and attention of the physicians. What Muḥammad Kāẓim really states is that *the old Emperor Shāh Jahān* [not Aurangzeb] was taken ill in this way on 12th Rajab, and so far was he from recovering, that he died fourteen days afterwards, on the 26th of the month. (1076 H.). See what is said by Khwāfi Khān on 275 *infra*; 'A. Ṣ. III. 350, l. 7; M. 'Ā., Text, 53, l. 3. Aurangzeb had a stroke of paralysis, but it was in the 5th year of his reign and not the 8th. (366 *infra*; M. 'Ā. 41, l. 9).

VII. 181, *l.* 2. *Ma-āṣir-i-'Ālamgīri.*

The title of this work appears to have been suggested by that of Kāmgār Khān's *Maāṣir-i-Jahāngīri*, and is, like it, a chronogram. As *Maāṣir-i-Jahāngīri* represents H. 1040, the date of composition, so *Maāṣir-i-'Ālamgīri* stands for 1122 H., the year in which it was completed.

VII. 182, *l.* 10. *The author of the 'Critical Essay'...complains ...that the author of the Maāṣir-i-'Ālamgīri...has not stated when Bahādur Shāh and Prince 'Aẓam were made* Chihl hazāri *and when Ghāzīu-d-din Khān Bahādur was made* Haft hazāri *and Zu-l-fikār Khān* Shash hazāri.

Dowson observes quite properly that the "omissions will not appear of much importance to a European reader." But the criticism is not only trivial, it is also unjustified. *The omissions complained of do not exist.* The promotion of Bahādurshāh to the full rank of 40,000 is recorded at 268, l. 5 and 370, l. 5, and that of Prince 'Aẓam to the same rank is noticed

at 473, l. 11. Ghāzīu-d-dīn Khān's rise to 7000 and Ẕulfiqār's promotion to 6000 are registered on pp. 302, l. 3 f. f. and 309, l. 1. In a word, if any one deserves censure, it is not the author, but his critic and "the boot is the other leg."

VII. 183, *l.* 6 from foot. *Intelligence arrived from Thatta that the town of Samāji had been destroyed by an earthquake; thirty thousand houses were thrown down.*

In the B. I. text, the town is called 'Samāwāni' and said to belong to the *taluqa* of Bandar Lāhri. (M. 'Ā. 73, last line). 'Samāwāni' or 'Samāwāti' was a *pargana* in *Sarkār* Naṣrpur in the days of Akbar, (*Āīn*, Tr. II. 341) and included lands now comprised in the *pargana* of Muḥabbat Dero. The village itself is now a poor place, with only 500 houses. It is stated in the *Tārīkh-i-Ṭāhiri* that the town of Āgham (which is thirty miles south-east of Ḥaidarābād) was in the *pargana* of Samāwāni. (E. D. I. 270 362). If thirty thousand houses were destroyed, the convulsion could not have been confined to a small town or even *pargana*. It must have extended over a considerable area, as seismic disturbances of great intensity always do. Sind lies within the seismic zone in North-western India, as the recent upheaval at Quetta has abundantly proved and this notice of a similar convulsion in Aurangzeb's reign is not without interest.

VII. 187, *l.* 21. *Song, Ragunāth Dās Bhāti, Ranjhūr.*

Read 'Sonang, Raghunāthdās Bhaṭṭi and Ranchhor.

VII. 189, *l.* 12. *Parganas of Mandāl, Pūr and Badhanor.*

'Māndal' and 'Por' are separately mentioned as *Mahāls* in *Sarkār* Chitor (*Āīn*, Tr. II. 274) and both are shown separately in Constable, 27 B c. Māndal is 76 miles north-east of Udaipur and 75 south of Ajmer. Lat. 25°-25′ N., Long. 74°-37′ E. Jahāngīr says of Māndal that it is 30 or 40 *kos* from Ajmer. (T. J. Tr. I. 50). Por is about forty miles south of Māndal. Mandal*garh* is a different place. Badhnor [Bednor] is 90 miles N. E. of Udaipur. Lat. 25°-51′ N., Long. 74°-20′ E. Constable, 27 B c.

VII. 189, *l.* 5 from foot. *Caves of Ellorā.*

There is an earlier reference to these caves and the Kailāsa Temple, which has been described as "the most marvellous architectural freak in India" (Smith, E. H. I. 386) in Firishta's narrative of the capture of Devaldevi by the cohorts of 'Alāu-d-dīn Khalji. (I. 117, l. 8 f.f.). There is a lengthy description of the caves in the *Taẕkiratu-l-Mulūk*, a History of the Bahmani and other Dekkan dynasties written about 1020 A.H. 1611 A. C. by Raf'īu-d-dīn Shirāzi. (Rieu, I. 316; Sachāu and Ethé, Bodleian Catalogue, No. 276, Col. 145; Rehatsek's Catalogue, IV. 11). See the copy in the Mullā Fīrūz Library, Bombay, Folios 196a-198b.

VII. 193, *l.* 18. *About this time, the noble Shah ('Ālam) was appointed governor of the province of Mālwā and Prince Kām Bakhsh, governor of that of Bījāpūr.*

The word 'Ālam' is not in the B. I. Text, (520, l. 10) and its interpolation here is unwarranted and misleading. The Prince who was appointed as governor of Mālwā in the 51st year of Aurangzeb's reign, was not Muḥammad Mu'azzam or Shāh 'Ālam, but his brother and rival, the prince Muḥammad *'Aẓam*. See 386 *infra*. Shāh 'Ālam had been appointed to the government of Kābul in the 42nd year and he was there at this time. He left it only some months after Aurangzeb's death. Both Princes were called Shāh, but this 'noble Shāh' is *'Aẓam* Shāh, not Mu'azzam Shāh.

VII. 198, *l.* **2.** *Futūhāt-i-Ālamgīri.*

Besides being known as *Wāqi'āt-i Ālamgīri*, this work is also called *Tārīkh-i-Shāh Shujā'a*. It was written at Mālḍa in the year 1070 H. 1660 A. C., and the narrative does not go further than Shujā'a's return to Tānḍa, just before his flight. (Rieu, I. 270). M'aṣūm was the son of Ḥasan *bin* Ṣāliḥ and had been in the service of Shujā'a for twenty-five years. (Ethé, I. O. C. Col. 130).

VII. 198, *l.* **6 from foot.** *There is.....another work bearing this title [Futūhāt-i-'Ālamgīri] written by Sri Dās, a Nāgar Brahman of Gujarāt.*

The name of the author was not 'Sridās', but *Isar*dās and it is also written Isaridās [*Recte*, Ishwardās or Ishwaridās]. It is a desultory account of events from 1657 to 1698 A.C. and the copy in the British Museum is said to be the only one known to exist. (Rieu, I. 269). Ishwardās was in the service of the Shaikhu-l-Islām and was a resident of Pāṭan in Gujarāt. Another Memoir of the same sort is the *Nuskha-i-Dilkushā* of Bhimasen, son of Raghunaudandas, a Kāyasth of Burhānpur, who was the agent of Dalpatrāo, the Bundela Rājā of Datia. A loose and abridged paraphrase of the *Nuskha* was incorporated by Jonathan Scott in his Translation of Ferishta's History of the Dekkan.

VII. 199, *l.* **2.** *Tārīkh-i-Mulk-i-Āshām.*

Shihābu-d-dīn Tālish's History of the Invasion of Āssām is more frequently cited as *Fatḥiyya-i-'Ibriya* or *Fatḥiyya-i-'Ibratīya*. It is sometimes called *'Ajība-i-Gharība* also. (Rieu, I. 266; Ethé, I. O. C. No. 341, Col. 120). The title seems to have been chosen because, as the writer says in the Preface, the sufferings and losses of the invading army (*q. v.* 268 *post*) had been kept back from public knowledge to please Mīr Jumla. Tālish states that he had felt it his duty to write a truthful account of the campaign, after the Mīr's death. The First Part was completed in Shawwāl 1073 (May, 1663) and copies of this are not uncommon. He subsequently wrote a Continuation, of which the only copy known is in the Bodleian (Sachau and Ethé's Catalogue, I. No. 240). The First Part terminates with the death of Mīr Jumla in April 1663. The Continuation carries on the narrative upto the triumphal entry of Buzurg Umed Khān into Chātigām on 27th January 1666. Sir J. N. Sarkār has given a summary of the Continuation in J. A. S. B. 1906, pp. 257-267. Blochmann's fuller abstract of the First Part was published in the Forty-first volume of same Journal, in 1872, pp. 51-96.

VII. 200, *l.* **2 from foot.** *Ni'amat Khān Hāji was an eminent personage.*

'Hāji' means 'Satirist, writer of squibs, libels or lampoons'. Ni'amat Khān's "indecent jests and coarse witticisms" are referred to on p. 201 *infra*. The post of 'Bakāwal' (l. 15) to which he was appointed was that of Superintendent of the Imperial Kitchen. The title 'Ni'amat Khān' was conferred upon him, because *Ni'amat* signifies 'meals, victuals, viands.' Many books on cookery are entitled 'Khwān-i-Ni'amat', *i. e.* 'A Tray of Dainties or Comestibles.' Abu-l-Faẓl states that a physician named Mulla Mīr, who was Akbar's *Baqāwal Begi*, was given the title of Nī'amat Khān (A. N. III.). Ni'amat Khān is mentioned under his original name of Mirzā Muḥammad-i-Hāji in the M.'Ā. (p. 267), and he is said to have been the son of Ḥakīm Fatḥu-d-dīn, the uncle of Ḥakīm Muḥsin Khān, *q. v.* 390 *infra*. Besides the works mentioned here, he wrote a *Risāla-i-Hajw-i-Ḥukmā*, *i. e.* a Collection of anecdotes of the incompetence of physicians, a number of Satires on contemporaries with the curious title, *Rāḥat-al-Qulūb or* 'Hearts' Delight', and a Miscellany of *Ruq'āt wa Maẓḥikāt* or 'Letters and Facetiae'. (Houtsma, E. I., III. 922-3).

VII. 203, *l.* **9.** *First, the Kalimāt-i-Taiyibāt, published by one of his [Aurangzeb's] chief Secretaries, 'Ināyatullah.*

The reason for the choice of this fanciful title is said, in a versified chronogram at the end of the work, to have been that the words, لوح کلمات طیبات قدسی express the date of its compilation, 1131 H. (Rieu, I. 401). The *Raqāim-i-Karāim* was given that title by the editor, because the letters had been addressed to his father 'Abdu-l-*Karīm*, Amīr Khān. The *Dastūr-al-'Amal-i-Āgāhi* owes its name to the fact that 'Āgāhi' was the pen-name of the Compiler. (Rieu, I. 400, 402). The title of the fourth Collection رمز و اشارهای عالگیری, which is mentioned on l. 22, p. 205 *infra*, is also a chronogram expressing the date of its publication, 1152 H. (*Ibid*).

VII. 209, *l.* **29.** *Mill also complains that we have no complete history of Aurangzeb. This defect has been remedied by the Hon'ble M. Elphinstone who has judiciously availed himself of Khāfi Khān's history and thus has been enabled to give us a complete narrative of the reign of Aurangzeb.*

Elphinstone, Grant Duff and other European authors were obliged to draw very largely, if not exclusively, upon Khwāfi Khān's history for their account of the reign of Aurangzeb, but later and better equipped critics have entertained a less favourable opinion of his performance. "Khwāfi Khān has used," writes Blochmann, "the *'Ālamgīrnāma*, in *his slovenly way*, without the slightest exactness in his meagre geographical and chronological details." Blochmann then proceeds to give a formidable catalogue of errors found in this chronicler's narrative of Mir Jumlā's invasion of Āssām. (J. A. S. B. 1871, XL). Elsewhere also in the same article, he speaks of Khwāfi Khān as an 'untrustworthy historian,' (*Ib.* 68

note), and it must be said that subsequent researches have proved that his chronology is quite unreliable.

VII. 213, *l.* **15.** *If.....any discrepancies should appear between the earlier and later portions of his work.*

اگر بسبب زنجیربند سررشتهٔ سوانح بدست نیامده در مقدم و موخر سال تفاوت ظاهر گردد (II. 3, l. 7). "If on account of a duly consistent chain of events having not to come my hands, discrepancies are noticed in regard to the precession or succession of the years of events," *i. e.* if the events are found to have been antedated or post-dated in his chronicle, when his account is compared with the narratives of other authors, *i. e.* if the dates assigned by himself are either too early or too late. Cf. 282 *infra*, where he again refers to this matter and admits that with respect to the annals from the 11th year to the 21st, he has not been "able to relate them in the order in which they occurred." The fact of the matter is that this is true not only of the second decade of Aurangzeb's reign, but of the entire period from the 11th to the 50th. Any one who compares Khwāfi Khān's Chronology with that of the *Maāṣir-i-'Ālamgīri*,—a "regular Court Chronicle" based on State papers—will find that almost every *important* event is wrongly dated. Sir Jadu Nāth Sarkār says that "though his description of the condition of society and characteristic anecdotes save Khwāfi Khān's work from the dry formality of the Court Annals," he has often "added unauthorized touches for the sake of literary effect". (H. A., II. 304).

VII. 215, *l.* **7 from foot.** *After the defeat, Muhammad Shujā' did not return to Bengal.*

و محمد شجاع از صدمات فوج پادشاهی تا بنگاله بند نگردید (II. 6, l. 13). There must be some error here, as we are told at 231 *infra* by Dowson himself that Shujā'a was once more "able to collect his forces and march from Dāccā to the assistance of Dārā Shukoh." The real meaning is that "Shujā'a did not halt anywhere in his flight, *i. e.* did not stop or draw rein, until he reached his own province of Bengal."

VII. 215, footnote. *Defeat of Prince Shujā' at the village of Bahādurpur on the side of the Ganges.*

This village still exists and lies at about five miles' distance from Benares city and two miles east of the right bank head of the Railway Bridge over the Ganges. (Sarkār, H. A., II. 131 *note*).

VII. 218, *l.* **8 from foot.** *Aurangzeb then sent a Brāhman called Kab who had a great reputation as a Hindi poet.....to the Rājā [Jaswant Sinha].*

'Kab' was not the *name* of this envoy, but only his title. He was generally known as 'Kab', because he was a distinguished Hindi poet at Court. Shāh Jahān had bestowed the title of 'Kab Rāi'—'King of Poets', —on a Gwālior Brāhman named Sundar Dās who has written much prose and poetry in the Braj dialect. We know that Sundar Dās was often employed as an envoy in the Emperor's negotiations with Hindu princes. (*Bādshāhnāma*, I. ii. 76, 95, 98, 99; II. 238, 239).

VII. 219, *l.* 2 and footnote. *The battle was joined... near Dharmātpur (Ālamgīrnāma).*

The village is said in the M. 'Ā. (5, l. 2), to lie about seven *kos* from Ujjain. There is still a village named Dharmat, about 14 miles south-west of that town. (Sarkār, II. 3). The village of Fatḥābād, which was founded by Aurangzeb on the site, has now grown into a considerable town and is an important Railway junction, fifteen miles from Ujjain.

VII. 226, *l.* 11. *The authors of the three 'Ālamgīr-nāmas have each described the seclusion of the Emperor Shāh Jahān by the will of Aurangzeb, but 'Ākil Khān Khāfi, in his Wakī'āt-i-'Ālamgīri has entered fully into ... matters.*

The text has موافقِ مرضی مبارك بجمل بزبان قلم داده اند (II. 32, l. 12). "They have written a short account, *in accordance with the wishes of, i.e.*, in such a way as to be agreeable or acceptable to, the Emperor." 'Āqil Khān's original name was Mirzā 'Askari. He wrote poetry under the pen-name of Rāẓi. He was governor of Dehli at the time of his death in 1108 A. H. He is frequently mentioned in the M. 'Ā. (26, 29, 36, 47, 383-4). His book is variously called *Ẓafarnāma-i-Ālamgīri*, *Hālāt-i-'Ālamgīri*, and *Aurangnāma*. It begins from the invasion of Bījāpur in 1657 and ends with the death of Mīr Jumla, (M.U. II. 821-823; Rieu, 265, 792, 936). Elsewhere also, (266 *infra*), Dowson makes Khāfi Khān state that "the author of the *'Ālamgīrnāma*, has given an account of the murder of Murād Bakhsh as suited his own pleasure (Marẓi)". ذکرِ کشتن مراد بخش را موافقِ مرضی قلم انداز نموده (II. 155, l. 12). The *Marẓi* there also is the مرضی مبارک, *the pleasure of the Emperor*, not the author's. At page 174 *ante*, Dowson himself states that "little reliance can be placed on the narrative of the *'Ālamgīrnāma*, when any subject is mentioned likely to affect the character of the monarch." This is because the historiographer had been enjoined to read what he had written to the Emperor and "incorporate his *corrections*." (176 *ante*).

VII. 226, *l.* 15. [*Āqil Khān*] *has described.....the confinement of Shāh Jahān, the closing up of the waters (band namūdan-i-āb).*

Dowson hazards the surmise that the Persian phrase cited in the parenthesis is only a figurative expression signifying 'bringing matters to a crisis' and that it is not to be understood literally. But this charitable construction is unfortunately without foundation. There is now no doubt that the water-supply of the palace *was* really *cut off*. The fort of Āgra was almost entirely dependent for its water on the Jumna and as the gate which opened on the river was taken possession of by the prince Muḥammad Sultān, it was easy to prevent anyone from taking water into the fort. The fact of the matter is that these ruthless tactics of the son and grandson left the old Emperor "to quench his thirst in the burning heat of June by nothing except the bitter and brackish water of the wells in the fort." (Sarkār, H. A., II. 79-80 and *note*). The

contemporary testimony is explicit in regard to the matter. See 'A. Ṣ. III. 308, l. 10. f. f., where there is an allusion to the inmates of the palace and the soldiers *deserting on the pretext* of going out *in search of fresh water*. Tavernier states that "as the wells of the Agra fortress were dried up, he [Shāh Jahān] was compelled to provide himself with the river water by a small postern which was the weakest part of the whole place and which Aurangzeb had reconnoitred and taken possession of." (I. 341).

VII. 230, *l.* **16**. *His [Sulaimān Shukoh's] road passed through the Jāgīr of the Princess Kudsīya.*

'Qudsīya Begam' was not a name but the title of Jahānārā, the eldest daughter of Shāh Jahān. She was also styled 'Pādshāh Begam'. (M. 'Ā. 166, l. 8). The same titles were afterwards conferred upon Aurangzeb's daughter, Zīnatu-n-Nisā. (M. 'Ā. 385, l. 1 f. f. See also *infra* 401). Later, Udham Bāi, the mother of the Emperor Muḥammad Shāh, was styled 'Nawāb Qudsiya.' (E. D. VIII. 133). Jahān Ārā is spoken of as 'Qudsiya Pādshāh Begam' at 225 *ante* also. The Qudsiya Gardens which were laid out by the mother of Muḥammad Shāh are still in existence and well-known to residents of Dehli.

VII. 232, *l.* **11 from foot**. *The commandants of Chitāpur and Allahābād had surrendered their fortresses and joined him [Shujā'a].*

The Bibl. Ind. text also has 'Chitāpur' (46, l. 7), but no great stronghold of that name is known. The right reading may be 'Sitāpur.' It is in Bāndā district, about forty miles south-west of Allahābād. Constable, 28 B c. It is given the twelfth place in a Ms. list of the 42 strongest Imperial forts of the reign of Aurangzeb, which is in the British Museum. (Irvine, A. I. M. 269). But Mr. Irvine is not sure that he has read the name in the Ms. correctly. The suggestion may be offered that the place intended is *Chunār* or Chunārgarh. Khwāfi Khān says at 241 *infra*, that the fort of Chunār which Shujā'a had got into his power was given up to Aurangzeb. (Text, II. 76, l. 3). Allahābād is stated to have been surrendered to Aurangzeb by Shujā'a's commandant, Qāsim Khān, some time before. (237 *infra*; Text, II. 61, l. 15). Sir J. Sarkār says Rohtās, *Chunār* and Banāras had all opened their gates to Shujā'a. (H. A., II. 139).

VII. 237, *l.* **13 from foot**. *Aurangzeb appointed Amīr Khān to pursue the fugitive [Jaswant Sinha].*

Recte, Muḥammad *Amin* Khān as in the Text, II. 61, l. 4 f. f. and M. 'Ā. 17, l. 2 f. f. See also p. 234, l. 4 *infra*. He was the son of Mīr Jumla. Amīr Khān was a different person altogether. He was the brother of Shaikh Mīr who was killed afterwards in the battle near Ajmer. (Text, II. 70, l. 2). On l. 6 f. f., Amīr Khān is again described erroneously as Governor of Lāhor. He was really Governor of the *Dāru-l-Khilāfat, i. e.* Dehli. (Text, II. 62, l. 4). Salīmgarh was the name of the fort built by Salīm Shāh or Islam Shāh Sūr near Dehli. Murād Bakhsh had been sent

to and interned there immediately after he was taken prisoner. (209 *ante*).

VII. 243, *l.* **6.** [*Dārā*] *went to Kari, two Kos from Ahmadābād.*

Sic in the Text, II. 82, l. 1 also, but Kaḍi near Pāṭan (or Aṇhilwāḍ) is really about twenty-two miles by road from Aḥmadābād (Th.) and twenty-eight miles by Rail *via* Kālol. The Ṭ. A. says that Kari is twenty [short] *kos* from Aḥmadābād (E. D. V, 431). Khāfi Khān probably wrote دوازده کوس, not دو کوس or ده کوس.

VII. 243, *l.* **24.** *Dārā proceeded towards the country of Jāwiyān.*

ولایت جاویان in the Text, 82, l. 2 f.f. The *Ālamgīrnāma* speaks of it as the country of 'Chānd Khān' or 'Jāndbān' (Text, 412), *Recte*, چندیان Chandiān. Blochmann was the first to suggest the correct reading of this name in his paper on the 'Flight and Capture of Dārā Shukoh'. "The ill-starred prince passed through the district inhabited by the *Chandi* tribe and came to the territory of the Magassis, whose chief received him hospitably. The chief town of the *Chandiās* is Chandiā, also called Dehi Kot, Lat. 27°-38′ N., Long. 67°-34′ E. The district of the Màgassis, an important Baluch tribe, lies north of Chandia. Dārā then continued his march to Dādar. Lat. 29°-26′ N., Long. 67°-41′ E. Masson says that the Pat of Shikārpur, *i. e.*, the country between Kachh Gandawa and Shikārpur separates the lands of the Magghazis from those of the Chandis. (Kalat, 334)." (J. A. S. B. XXXIX. 1870, p. 275).

Sir J. Sarkār gives the name of Dārā's betrayer as Jīwan (II. 209), but Mr. G. P. Tate assures us that "the real name of the chief of Dādar was *Jiānd*. He was the eldest son of Ayūb, chief of the Barozai, a branch of the Parni Afghāns. The Barozai are still settled round Sībi in the Baluchistan Agency. Jiānd is said to have undertaken to see Dārā through the Bolan Pass." (Irvine's Note in Manucci, Storia, IV. 427). The *Ālamgīrnāma* and Khāfi Khān call him 'Malik Jīwan', (244 *infra*), but the real name must have been 'Jiānd'. Mr. Dames also tells us that 'Jiānd' is the correct Buluch form. (Baloch Race, 36). Jīwan is more Hindu than Afghān.

VII. 247, *l.* **3.** *He also remitted the Pāndari, a ground or house cess, which was paid throughout the Imperial dominions, by every tradesman and dealer,.....for every bit of ground in the market, for every stall and shop.*

Sir Jadunāth Sarkār suggests that this may be the Marāṭhi 'Pandhraghatti' or rather, 'Pāndhrapatty' which is defined in Wilson's Glossary of Revenue and Judicial Terms as a "tax on shops, workshops, booths and stalls or upon artisans." But it is explicitly stated there that "the designation is in a great measure peculiar to the Presidencies of Madras and Bombay," and that similar taxes which were levied elsewhere were called by a very different name, 'Mohturfa'. It is not likely that Khwāfi Khān should have used a technical Revenue term *known only in Madras and Bombay*, for a cess or cesses levied in *Northern India and all other parts of the Empire*, and it may be even doubted if he had ever heard of this

Pāndhrapatti. Elsewhere in the B. I. Text, Khwāfi Khān speaks of it as پاندوي *Pāndvī. May* not both these forms 'Pāndari' and 'Pāndavi' be errors for '*M*āndvi', which is still commonly used for 'Octroi' and several other municipal taxes.

VII. 247, *l.* **18.** *These and other imposts.....which brought in Krors of rupees to the public treasury were all abolished.*

از همه ابواب زیاد از کرورها داخل خزانهٔ سرکار میگردید (II. 87, l. 9). The word 'rupees' is not in the original. The author probably meant only 'Krors of *dāms*'. Cf. 283 *infra*, where almost all these taxes are again said to have been abolished and to have brought in only *lacs*, not 'Krors', of rupees.

VII. 251, footnote 1. *The 'Amal-i-Sālih says the Prince was confined in the fort of Mīr Garh, or in Salīmgarh, according to the 'Ālamgīrnāma.*

'Mīr Garh' must be an error for '*Nūr*garh', another name by which 'Salīmgarh' was known, and which was given to it by Jahāngīr, whose *laqab* was Nūru-d-dīn.

VII. 255, *l.* **4 from foot.** *The origin of the name of Bhoslah,.....is from the Hinduwi word, 'ghoslah', meaning place, or a very small and narrow place; and as that man was brought up in such a place, he received the name of Bhoslah.*

Khwāfi Khān's attempt to derive 'Bhosla' from 'Ghosla' and establish the philological identity of the two words is manifestly inadmissible. In the *Shīvdigvijaya* and some other Marāṭhā chronicles, the surname is traced to 'Bhosi', 'Bhosvat' or 'Bhosvant', which is said to be the name of a fort near Chītor. (Keluskar, Life of Shivaji, Tr. Takākhāv, p. 5 ***note***; Kincaid and Parasnis, I, 113). Others say that Bhosāji was the man who originally emigrated to the Dekkan from Chitor, but there is no such name among Rajputs. 'Bhose' is also said to be the name of a village near Ellorā (C. V. Vaidya, Shivaji, p. 9 and note) or in Parenda, but no such village has been yet traced. In this connection, I may point out that a village named *Bhonsla* (or Bholsna) is mentioned in the *Bādshāhnāma* of 'Abdu-l-Ḥamīd as existing near Bīzāpur, [Vaijāpur] which is about 25 miles west of Aurāngābad (Text, 327, l. 8 and 328, l. 11; see also p. 15 *ante*). It was apparently not very far from Lāsūr, which was ten *kos* from Daulatābād, as Khān Jahān Lody is said to have fled from Baizāpur and *Bhonsla* to Lāsūr. It was, in fact, in the heart of the district in which the ancestors of Shivāji are said to have been settled. I understand from a local authority that there *is* a village called 'Bhosla' in the Kanad (or Kanhar) *taluqa* of Aurangābād district. The town of Kanad is 33 miles N. N. W. of Aurangābād and is shown in Constable, 31 C a. This toponym *may be* the real origin of the surname. 'Baizāpur, Bhonsla and Shivgāon' are mentioned in juxtaposition in the *'Amal-i-Ṣāliḥ* also. (I. 392, l. 7).

VII. 256, *l.* **8.** *The ports of Jīwal, Bābal, Dāndā Rājpuri and Chākna.*

Recte, '*Ch*ewal,' [Chaul] and '*D*ābul', both places of note in the old days. 'Chewal' was the chief port of the Northern Konkan, as Dābhol was of the Southern, in the 14th and 15th centuries and both carried on an extensive trade with Persia and the ports of the Red Sea. Chaul is now in Kolābā district, Constable, 31 B b, while Dābhol is in Ratnāgiri, *Ibid*, 31 B c. 'Jīwal' and 'Pābal' are again mentioned at 271 *infra* and are there said to be somewhere near Surat. Chāk*an* is not a port, but a village in Kheḍ *taluqa*, 18 miles north of Poona. (I. G. X. 122).

VII. 258, *l.* **1.** *Sikandar 'Ali 'Ādil Khān the Second . . . . . who ruled when a minor as the locum tenens of his father.*

در صغر سن قائم مقام پدر گردید (II. 115, l. 3), *i. e.* "who became *the successor* of his father (came to the throne) when he was young."

The facts of Sikandar's life show that he could not have acted as the *locum tenens* of his father. Sikandar was born in or about 1667 A.C. and was only four or five years old, when 'Ali 'Ādil Shāh died in 1672. Gemelli Careri who saw him in Aurangzeb's camp at Galgala in 1695 A. C. says that he was then about 29 years old. (B. G. XXIII (Bijāpur), 439, 431).

VII. 261, *l.* **17.** *At this time, Sivāji was at the town of Sūpa . . . . . The Amīru-l-Umarā took Sūpa.*

Tavernier was present in the camp of the Amīru-l-Umarā, Shāyasta Khān, when he was besieging 'Choupart' or 'Choupar', as the jeweller spells the name of this fort. (I. 31, 409 and note). Dr. Ball supposes this 'Choupart' to be 'Sholāpur', but it is Sūpa in Poona district. Constable, 31 C b. The date given is 1660 A.C. 'Seogānw' must be 'Shivgāon' in Aḥmadnagar district, (Constable, 31 C a), not Shegāon in Ākolā, Berār.

VII. 264, *l.* **4.** *Bulghūr Khānas.*

The literal meaning of *Bulghūr* is 'pounded wheat or barley or a dish prepared by cooking it' (Richardson). The Hindi word for such public kitchens was 'Langar'. 'Abdu-l-Ḥamīd Lāhori calls them آش پز خانها "Soup-kitchens." (Text, I. i. 363, l. 10; 25 *ante*).

VII. 264, *l.* **10 from foot.** *It [Āssām] is said to be the native land of Pīrān Waisiya, the Wazīr of Afrāsiyāb, and the Rājā of the country traces his descent from this Pīrān.*

This portentous statement is founded upon the fancied resemblance between 'Mug'—the name by which the people of Ārākān were then and are even now, commonly known—and 'Mugh,' Magian or Fireworshipper. The people of Ārākān were and are still, mostly animists.

The Rājās of Āssām claimed to be descended from 'Biswa' (Sanskrit 'Vishva') Sinha, and this 'Biswa' or 'Viswa' seems to have been confused with 'Waisa.' Both 'Pirān Waisa' and 'Afrāsiyāb' are prehistoric and semi-mythical characters.

VII. 265, *l.* **22.** *When the Rājā of Āssām and the Zamīndār of Kūch Bihār named Bhīm Nārāin heard of this.*

The Rājā of Āssām was named Jayadhwaj Sinha, and the ruler of Kūch Bihār was *Prāṇ* Nārāyan. The latter was in power from 1633 to 1666. Some Musalman writers call him *Pem* [*Prem*] Narāyan, but in the local chronicles of the Kochs as well as of the Ahoms, the first name is *Prāṇ* and it is so spelt on his Coins. (Gait, History of Āssām, 115, 125, 135; Botham, Catalogue of Coins in the Āssām Cabinet, p. 526).

VII. 266, *l.* 4. *The Khān then retired thirty Kos and a half from Ghargānw to Mathurāpūr.*

'Ghargānw' is the old name of what is now called 'Nazira' in Āssām. It lay on the river Dikho or Disang, about nine miles east of Sibsāgar town. (J. A. S. B. XL (1871), 38, 49). Constable, 30 C b. Lat. 26°-56′ N., Long. 94°-45′ E. Mīr Jumla did not retire for *thirty kos* and a half, when he marched from Ghargāon to Mathrāpur, as he is said to have done, but only *three kos* and a half. سه و نیم کروه (Text, II. 154, l. 1). Mathrāpur really lies about seven miles south-east of Ghargāon. (Gait, Āssām, 133).

VII. 269, *l.* 1. *The* [*Khān-i-Khānān*] *died at Khizr pur, on the frontiers of Kūch Behār, on the 12th Ramazān, at the beginning of the sixth year of the reign.*

This place cannot be traced on modern maps, but Dr. Wise says that it was near Nārāinganj, eight miles south-east of Dāccā, which was in a *pargana* called Khizrpur. It was bounded by the Dāccā river, *i. e.* the Buṛhi Gangā. It lay about three miles west of Sunārgāon and nine miles from Dāccā. (J. A. S. B. XLIII. (1874), pp. 211-212).

The date of his death is given as 30th March 1663 A.C. (O. S.), by Gait (*loc. cit.* 137) and Sarkār, (H. A., III. 203); *i. e.* 12th Ramaẓān 1074 H. Kh. Kb. has 12th, but the M. 'Ā. (44, l. 2 f.f.) has 2nd *i. e.* 19th March.

VII. 272, *l.* **1 from foot.** *At Sivāpur, which was built by Sivāji, and at the forts of Kandāna and Kanwāri-garh, not one trace of cultivation was left.*

Sivāpur lies midway between Poona and Shirol or Shirwal. It is 16 miles north of Shirol and 26 south of Poona. 'Kandāna' is the old name of Sinhgaḍh. 'Kanwāri-garh' is 'Kumāri' in Junnar *taluqa* of Poona district.

The name of the son of Rājā Jai Sinha of Amber was not Kesar Sinha, as it is given on l. 14, but *Kirat* Sinha. (M. 'Ā. 128, 167, 181).

VII. 275, *l.* **5 from foot.** *Subjugation of Sangrāmnagar and Chātgām near Arracan.*

According to the *'Ālamgīrnāma* (944, l. 2), 'Sangrāmnagar' or 'Sangrāmpur' was 18 *kos* south of Dāccā and 21 *kos* distant from Srīpur, which lay opposite to Chāndpur. According to Blochmann, it was one of the frontier *thānas* near Noakhāli. (J. A. S. B. XLI (1872), p. 241 and *note*). Chāndpur is now in Tipperah. Constable, 29 D d. The actual date of the conquest of Chātgām is given as 29th Rajab 1076 A. H.=25th January 1666, in the *'Ālamgīrnāma.* (Text, 951-2).

VII. 276, *l.* **13.** *He (Shivāji) made an offering of 500 Ashrafis and*

6000 rupees, altogether 30,000 rupees.

The number of *Ashrafis* is stated wrongly here. It is 1500 in the Text, (190, l. 6), which is correct. The statement is not without interest, for it means that 1500 *ashrafis* were valued at 24,000 rupees (30,000-6000), that is, one *ashrafi* or gold *Muhr* was reckoned at 16 rupees at the time, 'Abdu-l-Ḥamīd rates it at 14 rupees only (45 *ante*). This *may* indicate that some notable change in the relative value of gold and silver had taken place in the interval. See my H. S. M. N. 245-252. Nathuji (l. 16) was *Netāji* Pālkar. (Grant Duff, H. M., 99 Note).

VII. 276, *l.* **15.** *But his son [Shambhāji], a boy of eight years, had privately been made a panj-hazāri.*

The word for 'privately' is غائبانه (II. 190, l. 9), which literally means '*in absentia*', *i. e.*, 'in the absence of the person himself from Court'. The rule was that, whenever a *Manṣab* was conferred upon any one, the recipient had to present himself before the Emperor and make the customary *taslīms* and prostrations. The fact of an exception having been made in the case of Shambhāji is expressly recorded here. In the M. U., the word is explained as بدون رسیدن حضور "without attending in person at Court." (II. 430). The phrase occurs in the A.N. also (III. 449), and is rendered as 'without waiting on Akbar' by Mr. Beveridge. (Tr. III. 722). At A. N. Text, III. 783, l. 7 also, it is said that when Mirzā Jāni Beg Tarkhān died, Akbar restored his territory غائبانه to his son Mirzā Ghāzi, who was then in Sind and sent him a diploma of investiture and robe of honour as a special favour. Cf. also 275 *ante*, where it is said that as a *Manṣab* of 5000 had been granted to Shambhāji, who was then in the Dekkan, he also would have to proceed to court.

VII. 277, *l.* **10 from foot.** *Mangal-pahra and other [forts] were taken.*

Recte, Mangal*vedha*, now in the small State of Sāngli, 13 miles south of Pandharpur and 15 north-east of Sāngli. (I. G. XVII. 178). Constable, 31 C c. Sir Jadunāth Sarkār spells it as 'Mangal*bira*' (H. A. IV, 290) or Mangalvide (C. H. I, IV. 284), but the I. G., (*loc. cit.*), Constable and the Post Office Guide agree in calling it Mangal*vedha*, which must be correct. It is said to have been founded by a Hindu chief named Mangal.

VII. 283, *l.* **16.** *Orders were issued prohibiting the collection of the Rāhdāri, Pāndari and other imposts.*

The second of these imposts is called پاندوی *Pāndvi* in the Text, 212, l. 7 f. f. I have ventured to suggest that the right reading may be ماندوي, *Māndvi*, which is used in most of the Indian vernaculars for a Bazar or Market and also for Market dues, taxes levied on shops, octroi duties etc.

VII. 283, *l.* **10 from foot.** *The Minstrels and singers.....were made ashamed of their occupation and were advanced to the dignities of Mansabs.*

کلاونتان و قوالان . . . . را از سرود خوانی توبه داده برمراتب منصب ایشان افزودند (II. 212, last line). "The musicians and minstrels were made to *repent* and abjure their occupation of singing songs [*i. e.*, they were made to publicly

confess that their occupation was sinful and to take solemn oaths to abandon it for ever] and their status in the *cadre* of *Manṣabs* was raised.''

They were not "advanced to the dignity of Mansabs.'' As Court officials, they already held certain Manṣabs. But as they would now have no opportunities of getting munificent gifts and *in'āms* from the Emperor on ceremonial and other occasions, their emoluments were increased, they were promoted to higher grades, carrying better pay and thus compensated for the loss of that part of their income which accrued from perquisites and presents. "Manṣab was not," as Mr. Irvine points out, "a term confined to the military service. Every man in State employ above the position of a common soldier or messenger, whatever the nature of his duties, civil or military, obtained a Manṣab." These 'musicians and singers' already held *Manṣabs*, as *Manṣab* really means 'rank' and "every man who was in State employ and bound to render certain services when called upon" was a *Manṣabdār*. (A. I. M. 3-4).

VII. 283, *l.* 7 from foot. *It is said that one day a number of singers etc.*

This story of the 'Burial of Music' is also in Manucci (Storia, II. 8). The order was passed in the 11th year (M. 'Ā. 71, l. 9). The practice of appearing at the Jharokha window seems to have been discontinued about the same time.

VII. 285, *l.* 12. *'I have two gems, a diamond and a ruby of great value, with more than a lac of rupees'.*

A reference to the text shows that 'with' must be some sort of error for 'worth'. دو دانهٔ الماس و یاقوتِ بیش قیمت که ازلک روپیه زیاده ارزش دارد (II. 218, l. 3). Shivāji could not have carried a lac of rupees on his person. Precious stones only constituted portable 'stores of great value' in those days.

VII. 285, *l.* 8 from foot. *Sivāji.....placed his boy in the charge of a Brāhman, named Kabkalas.*

The name of this man is said to be a corruption of the Sanskrit 'Kavi Kulesha,' 'Prince of Poets.' (Sarkār, H.A. IV. 252-3), but 'Kalasa' or 'Kalasha' is used in Sanskrit for the globular or oval metallic ornament which is placed on the pinnacles of Hindu temples. Tod tells us that Rāṇā Sanga [Sangrāma] of Chitor was known as the "*Kalas* (or pinnacle) of Mewar's glory." (A. A. R., I. 299 (old Edition)). It may be as well to note that though in the fourth volume of his History of Aurangzeb, (252-3), Sir J. Sarkār speaks of him as *Kavi Kulesha*, Prince of Poets, he is styled in the fifth (p. 22) and in the C. H. I. (IV. 283-4), 'Kavi *Kalash*.'

The Marāṭhā annalists, however, have, in their 'communal' hatred of the foreign favourite, who was a Kanaujia Brahman from Allāhābād, perverted the name into 'Kalusha,' which signifies 'sin' or 'vice' in Sanskrit. Grant Duff and Elphinstone have followed them and call him 'Kuloosha', but this is only an opprobrious nickname founded on an equivoque. The chroniclers speak of him as a sorcerer, who had, by the

practice of necromantic arts, made Shambhāji the slave of his own will and represent him as Vice or Wickedness Incarnate. His original name is nowhere mentioned and appears to be unknown.

Kh. Kh. states here that the boy was placed in charge of Kabkalas at Banāras. On page 281, he is said to have been left behind at Allahābād. According to the Marāṭhā chronicles, however, Shambhāji was left behind neither at Banāras nor at Allahābād, but at Mathura, in charge of three Marāṭhā Brāhmāns, who were the brothers-in-law of Moro Trimal Pingle, Shivāji's Peshwā. 'Kabkalas' could not have been the man, as he was a Qanaujiya, and not a Marāṭhā Brāhman. (Kincaid, *loc. cit.* I. 221; Sarkār, Shivāji, 169-170; H. A., IV. 93).

VII. 289, *l.* **7.** *Fath Khān, an Afghān, was appointed governor of the country on the part of Bījāpur.*

Fatḥ Khān was *not* an Afghān but a Sīdi. These Africans were reputed to be the most skilful and daring sailors in Western India. Ever since Janjīrā came into the possession of Aḥmad Niẓām Shāh, about 1490 A. C., its commandant had been a Sīdi. When the Niẓāmshāhi Konkan was handed over by Shāh Jahān to Muḥammad 'Ādil Shāh, Janjīrā was placed in charge of Sīdi 'Ambar, the admiral of the Bījāpur fleet. On his death in 1642, his place was taken by Sīdi Yūsuf who was succeeded in 1655 by this Fatḥ Khān, who also was a Sīdi. Khwāfi Khān himself states that *Sīdis* Sumbul, Khairiyat and Yāqūt were slaves of Fatḥ Khān and that each of them had ten slaves who were also Sīdis.

VII. 294, *l.* **9.** *Outburst of the Hindu devotees called Satnāmis, who are also known by the name of Mundihs.*

Manucci explains the nickname and states that they were called [*Mundīhs* or] Shavelings, because they shaved off all the hair from the body, not even sparing the eyebrows. (Storia, II. 167). The Nāgar Chronicler, Ishwardās, represents them in a very unfavourable light and states that they were extremely filthy and wicked, ate pigs and even dogs and saw no blame in sin and immorality. Their religious mysteries are also stigmatized as abominable. (Sarkār, H. A. III. 337). Another sect bearing the name, '*Satnāmi*', is described in H. H. Wilson's Account of Hindu Religious Sects, but it must be different, as it was founded only in 1775 A. C.

VII. 297, *l.* **11.** *There was an old standing grievance in the Emperor's heart respecting Rājā Jaswant's tribute.*

There is nothing about 'tribute' in the B. I. Text, which reads خارج and not خراج. What Kh. Kh. really says is از آنکه از ادا‌های خارج سابق جسونت غبار ملال در خاطر مبارک جا گرفته بود (II. 259, l. 10). "Because the dust of annoyance had settled in the Emperor's heart on account of some of Jaswant's outrageous [insubordinate or disobedient] conduct [or proceedings) in former times."

The battle at Dehli is stated in the Rājput chronicles to have been fought on 7th Shrāvaṇa V. S. 1716=4th July 1679. (O. S.) (Duff. C. I. 297; M. 'A. 177, l. 13; H. Ā. III. 377).

VII. 298, *l.* **14.** *Until all doubt was removed by the Rānā of Chitor, who married Ajit Singh to a girl of his family.*

The girl was the daughter of Gaj Sinha, a younger brother of the Rāṇā. (Tod. A. A. R., II. 1010). Ajīt Singh's mother also was an Udaypur princess and the Rāṇā's niece. She is said to have gone in person to her native home to entreat the Rāṇā to support her infant son. There can be little doubt that the real Rāṇi was not killed at Dehli and was able to reach Mārwār in safety with her son. Any attempt at personation in the case is unthinkable, as it could not have escaped detection.

VII. 299, *l.* **21.** *He [Muḥammad Mu'azzam] was directed to march against the lake of Anāsāgar.*

برتالاب اناساگر ... فرود آید (II. 263, l. 8). He was ordered "to *encamp* (lit. to alight) *round* the lake", not to *march against* the piece of water.

VII. 306, *l.* **19.** *He surrounded and attacked this place [Bahādurpur], and also another town called Hafda-pūra, which was outside of the fortifications.*

Dowson has registered 'Hafdapura' as a place in his Geographical Index also, but there is no such town anywhere in India. The real meaning is that Bahādurpur and *seventeen* (هفده) *other suburbs* (پوره), lying outside the walls, were suddenly and simultaneously invaded and sacked. (Text, II. 273, l. 3). Only a few lines lower down on this very page, Khwāfi Khān speaks of "*seventeen* other places, [*i. e.* suburbs of note], such as Hasanpura etc." The word for 'places' is پوره. The names of five of these seventeen 'puras' which are summarily dismissed with an *et cetera* in the above rendering, are given in the text as 'Ḥasanpura, Shāhganj, Shāhjahānpurā, Khurrampura, and Nawābpura.' (II. 273, l. 11). Abu-l-Faẓl says that the town of Aḥmadābād had, in the days of its greatest glory, "360 quarters of a special kind outside the fort, which they call *Porah*, in each of which all the requisites of a city were to be found", but that in his own days, only 84 of them were flourishing. (*Āīn*, Tr. II. 240).

Bahādurpur is mentioned as a suburb lying about two *kos* or four miles west of Burhānpur by Finch (E. T. I. 138), Jourdain (Journal, 144), Tavernier (I. 50) and other European travellers. It is said to have been founded by Bahādur, the last Fārūqi ruler of Khāndesh.

VII. 307, *l.* **4 from foot.** *But through the representations of Sambhāji's emissaries, he went towards his right hand, contrary to what was desirable and proceeded to 'Idal-ābād.*

Recte, 'Ādilābad, but pronounced *Edlābād*. It is situated to the east of Dhārangāon and Chopra, in Khāndesh district, fifteen miles north-east of Bhusāwāl. (B. G. XII. (Khāndesh), 447). Constable, 31 D a. 'Ādilabād, writes Abu-l-Faẓl, "is a fine town near which is a lake which is a noted place of worship, as the crime of Rājā Dasarat was expiated at this shrine." (*Āīn*, Tr. II. 223).

"The pass of Fardāpur (Constable, 31 C a) which was thirty *kos*

distant from Aurangābād (l. 6 f.f.) must be the Ajantā Ghāt or Pass in the Sahyādri, Inhyādri [or 'Anjandudh'] range. Fardāpur was half-way between Aurangābād and Burhānpur (p. 498 *infra*).

VII. 310, *l.* 17. *There were several sacks of powder in the house.*

The word in the original is ﻛﻴﺴﻪ which means "earthen pots" not 'sacks'. Lieutenant-Colonel Fitzclarence says that "at times they have had recourse" in Indian military operations to "thick earthenware pots with fuses and full of powder, the pieces of which wound dreadfully." (Journal of a Route across India to England, Ed. 1819, p. 246. See also Irvine, A. I. M. 159).

VII. 312, *l.* 7. *Three officers in succession.....fail to take the fortress of Rām Sīj.*

Rāmsej ['Rāma's Bedstead'] lies seven miles north of Nāsik and seven miles south of Dindori also. It stands about 3273 feet above sea-level. (B. G. XVI (Nāsik), 641). The name is wrongly spelt as 'Masīj' at page 52 *ante*. The M. 'Ā notes that Ḥayāt Khān was sent to attack Rāmsej on 26th Jumādi I. 1093 H. (129, l. 1).

VII. 314, *l.* 10. *Prince Mu'azzam marched from Ahmadnagar to lay siege to the forts of Rām-darra.*

This is the Rāmghāt, about 30 miles west of Belgām and the same distance to the north-east of Goa on the old Vengurla-Belgām road. (I. G. XII. 218-9). It was the great pass to the upper country from Sāwantwāḍi, Mālwan, Vengurlā and Goa and the whole tract of country below the Pass was wild, hilly and covered with jungle in the old days. (B. G. XXI. (Belgaum), 306). Grant Duff speaks of it as the Ambadurray [Ambā darra?] Ghat, not Rām Ghāt (H. M. 144), but there is no real difference, as the Rām Ghāt is a *pass* [Darra] lying a little south of the Ambā Ghāt. It is in Lat. 15°-52′ N., Long. 74°-4′ E. (Irvine's Note to Storia, II. 287).

The grain called *Kūdūn* "which acted like poison" on the invaders (l. 8 f.f.) is "*Kodo* or *Kodon*, *Paspalum frumentaceum* or *Scrobiculatum*, which is frequently found to have inebriating or narcotic properties, when made into bread. But the effects do not last long and inflict no permanent injury." (Elliot, Races, II. 373; Watt, Commercial Products of India, 868, 871).

Muḥammad Murād Khān, who is spoken of on the last line by Khwāfī Khān, as his 'late brother', was really only a near relative or intimate friend. The word '*birādar*' is often used loosely. Muḥammad Murād Khān was the son of Muḥammad Ḥusain, entitled Murshid Quli Khān. (M. U. III. 682, l. 5 f. f.). Khwāfī Khān's father was Khwāja Mīr. (207 *ante*).

VII. 314, *l.* 17. *On reaching the village of Sāmpgānw, the fort of the place was invested.*

Sāmpgāon lies 18 miles south-east of Belgām. Lat. 15°-36′ N., Long. 74°-50′ E. (B. G. XXI. (Belgaum), p. 600).

VII. 316, *l.* 13 from foot. *The parganas of Sīram, Rāmgīr, etc. which had been taken by force,.. .....from the servants of the Imperial throne, must be restored [by Abul Ḥasan of Golkonda].*

These *parganas* are said to have been dependent on Ẓafarnagar. (315 *supra*). Sīram is eight miles east of Mālkheḍ, which is 16 miles distant from Wāḍi Junction on the Niẓām's State Railway. These places are again mentioned on 318 and 321 *infra*, but there, the names are given as Sīram and *Kīr* or *Khīr*. Sir J. Sarkār reads the second name as 'Mālkhed' (H. A., IV. 340, 349), but Bernier states that " the fortress of *Ramguyre*, with the whole of its appurtenances was ceded by Abdulla Qutb Shāh, as part of the dowry of his daughter, who was by the treaty of 1656-57, to be married to Prince Muḥammad Sultan." (Constable's Edit. 21-22). See also Kh. Kh. (Text. I. 749, l. 12), who mentions *Rāmgīr* in the same connection and the C.H.I. (IV. 270). 'Ramguyre' which had been ceded then must have been now re-occupied by Abul Ḥasan. There is a place called *Rāmgīr* in Elgandal. Lat. 18°-35′ N., Long. 79°-35′ E. Constable, 32 A b, about 110 miles north-east of Ḥaidarābād, but it is too far off from Sīram.

VII. 321, *l.* 17. *Rustam Rās (sic) also who had reached the house, was killed.*

Rustam *Rāo* was the incongruous and hybrid title given by Abu-l-Ḥasan to Yenganna, who was a nephew of the Minister Mādanna. (Sarkār, H. A., IV. 334). Mādanna himself had the title of 'Sūrya Prakāsh Rāo'. (*Ibid*). His brother's name is written 'Ākanna' and also 'Venkanna'.

VII. 323, *l.* 8 from foot. *Hazrat Banda-nawāz Saiyid Muhammad Gīsū.*

The Saint's epithet is *Gīsūdarāz*, '*Long*-haired', not *Gīsū*, which signifies 'hair' only. The Text has it right. (II. 322, l. 2 f.f.). His real name was Muḥammad Ṣadru-d-dīn Muḥammad Ḥusaini and he is said to have been born in 1321 at Dehli and died at Gulbarga in 1432 A. C. (Beale, *Miftāḥ*, 113; Herklots, Ed. Crooke, 141, 210). A mosque, a *Sarāi* and a college, all built by Aurangzeb in 1687 A. C., near the shrine of the Saint, are still extant. (I. G. XII. 377).

VII. 337, *l.* 8 from foot. *Prince Muḥammad 'Azam Shāh was sent .....to punish the infidels about Bahādurgarh and Gulshanābād.*

Gulshanābād was the new name given by the Mughals to Nāsik, which was in Baglāna or Bāglāṇ. The popular derivation of the latter form was from the Pers. *Bāgh* (Garden), which is a synonym of *Gulshan*. The reasons for this identification are set out in my article on the subject in Num. Suppl. XXXI to the J. A. S. B. (1918), pp. 352-4. Bahādurgarh was the Mughal name of 'Bīrgāon,' *Recte*, Peḍgāon, which lies at a strategic point on the Bhīmā in Aḥmadnagar district, 8 miles south of Shrigonḍa or Chamārgonḍa and 50 miles east of Poona. (*Ibid*, XXVIII. (1917), pp. 73-5). 'Mukarrab Khān' (l. 4 f. f.) is called 'Takarrub' Khān at p. 327.

VII. 343, *l.* 3 from foot. *In the beginning of.....this year [1103 H.], Aurangzeb moved from Gūrgāon and Shikārpur to Bidr and after a while to Gulka.*

Khwāfi Khān's chronology is, as usual, faulty. Dowson points out in the footnote that the previous march had been from Aklūj to Gurgāon [Koregāon]. (Text, 393, l. 1 f. f.). Aurangzeb left Bijāpur on 14th December 1688 (1st Rabʿī I. 1100 H.], and reached Koregāon, 12 miles north-east of Poona, by way of Aklūj and Bahādurgarh on 3rd March 1689 21st Jumādi I. He left Koregāon for Bijāpur again in Rabʿī I. 1101 H. (December) and encamped at Galgala on 19th Shʿabān, 21st May 1690. He left Galgala on 4th Jumādi II. 1102 H. (March 1691) and was in the environs of Bijāpur upto Shaʿbān 1103 H. May 1692 and thereafter at Galgala upto March 1695. (M.ʿĀ. 325, 333, 335, 338, 345; Sarkār, H. A., V. 5-6, 28). 'Bidr' is not Bīdar, but a village called *Bīdri* (M. 'Ā. 333, l. 7), which is seventeen *kos* distant from Bījāpur. (M. U. I. 288). Aurangzeb arrived there on 10th Jumādi I. 1101 H. (M.'Ā., 333, l. 7). 'Gulka' is Galgala, on the southern bank of the Ghāṭprabhā, thirty-two miles south-west of Bijāpur. It is 14 miles north of Kalādgi, and the latter is 45 miles south-west of Bījāpur. (B. G. XXIII. (Bījāpur), pp. 438, 648, 657). The Mughal historians speak of 'Galgala' by the new name of 'Quṭbābād'. (M. 'Ā. 345, 370).

VII. 345, *l.* 3 from foot. *They also use bits of copper which they call 'buzurg', and four of these 'buzurgs' pass for a fulūs.*

What Khwafi Khān calls 'buzurg' is the Portuguese 'Bazarucco,' a coin of varying value and metal (copper, tin, lead and tutenague), the etymology of which is uncertain. Some derive it from the Pers. 'Bāzār,' 'market' and the Canarese 'Rukka' 'money' and this is the opinion of Gray (Travels of Pyrard de Laval, II. 68) and Burnell (Travels of Linschoten, II. 143), but other authors, *e. g.* C. P. Brown (Madras Glossary, *s. v.*) and Edward Thomas trace it to the Canarese *Badaga*, 'base' and *Rukka*, 'money.' Molesworth says that in Marathi, *Rukka* signifies 1/12th of an anna. Khwāfi Khān's etymology seems to be a striving after meaning, though 'Budrukh', a dialectic corruption of 'Buzurg', is affixed to the names of many villages in the Dekkan. See H. J., *s. v.* Bndgrook.

VII. 346, *l.* 1. *When the people [the Portuguese] there [in Goa] marry, the girl is given as the dowry.*

There is something manifestly wrong here. What Khwāfi Khān really says is that they [the Portuguese] give *villages* (دیہات) *in dowry* (جہیز) when they give their daughters away in marriage. (II. 402, l. 4).

VII. 350, *l.* 1. *Capture of a royal ship called the Ganj-Sawāi by the English.*

This ship was the property of the Emperor himself and was taken between Bombay and Daman by an English pirate named Francis Bridg-

man *alias* Avory or Evory in or about September 1695 A. C. (Elphinstone, H. I. 674; Sarkār, H. A., V. 343-6).

VII. 352, *l.* 8 **from foot.** *I found drawn up in ranks on both sides nearly seven thousand musketeers, dressed and accoutred as for a review.*

The whole picture is grossly overdrawn. When a Dutch fleet attempted to surprise the island of Bombay in 1673, the total force which Governor Aungier could muster was 300 European and 400 *topasses* or half-caste troops under English officers and 300 *Bhundāries* armed with clubs and this, remarks Orme, was a "display of force far above the reality." (Hunter, History of British India, II. 216). In the recently published Account of Bombay written by John Burnell in 1710, it is stated that the total military force of the island consisted of five companies of Europeans, Topasses and Cofferes [African slaves from Madagascar] and eight companies of Sepoys. He puts the number of "the whole soldiery in constant service" at only 1200 men. (Hakluyt Society, 1933, Ed. S. T. Shepherd, 13-14).

VII. 353, *l.* 18. *We got those scars at the time of the siege of Sīdi Yākūt.*

The reference must be to the siege of Bombay by Yāqūt Khān of Janjīrā which was begun in 1689.

VII. 353, *l.* 7 **from foot.** *Now they have gone and taken part with the* dingmārs *or* Sakanas, *who lay violent hands on ships upon the sea and with them they are serving as pirates.*

These 'Sakanas' are really the pirates who are called 'Sanganians' by European writers. "The next province to Cutchnaggen is Sangania. Their seaport is Baet [Jagat or Dwārkā], very commodious and secure. They admit of no trade, but practice piracy." (Alexander Hamilton in Pinkerton's Collection of Voyages, VIII. 310).

VII. 355, *l.* 4. *The* Sakanās *also, who are sometimes called* bawārīl, *a lawless set of men belonging to Sūrat, in the province of Ahmadābād, are notorious for their piracies.*

و همچنان از قوم سکنه که بواریل نیز زبان زد است و از مفسدان سورت تعلقهٔ احمدآباد مشهور اند (II. 428, l. 4).

The real name is واریل *Vārīl, recte, Vāḍhel* and they belonged, not to *Sūrat*, but to *Soraṭh*, the Kāṭhiāwāḍ coast. The initial ب is not part of the name, but the preposition.

Abu-l-Faẓl says in his account of the *Sarkār* of Sorath that Jagat, (also called Dwārkā), Arāmra and Dhāri belong to the *Bādhel* tribe. (*Āīn*, Tr. II. 244. See also *Ibid*, 248). The Vāḍhels claim to be descended from two Rāṭhoḍ brothers, expelled from Mārwāḍ, who cut off the head of Bhojrāj, the Chāvḍa chief of Okhāmanḍal, towards the end of the 13th century. Their names were Verāvalji and Vejalji, but they assumed or were given the name 'Vāḍhel', from the Sansk. *Vadh*, to cut or slay. Their most famous descendant was Sānganji, who extended his domi-

nions as far as Khambhālia, forty miles east of Dwārkā, and made himself notorious by his "piratical expeditions" and "freebooting excursions into the territory of his neighbours." His son Bhīmji rendered himself "so obnoxious to the Musalman rulers of Gujarāt, by plundering pilgrim vessels on their voyage to Mekka," that Sultan Maḥmūd Begaḍa led a punitive expedition against him and sacked Dwārkā and Arāmḍā. In 1592 A.C., Shivā Vāḍhel of Arāmḍā offered an asylum to Muẓaffar III of Gujarāt and was defeated and slain in a battle with his Mughal pursuers. He was succeeded by another Sānganji, whose grandson Akherājji, is said to have died about 1664 A.C. The piracies and abominable cruelties of the Vāḍhels or 'Sanganes', became at last so intolerable that between 1715 and 1718 A.C., "the chiefs of Nawānagar, Gondal and Porbandar had to send a combined force which inflicted condign punishment upon them." (B. G. VIII. (Kāthiāwār), 590-593; Forbes, *Rās Mālā*, I. 293).

The 'Sakanas,' of Khwāfi Khān are really the 'Sanganas,' 'Sanganians' or 'Sanganes' of Fryer, (New India, Folio Edit, 1698, p. 218), Ovington (Voyage to Suratt, Ed. 1696, p. 162), Manucci (Storia, II. 227), and other European writers of the 17th and 18th centuries. Some writers derive the name from Sindān, *i.e.* Sanjān, 88 miles north of Bombay, but the real etymology is that which I have indicated—from Sāngaṇ—their first most formidable and famous chief.

VII. 359, *l.* **2.** *Soon afterwards, Prince Muḥammad 'Azam was ordered with his sons to Kābul.*

It was not Prince 'Aẓam, but the Heir-apparent, Prince Mu'aẓẓam, who was appointed Governor of the Punjāb and Kābul at this time. (Text, II. 444, l. 4).

Mu'aẓẓam is said by Kh. Kh. (358 *ante*) to have been released after seven years of restraint in the 39th year, but his chronology is inconsistent and erratic here, as in many other places. He also states (327 *ante*), that the Prince was interned on 18th Rab'ī II in the 29th year. The correct date of his arrest was 18th Rabī II. 1098 H. (21st February 1687) and that of his release, 4th Ẕīl-q'ad 1102 H. (M. 'Ā. 292, l. 3 f. f.; 343, l. 11).

VII. 360, *l.* **4.** *Several years before, Santā had thrown a brother of Nāgoji under the feet of an elephant and this had produced a mortal hatred. Under the guidance of his wife, he led a party in pursuit of Santā.*

According to other accounts, the man put to death by Santā was Amrit Rāo Nimbālkar. He was not, as Khwāfi Khān and the M. 'Ā. state, the brother of Nāgoji Māne, (Deshmukh of Mhāsvad), but of Nāgoji's *wife*, Rādhikā Bāi. It was not Nāgoji who pursued Santāji, but another brother of Nāgoji's wife. As the woman had vowed to take vengeance for Amrit Rāo's death, she compelled another of her brothers to pursue Santāji to the (Shambhu) Mahādev Hills in Satāra district and it was this man who cut off Santāji's head at some time in June 1697, not 1694-5. Grant Duff (H. M. p. 172) and Kincaid (II. 92) have followed Khwāfi

Khān, but Sir Jadu Nāth Sarkār prefers the other version. (H. A., V. 126-7).

VII. 362, *l.* 9 from foot. *Nearly one lac and 80,000 rupees were raised from the jāgīrs.*

The B. I. text has 'one lac and eight (هشت) thousand, (458, l. 5), which also must be wrong. The right reading seems to be بیست, *twenty* thousand. A few lines lower down, it is stated that the Marhattas actually got 140,000 rupees instead of the 80,000, which were really due to them, out of the promised ransom of two lacs. Now 200,000—80,000=120,000. The amount raised in the first instance from the *jāgīrs* must have been therefore one lac and *twenty* thousand rupees.

VII. 363, *l.* 19. *His [Aurangzeb's] camp had now remained at Islāmpuri for four years.*

This was the Musalman name given to 'Brahmapuri', which lies about 20 miles south-east of Pandharpur. (M. 'Ā. 373, l. 11; Grant Duff, 167). Khwāfi Khān states here (Chronicle of the 43rd year) that Aurangzeb had now remained at Islāmpuri for four years, but at p. 346 *ante*, the Emperor is said to have taken up his quarters at Brahmapuri in the *37th* year. Aurangzeb was encamped at Brahmapuri from the 17th of Shawwāl 1106 H. to 5th Jumādi I. 1111 A. H., *i. e.* from May 1695 to the end of 1699 A. C. from the beginning of the *39th* to the middle of the 43rd year. See M. Ā. 373, l. 13 and 408, l. 2 f.f.

VII. 364, *l.* 6. *The army marched towards the fort of Basant-garh.*

Basantgarh, lies seven miles north-west of Karhād in Satārā district. (B. G. XIX. (Satāra), p. 238). The M. U. says that it is three *kos*, about six or seven miles, south of Maisūri or Masūr. (I. 499, l. 1).

VII. 364, *l.* 8. *Prince Muhammad 'Azam Shāh came, in obedience to summons, from Bīrganw.*

Dowson observes in the footnote to page 383 *infra*, that Bīrgānw and Bahādurgarh have not been traced in the maps. Bahādurgarh was the name given to Bīrgānw, *Recte*, Pedgāon, by Aurangzeb's foster-brother, Bahādurkhān, who established a Cantonment here which "continued to be for forty years one of the principal depots of the Mughal Army." (Grant Duff, H.M., 114). See my Note on VII. 337, l. 6 f. f.

VII. 368, *l.* 9 from foot. *The name of Parli was changed to Naurastārā.*

The reason was that Parli Fort had been built by Ibrāhīm 'Ādil Shāh of Bījāpur in 1035 H. Ibrāhīm used to call every new thing 'Nauras'. For instance, a new town founded by him near Bījāpur was called 'Nauraspur'. A copper coin struck by him was named 'Dām-i-Nauras' and a book composed by the Court-poet Ẓuhūri was entitled 'Kitāb-i-Nauras'. (M. 'Ā. 428, l. 5). Ibrāhīm's contemporary, the Emperor Jahāngīr, states that Ibrāhīm used to call the verses in Hindi or *Durpats*, [*Recte*, Dhrupad], which he was fond of composing, 'Nauras.' (T. J. 133, l. 20; Tr. I. 272). He is also said to have written a treatise on Music called

'Nauras.' (Rieu, Catalogue, II. 741 b).

As Satārā which was conquered about the same time was renamed 'Aẓamtārā in honour of Prince 'Āẓam, so Parli was styled 'Nauras Tāra,' for the sake of assonance, after 'Nauras', the '*takhalluṣ*' of its builder, Ibrāhīm 'Ādil Shāh. The correct date was 3rd Muḥarram 1112 H. 44th year, not 43rd, as in Kh. Kh. (M.'Ā. 427, last line; Sarkār, H. A., V. 168).

VII. 369, *l.* **1.** *In the middle of Safar, the army reached an obscure fort.*

This was 'Bhūshangaḍ' (M. 'Ā. 428, l. 13). It lies about seven miles south of Aundh and about thirty miles south-east of Satārā. The year was the 44th, not 43rd (1112 A. H.). (Sarkār, V. 170 *Note*).

VII. 370, *l.* **4.** *The [royal] army reached Pūngarh, a fort connected with Panhāla.*

The second letter should be pronounced as a consonant. '*Pavan*-garḥ' is the sister fort of Panhāla or Parnāla, near Kolhāpur. Thornton says that it is 64 miles south of Satārā in Lat. 16°-47′ N., Long. 74°-12′ E. 'Kahāwan' (l. 19) is really, *Khatāu*, 25 miles east of Satārā.

VII. 371, *l.* **1.** *Ambā Ghāt took twelve days to reach.*

The Ambā Ghāt is five miles north of Khelnā and about 35 miles north-west of Kolhāpur. (B. G. XXIV. 2-5). It leads from Ratnāgiri to Kolhāpur. (I. G. XII. 218).

The new name given to Parnāla or Panhāla was, according to the M.'Ā. (439, 440, 442), not '*Banī* Shāh Darak', as it is printed here, but '*Nabi Shāh Drug*'. The Mughal *alias* of Rājgarḥ also is stated in the M. 'Ā. (486, 497, 516) to have been *Nabi* Shāh Garḥ not *Bani* Shah Garḥ as in Kh. Kh. (373 *infra*).

Paras Rām (l. 9 f.f.), the Commandant of Khelnā, was Parashu Rām Trimbak the *Pratīnidhi*. He was the ancestor of the present chief of Aundh.

VII. 372, *l.* **10.** *The name of the fort [of Khelnā] was altered to* Sakhkharalanā.

Interesting light on the genesis of this new-fangled *alias* is thrown in the M. 'Ā. Muḥammad Sāqi states that the choice of this strange designation was due to the fact that, when the tidings of the conquest were announced to Aurangzeb, he was reading the Qurānic verse, الحمد لله الذي سخر لنا هذا. He was struck by the fortuitous assonance between the name 'Khelnā' and '*Sakhkharalanā*' and he took it as an auspicious omen, because سخر means 'to conquer' in Arabic. He altered the name of the strong-hold accordingly. (M. 'Ā. 457).

VII. 376, *l.* **11.** *The enemy effected a complete overthrow of the Imperial Army.*

Kh. Kh. puts this defeat into 1114 H., but the event really happened towards the end of A. H. 1117, about 15th March 1706. The site was the Ghāṭ or Ford of Bābā Piārā, near the village of Ratanpur in Rājpipla

State. (*Mirāt-i-Aḥmadi*, I. i. 378-380; Sarkār, A. H., V. 432).

VII. 377, *l.* **10**. *The tribe of Bedar, which is the Hindi for 'fearless'.*

This is an example of the striving after meaning which is characteristic of folk-etymology. The real name is 'Byaḍuru', 'Bairaḍ' or 'Beraḍ', which means 'hunter' in Canarese. (B. G. (Dhārwār), p. 184). Sherring mentions the *Berads* as "a tribe in Mysore and the Southern Mahratta Country, who are mostly huntsmen, dark, tall, and warlike and who were largely employed as soldiers in Hyder's wars." (Hindu Tribes and Castes, II. 321; III. 153). Sir J. Sarkār suggests that Khwāfi Khān's derivation is only a pun or conscious play upon words, (H. A., V. 215), but this supposition seems to me to be largely invalidated by the fact that he always calls them *Bīdar* and never speaks of them as 'Berad'. He was ignorant of the true designation or spelling, as well as of the real origin of the name and his hybrid etymology is put forward in all seriousness as a philological dictum which he himself believed to be sound and incontrovertible. It is also relevant to note that they are called 'Beḍar' in the M. 'Ā., the M. U. and other Musalman histories, and that the Hindi word for 'fearless' is not '*Bīḍar*' but '*Niḍar*'. *Bī* or *Be* is Persian.

VII. 377, *l.* **14**. *And Pādshāh Khānzādah Khān, son of Ruhullah Khān was sent to subdue his fort of Sagar.*

'Pādshāh Khānzāda Khān' is an impossible collocation. A reference to the text shows that we should read the sentence thus: "And *the Pādshāh* [Aurangzeb] appointed Khānzāda Khān, son of Ruḥulla Khān, to conquer the fort of Saggar." (524, l. 10). See also M. 'Ā. 305, l. 10 f.f.

Aurangzeb's Court is said on l. 10 f. f. to have been at 'Aḥmadābād' before the Bījāpur affair. But this is a printer's error for 'Aḥmad*nagar*'. See Text, II. 524, l. 7 f. f., where the history of Paryā Nāik is again related and the name of the place is correctly given as 'Aḥmad*nagar*'.

VII. 388, *l.* **8**. *Muḥammad Murād Khān, who was Wāk'i-nigār ..... of all the province of Ahmadābād and was faujdār of Thānesar and Kūdra.*

Sic also in the B. I. Text (II. 566, l. 4), but both names are wrong. The places meant are *Thāsra* and *Godhrà*. Thāsra is now in Kairā [Kheḍā] district, Bombay Presidency, and lies about 36 miles east of Aḥmadābād.

Khwāfi Khān probably wrote تهانسر *Thānsra*, and the copyists have confused it with 'Thanesar'. Both the toponyms are spelt correctly as تهاسره وكودره in the Biographical notice of Muḥammad Murād Khān in the M. U. III. 686, 691. Thāsra and Godhra are shown in Constable, 27 A d.

VII. 389, *l.* **16**. *He had nine Krors of Rupees, besides Āshrafis and presentation-money*, rupīya-i-gharib-nawāz, *amounting to as much as five hundred tolas in weight.*

Compare 393 *infra*, where the *ashrafis* and rupees are said to have been of 100 to 300 tolas weight and to have been specially coined for presents. The reference is to the so-called 'Gigantic Coins', of which a

few specimens are still in existence. The subject is discussed at some length in my H. S. M. N. 53-80.

VII. 391, *l.* **8.** *The Prince [Kām Bakhsh] sent him [Aḥsan Khān] to lay siege to Karnūl, and directed his youngest son to accompany him as a check* (tora).

Kām Bakhsh had three sons. The eldest was Muḥiu-s-Sunnat, who was born about 1110 A. H. and must have been about ten years old at this time, *i. e.* 1120 A. H. The others, Firozmand and Bārikulla, were younger still and mere children. (Irvine, L.M., I. 66). It is scarcely likely that a boy of five or six should have been deputed to act as a "check" on a masterful commander like Aḥsan Khān and it is clear that 'tora' must have some other meaning here.

According to Pavet de Courteille's Turki Dictionary, 'tora' signifies, among other things, 'the scion of a royal house'. It is used in this sense in the M.'Ā. (91, l. 4 f.f.). The pageant Emperor Nikū Siyar, who was set up by the Sayyids, is also called a *tora*. See the note on 507, l. f.f. *infra*. There can be little doubt that this is the meaning here also and the youngest son of Kām Bakhsh was sent not to act as a check but as a figure-head, a nominal representative of Kām Bakhsh himself. The M. U. states that when 'Imādu-l-Mulk was sent to collect the ransom money from the 'Antarbed' [the Ganges-Jumna Duāb], he requested Aḥmad Shāh Abdāli to give him a 'Tora of the House of Taimūr' as an associate تورهٔ ازنسل تیموریه (II. 852, l. 4 f. f.). Elsewhere, he writes that the battle between Sayyid 'Abdulla Khān and Muḥammad Shāh was under the تورہ کی of Sultān Muḥammad Ibrāhīm. (II. 525, l. 7).

VII. 393, *l.* **1.** *Directions were given that the new rupee should be increased half a māsha in weight.*

This is a very interesting reference to one of the numismatic freaks of Bahādur Shāh, Shāh 'Ālam I. The matter has been explained and discussed in my paper in the Num. Supp. XXVIII to the J. A. S. B. XIII, New Series, (1917), pp. 67-69.

VII. 395, *l.* **2.** *After crossing the river (Nerbudda) at Hāndiya, he arrived at Dorāha.*

This is not the Dorāha near Sirhind or Sihrind, but Dorāha, about 65 miles north of Hāndiya or Hindia and 18 miles north-west of Bhopāl. It lies on the route from Hindia to Sironj and is about 64 miles distant from the latter. (*Chihār Gulshan* in I. A. cxv). It is shown in Constable, 27 C d, but the name is wrongly printed as 'Duraiba' instead of 'Duraiha' or 'Duraha'.

Kokarmūnda (l. 15) is on the north bank of the Tāpti on the frontier of Rājpīplā State, 62 miles north-west of Dhūliā. It was an outpost on the frontiers of Khāndesh and Rājpīplā (Th. and B. G. XII, (Khāndesh), p. 452). It is shown on the Map in Bayley's Gujarāt.

VII. 395, *l.* **13.** *Sāhū then went on to a Mahratta named Ambū, but more famous under the name of Pānd.*

The real name of this ruffian was Amrit Rāo Kadam Bandé (or Bhandé). 'Pānd' is a miswriting of Bandé. (Irvine, L. M., II. 162 *note*). The name of Kantāji Kadam *Bandé* occurs in the Mahratta histories. Bhīm Sen speaks of a man called 'Inū Mānd', a former liquor seller of Khāndesh, who had taken to a very profitable course of highway robbery and sacked Baroda in league with Dhanāji Jādhav and other Marāthās in 1706. (*Tārīkh-i-Dilkushā* quoted in Sarkār, H. A., V. 251). This 'Inū [اینو for انبو] Mānd' may be the same as Ambū Pānd of Kh. Kh.

VII. 400, *l.* **11.** *He looked fiercely at that dog, Rustam 'Ali Khān.*

Sic in the Text (II. 597, l. 7 f.f.), but this man's title is given as Rustam *Dil* Khān, in the *Tārīkh-i-Irādat Khān.* (543, 547 *infra*). Mr. Irvine also calls him Rustam Dil, and cites several other authorities for that reading. (L. M., I. 27, 33).

VII. 403, *l.* **4.** *One of the most acceptable and beneficial measures of the Khān-i-Khānān was the relief he afforded in that oppressive grievance, the feed of the cattle of the Mansabdārs.*

Text II, 602, l. 12; 603, l. 9. This is a very difficult passage and Dowson himself admits that "parts of it are involved, and the meaning is not always clear". Mr. Irvine has thought it necessary to give a translation of his own in the A. I. M. p. 21, because, as he says, 'Dowson could make nothing of it.'

VII. 404, *l.* **2.** *He wrote a book,* Al Hāmiya, *upon the spiritual life and Sūfi mysticism,... .....which in the opinions of controversialists, passes beyond the bounds of the Law upon some points.*

II. 603, l. 11. 'Al Hāmiya' کتاب مسمي بالهاميه در علم سلوک و تصوف تاليف نمود is devoid of any meaning. According to the M. U. (III. 675, l. 14), the correct title is الهامات منعمی *Ilhāmāt-i-Mun'imi*, the Inspirations or Revelations of Mun'im, or 'Beneficent Revelations'. Ānand Rām Mukhliṣ says in the *Mirātu-l-Iṣṭilaḥ* that the book was really composed, not by Mun'im Khān, but by his great friend and confidante, Irādat Khān Wāẓiḥ, the author of the Memoirs (L. M., I. 126 and note), who frequently boasts of his intimacy with the great Wazīr. (534, 538 *infra*). The author of the *Maāṣiru-l-Umarā* denies that there is anything heretical or contrary to the Religious Law in the work, though he admits the impropriety or impertinence (بی ادبی) of using the word الهامات (Inspirations) in such a connection, especially as the author himself says that he had seen the visions he describes only in dreams. (III. 675-6).

VII. 406, *l.* **13.** *Kām Bakhsh arrived at Burhānpur,.....where he was detained by the swollen state of the Tapti..... Marching from thence by way of Malkāpur and Nānder, he had got near Haidarābād by the end of Shawwāl.*

There is great confusion here. A reference to the Text (II. 618-9),

shows that it was not Kām Bakhsh, who arrived at Burhānpur, or was detained there or who marched to Ḥaidarābād by way of Malkāpur, but his brother and antagonist, Bahādur Shāh, Shāh 'Ālam I. It was the latter who was marching south from Dehli *via* Burhānpur, Malkāpur and Nānder to encounter Kām Bakhsh at Ḥaidarābād. (L. M., I. 58).

VII. 406, *l.* 13. *Bahādur Shāh had with him nearly 8000 horse.*

A cipher has been inadvertently dropped and the correct number must be 80,000, as it is in the Text, II. 619, l. 12. See also L. M., I. 61.

VII. 407, *l.* 11 from foot. *European and Greek surgeons were appointed to attend them.*

جراحانِ فرنگ و یونانی (II. 624, l. 6 f.f.). The surgeons were not *Greeks* at all, either by race or by nationality. They were in reality Musalmāns trained in the *Yūnāni*, *i. e.* the Greek or rather Greco-Roman system of Medicine and Surgery. Arabian Medicine is, for the most part, founded on the works of Hippocrates بقراط and Galen جالینوس and their disciples. The mistake is again committed at 425 *infra*.

VII. 410, *l.* 8 from foot. *The freebooter Pāp Rāi.*

The name is spelt پاپرا in the Text (II. 630, l. 3 f.f.) and also in the M. U. (I. 255, 256, 257). The real name must be *Pāprā* and the conversion of the last two letters of the name into the adjunct or title 'Rāi' is a misleading emendation. 'Rāi' was not so cheap then as it is now, and was a title which was not allowed to be borne by Hindus, except when specially conferred by the State. See the story told in L. M., I. 138.

VII. 411, *l.* 12. *Pāp Rāi went to the village of Shāhpur in the pargana of Narganda, Sarkār of Bhūngīr.*

This 'Narganda' and probably the 'Tarikanda' also of p. 412, l. 11 *infra* must be the '*Nedī*konda' of Constable's Atlas, 32 A c. Kulpāk and Bhongīr lie south of it. Kaulās is thirty miles north of Bīdar.

As Shāhpur is said to have been in the *pargana* of 'Narganda' and the new fort of 'Tarīkanda' is stated to have been only four *kos* distant from Shāhpur, Tarkanda is, most probably, only another form of 'Narīganda' or 'Na*dī*ka*n*ḍa.' In the M. U. (I. 255, 256, 257), the name is spelt 'Tarīkanda'. Nedīkonda lies about fifteen miles north-east of Kulpāk. This 'Narganda' can have nothing to do with 'Nargund' in Dhārwār.

VII. 414, *l.* 9 from foot. *All his followers kept shouting* Sachā Pādshāh *and* Fathdaras.

This 'Sachā Pādshāh' was the Sikh Guru Banda. 'Fathdaras' signifies 'May you behold victory'. (Irvine, L. M., I. 110). The Sikh Guru Tegh Bahādur, who was put to death by the orders of Aurangzeb in 1675 A.C., is said to have been the first to arrogate to himself the title of 'Sachā Pādshāh' and to have thereby given mortal offence to that Emperor. (*Ibid*, I. 79). After Guru Govind was assassinated, a man who greatly resembled him, appeared in the Punjab, declaring that he was the Guru Govind miraculously brought back to life. This man was Banda Bairāgi and he styled himself *Sachā Pādshāh*, the True King.

VII. 416, *l.* 9. *Sārangpur.....Jalālābād in the Punjāb.*

'Sārangpur' must be an error for 'Sahāranpur'. The B.I. Text (II. 655, l. 11) has the name correctly. This Jalālābād is now in Muẓaffarnagar district, U.P., and lies about 30 miles south of Sahāranpur or 20 west of Deoband. Constable, 25 B c. Rāhūn (418, l. 7), which was seven *kos* from Sultānpur, is marked in Constable, 25 B b. Sultānpur, 40 miles west of Ludhiānā, is the place of that name in Kapurthalā State. *Ibid*, 25 A b. The distance between these two places is under-estimated.

VII. 419, *l.* 9 from foot. *After leaving Lāhor, they returned to..... Shādhūra and Karnāl.*

'Shādhūra' is Sadhaura, about thirty miles north-east of Thānesar, which latter is about 22 miles north-west of Karnāl.

VII. 420, footnote. *The formula was "Ali is the saint of God and the heir of the Prophet of God."*

'Saint of God' is both amphibological and obscure. The word used is ولی which means 'intimate friend, favourite, beloved etc.', according to the Dictionaries. But it has been the subject of interminable discussion and disputation among the Musalman theologians. Abu-l-Faẓl, after giving a summary of the discordant opinions, states the outcome to be that *Wali* means "one who has attained to the knowledge of the Supreme Being". (*Āīn*, Tr. III. 350). 'Waṣi' literally means 'Executor' [*Scil.* of the Prophet's testament or will]. Shī'as speak of 'Ali as 'Shāh-i-Wilāyat' and Shāh 'Abbās I. had the words "Banda-i-Shāh-i-Wilāyat 'Abbās", ['Abbās, the slave of the Lord of the Walīship] engraved on the exceedingly fine ruby, which he sent as a present to Jahāngīr. (T. J. 325, l. 5; Tr. II. 195). This phrase is inscribed on the coins of 'Abbās II. also and of Shāh Sulaimān, his son. (Oliver, The Coins of the Ṣāfavi Dynasty in J.A.S.B. 1887. (LVI), p. 68).

When Uljāiltu Khān was converted in 709 H. to the Shī'a faith, he ordered the words علی ولی الله "'Ali is the Wali of God", to be stamped on the coinage, which earned him the honorific title of Muḥammad *Khudābanda* from the followers of that sect, but the abusive nickname of *Kharbanda*, 'Slave of the Ass,' from their antagonists. (*Shajrat*, Tr. 290-1). Bahādur Shāh Shāh 'Ālam I. claimed to be a Sayyid through his mother Nawāb Bāi. Her real father *was said to be* a descendant of the Saint 'Abdul Qādir Jīlāni, named Sayyid Shāh Mīr, though she had been made to pass as a daughter of the Hindu Rājā of Kishtwār. (Kh. Kh. II. 594, 604; Irvine, L. M., I. 136).

VII. 422, *l.* 8. *Tulasi Bāi.....came demanding payment of the Chauth to the town of Rānwīr, seven kos from Burhānpur.*

Recte, 'Rāver' in Khāndesh, now a station on the G. I. P. Railway, twelve miles south-west of Burhānpur and twenty-two north-east of Bhusāwal. Constable, 31 D a.

VII. 424, *l.* 6. *The infidels retreated to ... ... Lohgarh, which is near*

the hills belonging to the Barfi Rājā.

The exact situation of this fort has not been satisfactorily determined. Mr. Irvine says that it was about half way between the towns of Nāhan and Sadhaura and about twelve miles to the north-east of the latter. (L. M., I. 116 7). In the I. G., however, it is identified with Gurdāspur. (XII. 393). The name of the Barfi Rājā, *i. e.*, the Rājā of Nāhan or Sirmūr was Bhūp Prakāsh. The man who deputised for the Guru was a tobacco-seller called Gulāb Khatri. (M. U. III. 673, l. 4; Irvine, *Ib.*).

VII. 427, *l.* 9. *It is said that the Government officials took nearly nine lacs of rupees out of his treasury.*

The real story is left untold. Only the first sentence of the paragraph devoted to the anecdote is translated by Dowson, and all the rest omitted. The gist of the matter is that the culprits abstracted nine lacs of rupees from the bags in the treasury and craftily substituted copper coins in their stead. Ghāziu-d-dīn Khān, on coming to know of the affair, made no fuss about it, but managed matters so adroitly, that the delinquents made speedy and silent restitution and surreptitiously replaced the rupees which had been purloined. (Text, II. 681, l. 12). The story is related to show that the Khān was "a disciplinarian of commanding dignity and power, a silent man, such has as rarely been seen or heard of among the men of Tūrān."

VII. 428, *l.* 23 and footnote. *On the night of the 8th of the month, [Muḥarram] (1123 H.), the Emperor died.*

Khwāfi Khān puts the death of Shāh 'Ālam I. into 1123 H. and Dowson accepts his statement on the ground that he is consistent in his dates. But this consistency is only in error and many wrongs do not make a right. There can be no doubt that the year was 1124, as it is given by Irādat Khān (556 *infra*) and the *Siyaru-l-Mutaākhirīn.* (Tr. I. 22). The numismatic evidence also leaves no doubt on that head. See my H. S. M. N. 279-80 and my Note to Article 324 in Num. Supp. XLV. to the J. A. S. B. XXX, 1934, p. 92. (*Vide* also L. M., I. 135).

VII. 432, *l.* 3. *He sent Muḥammad Karīm and Prince Humāyūn Bakht, who were only nine or ten years old, to Delhi.*

The relative clause applies correctly to Humāyūn Bakht only and the verb should be in the singular. Muḥammad Karīm was, as is explicitly stated at 438 ***infra***, Farrukhsiyar's *elder* brother. According to the M. 'Ā. (181, l. 2 f.f.), Muḥammad Karīm was born sometime before 7th Ramaẓān 1090 A.H., on which day the news of his birth reached Aurangzeb, Farrukhsiyar was born on 9th Ramaẓān 1094 H. and he was thirty-eight years old when he was put to death in 1131 H. (481 *infra*, note; Rieu, Catalogue, I. 273). Muḥammad Karīm must have been therefore about thirty-four years and not nine or ten only, in 1124 H. See also Irvine, L. M., I. 143. Humāyūn Bakht's birth must be placed in 1117 H., as he is said to have been forty years of age at his death in 1157 H. (*Ibid*, I. 145).

VII. 432, *l.* 5 from foot. *The brother of Lāl Kunwar ..... was named Sūbedār of Āgra.*

Lāl Kunwar was the daughter of Khaṣūṣiyat Khān *Kalāwant*, (Musician), who is said, in the *Hadīqatu-l-Aqālīm*, to have been a descendent of Miyān Tānsen. (L.M., I. 180 n). It is hardly correct to speak of her as "a vulgar, thoughtless, *dancing girl from the streets*," as in the C. H. I. IV. 328.

VII. 434, *l.* 13. *He now sent against them his son A'azzu-d-dīn Khān with 5000 horse.*

Delete 'Khān'. It is not in the text (II. 697, l. 11). Princes of the blood royal were not called Khāns, but Sultāns or Shāhzādās. 5,000 also is wrong. It should be 50,000 as it is in the Text (II. 697, l. 12). At page 390, l. 8 f.f., the title 'Khān' is similarly affixed to the name of Aurangzeb's son Muḥammad 'Aẓam. The text is free from the error. (II. 570, l. 10).

VII. 439, *l.* 20. *Thereupon Farrukhsiyar, in the beginning of Rab'īu-l-awwal 1123 A. H., struck coins.*

The year is wrongly given. Farrukhsiyar heard of Bahādurshāh's death near Paṭnā on 7th Ṣafar 1124 H. He proclaimed his father 'Aẓīmu-sh-Ṣhān Emperor and had coins struck in his name on the 13th. 'Aẓīm had been drowned four days before on the 9th, but Farrukhsiyar heard of the event only on the 29th and announced his own accession immediately afterwards. (L. M., I. 198 and note). According to the contemporary *Farrukhsiyarnāma* of Mīr Muḥammad Aḥsan Ijād, Farrukhsiyar was proclaimed at Paṭna on the 29th of Ṣafar 1124 H. He crossed the Jumna on 13th Ẕī-l-q'ad and defeated Jahāndār's army on 13th Ẕī-l-ḥijja 1124. (Rieu, Catalogue, I. 273).

The numismatic evidence also is decisively in favour of 1124 H. Coins struck by Shāh 'Ālam I in 1124 are extant. All the known mintages of 'Aẓīmu-sh-shān bear the same date and the issues of Jahāndār Shāh exhibit the identical year. How then could Farrukhsiyar have struck coins when his father and grandfather were both alive? See Whitehead, Punjab Museum Catalogue, pp. 286-292; H. S. M. N. 281 and my note in Num. Supp. No. XLV to the J. A. S. B. XXX, (1934), p. 92.

VII. 442, *l.* 10. *Farrukhsiyar encamped in the environs of Dehli on the 11th Muharram 1124 A. H. (Feb. 9th, 1712).*

The year should be 1125 H. and the Julian correspondence 27th January (Old Style) or 6th February 1713 New Style. *Vide* the preceding note and L. M., I. 246.

VII. 445, *l.* 5. *Farrukhsiyar entered the city and fort on the 17th Muharram (15th Feb. 1712).*

As the Hijra year was 1125 and not 1124, as postulated by Dowson, the correct Julian date must be 2nd February, 1713 (O. S.) or 13th February (N. S.). So on l. 17, p. 446 *infra* also, the official date of the accession of Farrukhsiyar should be corrected to 1st Rab'ī I. 1124.

VII. 447, *l.* 23. *A grain-dealer named Ratan Chand.*

The word used is جتّی (II. 739, l. 6), which does not necessarily mean 'grain-dealer'. It is frequently used by Musalmān writers in India for members of the Baniyā caste in general. Abu-l-Faẓl writes that there is in India "a caste of Vaisyas called *Banīk*, more commonly called *Baniyā*. The Persians name them *Baqqāl* and of these there are 84 divisions." (*Āīn*, Tr. III. 118). Ratan Chand was an Agarwāl *Baniyā* and a native of the town of Jānsath, where his ruined *haveli* still exists and is in the possession of his descendants. (L. M., I. 291 note).

VII. 452, *l.* 2 from foot. *He [Dāūd Khān] placed Hirāman Baksariya ..... in charge of his advanced force.*

The Baksariyas are so called from Baksar, (Buxar) on the Ganges, near the Bhojpur country. Mr. Irvine tells us that "the region is one which still supplies the finest sepoys in our Hindustāni regiments. Bhojpur shared with Oudh the supply of men to our native army in Bengal from its earliest to its latest days.....They had already been accustomed to serve as match-lock men and gunners in the army of the Mughals..... In the historians of the 18th century, the garrison-artillery are usually designated 'Baksariyah'. (A. I. M. 168-9). See also Yule, H. J. *s. v.* Buxerry.

VII. 456, *l.* 12 from foot. *[The Sīkhs] ravaged the country from Lāhor to Sihrind, otherwise called Sirhind.*

Readers who are interested in the niceties of nomenclature and orthographic exactitude in the transliteration of place-names may be referred to my article on this subject in Num. Supp. No. XXXI to the J. A. S. B. 1920, pp. 335-7.

VII. 460, last line. *Asad Khān Karam mālu.*

قرہ مالو in the Text (II. 771, last line), but it is generally written قرا مانلو Qarāmānlu, as in the M. 'Ā. (27, l. 16) and (M. U. I. 310, last line). لو is said to mean 'of' in Turki. Cf. Shāmlu, Rūmlu, Istājlu, Osmānlu (or Osmānli), Āq-qūīnlu, (*of* the White Sheep), Qarāquīnlu (*of* the Black Sheep).

VII. 466, *l.* 9 from foot. *He [Husain 'Ali Khān] availed himself of the services of a Brahman named Sankrāji.*

This was Shankrāji Malhār Nargūndkar (the *Sachīv*), who is again mentioned at 499, 500 *infra*. He is said there to have been one of Shāhu's ministers. There was another Shankrāji, whose father's name was Nārāyan and whose surname was Gandekar. (Grant Duff, H. M. 188). Jamnāji (l. 2 f.f.) should be *Chi*mnāji, the second son of Bālāji Vishvanāth and the younger brother of the Peshwā Bāji Rāo I. (*Ibid*, 197, 209).

VII. 472, *l.* 11. *Santā and several other Mahratta chiefs went with him.*

This was not Santāji Ghorpade, but Santāji Bhoslay, who is said to have been a natural son of Parsoji Bhoslay. (Grant Duff, H. M. 199 and

note). He was killed during the riots in Dehli, *q. v.* 477 *infra*.

VII. 475, *l.* **2.** *No one had the force to speak a friendly word to him whose head was muffled.*

"Whose head was muffled" has no sense or meaning here. هیچکس را یارای ان نبود که زبان بدان سرّ مکنون آشنا سازد (II. 805, l. 13). "No one had the courage to make his tongue associate itself with (*i. e.* utter) *that hidden secret.*" The word is not سر head, but سِر secret and Khwāfi Khān uses the synonymous phrase رازِ سربسته "closely-kept secret" on the very next line.

VII. 475, *l.* **12.** *If the nominations to the artillery and to the office of the President of the Council . . . . . were made etc.*

The words in the text are خدمات توپخانه و داروغگی دیوان خاص و خواصان (805, l. 2 f. f.). This 'Dārogha' was not the 'President of the Privy Council.' He was really the minister without whose permission no Amīr could obtain admission to the Hall of Private Audience in which the Emperor met and received the homage of the leaders in Church and State. The *Dārogha-i-Khawāṣṣān* was the Commandant of the Guard on duty at this Hall or Diwān-i-Khāṣ. Manucci thus explains the real meaning. "As regards the royal establishment, there is an officer styled 'Daroga do Cossa Choqui' [*Dārogha-i-Khāṣ Chauki*], that is, officer of the chosen sentinels. They are all picked men and of the noblest families. Ordinarily, they number four thousand horsemen. This officer has charge of the 'Gousalcana [Ghusl Khāna]." (Storia, II. 422). The 'Khawāṣṣān' are the 'Cossa choqi' of the Venetian. They were the Emperor's Lifeguards or the Imperial Bodyguard.

VII. 477, *l.* **10 from foot.** *Fourteen or fifteen horsemen in the service of Khān-i-daurān, who were called 'Blanket-wearers', shot a few arrows against the Mahrattas.*

"Kammalposh" in the original, from the Hindi *Kammal*, 'a coarse blanket and having also the secondary meaning of a kind of cuirass,' which is most probably the right signification here. (Irvine, A.I.M. 44.)

VII. 479, footnote. *The Siyaru-l-Mutaākhkhirīn makes [the year of Rafi'u-d-darajāt's accession] 1132 H. and is generally a year in advance.*

Numismatic evidence leaves no doubt as to 1131 being correct. That year has the distinction of being, in the history of Musalman domination in India, a year of four Emperors and the names of four different rulers are found stamped during its twelve months on the coinage of the Realm. Farrukhsiyar's issues of 1131 or the 8th Regnal Year have been found. All the mintages bearing the names of the two pageants, Rafi'u-d-darajāt and his brother, exhibit the identical year and the date-expression 1131—Aḥd (First Year) is stamped on the earliest coins of Muḥammad Shāh also. (Whitehead, P. M. C. 310, 314, 318, 350; Num. Supp, No. VII to the J. A. S. B. 1907, p. 63; H. S. M. N., 28).

VII. 484, *l.* 8 from foot. *The sheet of pearls, which was spread upon the tomb of Mumtāz Mahal upon the anniversary of her marriage and on Friday nights.*

روز 'عرس' (II. 837, l. 9 f.f.) was not the anniversary of her marriage, but that of her *death*. The 'عرس' of a great or holy personage is observed on the day of the union or nuptials of his or her soul with the Supreme Spirit or Universal Soul. (Herklots, Qanoon, Ed. Crooke, 190, 192).

VII. 484, *l.* 5 from foot. *There was the ewer of Nūr Jahān and the cushion of woven gold and rich pearls.*

The sentence reads very differently in the B. I. text. و جورهٔ چق از اختراعِ نورجهان برآمد و تیکهٔ آن از طلا و مروارید های بیش قیمت بافته (II. 837, l. 8 f.f.). "And a pair of 'Chicks' (screen-blinds) made according to the design of Nūr Jahān, the spangles of which were woven in with gold and pearls of great price, was (also) found." There is nothing corresponding to 'ewer' in the Text, and تیکه has been wrongly read as تکیه (cushion). چق is the Turki چغ which is described in the *Āīn* as a 'screen blind made of finely split bamboos.' (Tr. I. 226). Fryer speaks of them as "Cheeks or latises." (New Account, Ed. 1698, p. 92. See also *Ib.* 82). Sir Thomas Roe describes them as 'grates of reede'. (Journal, Ed. Foster, II. 321). The Princess Gulbadan mentions چغهای رنگا رنگ 'multicoloured chicks' in her account of Humāyūn's reception and entertainment in Persia. (Text, 69, last line; Tr. 170).

VII. 485, *l.* 2. *The faujdāri of Surat should be held by [Rājā] Jai singh and the Sūbadārīs of Ahmadābād and Ajmer . . . . should continue under Rājā Ajit Singh.*

Here we have another example of the confusion between 'Surat' and 'Sorath'. The B. I. Text reads the name correctly as سورت (II. 838, l. 10).

VII. 485, *l.* 17. *Prince Muhammad Roshan Akhtar, son of the late Jahān Shāh, and grandson of Aurangzeb.*

Delete the conjunction. Raushan Akhtar was not the grandson, but the great-grandson of Aurangzeb. His father Jahān Shāh was the son of Bahādurshāh, who was the son of Aurangzeb. The text has it correctly, as it styles Jahānshāh the 'nabīra' of Aurangzeb. (II. 840, l. 2).

VII. 490, *l.* 9. *An envoy came from Usmān Khān, a soldier* (hazāri) *of the fort of Asīr, proposing to surrender the fortress.*

A common soldier could hardly have made any such offer. 'Hazāri' literally means 'thousander,' *i. e.* commander or leader of one thousand [men]. The word is loosely used for "a military officer of the rank of our Captain or Colonel, and specifically for an officer of garrison-artillery or artillery in general". (Irvine, A.I.M. 157).

VII. 491, *l.* 13 from foot. *The armies approached the village of Jhūni, about thirty* kos *from Lāhor.*

This is 'Jahni', which Budāuni speaks of as near another place called 'Shergarh'. (E. D. V. 407-8). As the *Maāṣiru-l-Umarā* states that

Government of India,
Ministry of ...
Gazetteer ...

this 'Jhūni' was eighteen *kos* from Kāsūr (I. 604, l. 7), which is 42 miles south of Lāhor, it may be Chūniān (Constable, 24 E b), which lies about sixty miles south of Lāhor and about thirty west of Kāsūr. Shergarh is in the same district (Montgomery), about 20 miles south of Chūniān.

VII. 496, *l.* **4.** *On arriving within two or three kos of Ratanpur, and sixteen or seventeen from Burhānpur, he encamped.*

A glance at the map will show that this cannot be the well-known Ratanpur in Bilāspur. In the B.I. text, it is said to be in the *t'aluqa* of the Rājā of Makrāi. (II. 875, l. 4 f. f.). Makrāi is a small State in the Hāndiya subdivision of Hoshangābād district and the town of that name is about thirty miles south of Hāndiya and about seventy miles north-east of Burhānpur. It is shown in Constable, 27 D b. See also the Central Provinces Gazetteer, 256; L. M., II. 24 and 27 note.

VII. 496, *l.* **17.** *'Ālam 'Ali Khān had arrived at the tank of Hartāla, seventeen kos from Burhānpur.*

This is a lake lying four miles south-west of Edlābād [or Ādilābād] in the Bhusāwal subdivision of Khāndesh district. It is a place of pilgrimage and the spot where Rājā Dasharath is said to have expiated his sin. *Vide* the passage quoted from the *Āīn*, Tr. II. 223, in my Note on VII. 307 *ante*. 'Hartāla' means the 'Tāla (lake) of Hara, *i. e.* Mahādeva.' (B.G. XII. 142, 449).

VII. 501, *l.* **3 from foot.** *A camel express arrived, despatched by Ghairat Khān (sic),.....announcing the slaughter of Husain 'Ali Khān, Ghairat Khān and Nūru-llah Khān.*

There is something obviously amiss here. A man who is stated to have been one of the persons slaughtered could not have despatched any messenger. According to the Text, the despatch was sent by *Ghairat* Khān and the person killed was *'Izzat* Khān. (II. 901-2). 'Izzat Khān was the nephew of Ḥusain 'Ali Khān (502 *infra*) and his death from a musket shot is mentioned by Dowson (505 *infra*). Mr. Irvine says the man killed was *Ghairat* Khān. (L. M. II. 62 Note and 63; A.I.M. 104). The despatch must then have been sent by 'Izzat Khān.

VII. 502, last line. *The royal army was encamped at Tora, thirty-five kos from Fathpur.*

There are at least two places named Toḍa—Toḍa Bhīm and Toḍa Ṭonk. This 'Tora' must be Toḍa Bhīm, which is about sixty miles south or (about 35 *kos*) west of Fathpur Sīkri. It is now in Jaipur State and lies about 50 miles east of Jaipur town. Constable, 27 C c. Toḍa Ṭonk is at a much greater distance from Fathpur. Constable, 27 B b. It lies about 65 miles south-west of Jaipur. Lat. 26°-55′ N., Long. 76°-49′ E. (Th).

VII. 503, *l.* **3 from foot.** *Some of the artillery men ..... began to fire muskets and* Rāmchangis.

The last word has puzzled even that most erudite and painstaking scholar, William Irvine. It is written, he observes, in various ways,

Rāmjaki, Rāmjanki, Rāmjangi and *Rāmchangi*. He thinks that it must have been some sort of field-piece or cannon, and admits his inability to indicate the derivation. (A. M. I. 137).

I venture to suggest that it is the Hindi 'Rāmjani,' 'Pleasure-girl,' dancing-girl, *fille de joie*, or *Bailadeira*, as the Portuguese in India used to call the Indian 'Nautch-girl'. The name seems to have been given to a small cannon by way of humorous allusion to the dances or capers cut by the gun, *i. e.* to its recoil when fired off. The designations of several pieces of artillery, even in English, are founded on similarly fanciful or jocose analogies, *e. g.* musket (from L. Mosca, a fly), falconet, culverin (L. *Coluber*, a snake), Saker (a hawk), Brown Bess, Basilisk, Pistol. So also here in India, a culverin was called *Zambūrak*, (little wasp) and another sort of light cannon was known as *Dhamāka*, from the sound made by the fall of a heavy body on the ground. (Irvine, A. I. M. 137). There was also a pistol which was styled a *Sherbacha* ('Lion's whelp'), *q. v.* my note on E. D. VIII. 399 Footnote, and a cannon very similar to, if not identical with the *Zambūrak*, was known as *Shāhīn*, falcon. (*Ib.* 136). In the same way, the gargantuan balista, which is stated to have been brought from Khurāsān by Muḥammad-i-Qāsim and to have required five hundred men to work it, is called by Bilāḏuri عروسك, 'The Little Bride' (E. D., I. 120) and Amīr Khusrav uses the same word for the mangonels ['Manjānik'] which were used by 'Alāu-d-dīn Khalji to scatter gold and silver coins among the populace عروسك ساخت نصرت را زر افشان—ظفر عرادہ شد گوہر افشان ('*Ashīqa*, p. 56, verse 3).

VII. 507, *l.* **8 from foot.** *It was very inexpedient to march against the enemy without* toras.

The sign of the plural number is unauthorized. بدون تورہ مقابل رفتن خلاف مصلحت است (II. 912, l. 7). The meaning suggested in the footnote,—'mantelets or movable breast-works'—is not at all appropriate. The word is used here by Khwāfi Khān, exactly in the same sense in which it is employed by him in another passage. It means 'a Prince of the blood royal,' who was to be used as a Pretender or rival to the Emperor. See my Note on VII. 391, l. 8 *ante*. Mr. Irvine tells us that Muḥammad Qāsim Aurangābādi applies the word in the same way to the claimant Nikū Siyār in his *Aḥwāl-i-Khawāqīn*, Ms. 125 b. (A. I. M. 145).

VII. 518, *l.* **13.** *Koki Pādshāh, a woman of great charms and intelligence colluded with Khwāja Khidmatgār Khān.*

The name of this Koki [foster-sister] of the Emperor was Raḥimun-nisā and she was the daughter of Jān Muḥammad, a geomancer. Mr. Irvine says that there is no evidence to show that she had ever been suckled by the same nurse as Muḥammad Shāh and he thinks that the tale was invented only for facilitating her free access to the palace. Some writers suggest that she was his concubine, but the probabilities are, in his opinion, against the supposition. (L. M., II. 263-5).

VII. 525, *l.* **17.** Pargana *of Sahūr, near Sironj in Māḷwā.*

Recte, 'Sehore', now in Bhopāl State, 22 miles south-west of Bhopāl town, on the right bank of the Saven, a tributary of the Pārbati. Constable, 27 C d.

VII. 526, *l.* **8 from foot.** *A battle was fought near the town of Shakar-Khera in Birār.*

This place is in Buldāna district, Berār, and lies about eighty miles from Aurangābād. (Berār Gazetteer, 168). It is now called Fath Khelda, in commemoration of this decisive victory and is marked under that name in Constable, 31 D a.. Shakarkhera was a place of some note even in the days of Akbar and is registered as a *Mahāl* in *Sarkar* Mehkar, *Ṣūba* Birār. (*Āīn*, Tr. II. 237).

VII. 528, *l.* **18.** *Between Rustam 'Ali Khān and Pilūji, a Mahrātta chieftain,.....there had been.....a continual state of war.*

The person meant is Pilāji Rāo Gāikwād, who was the son of Jhingoji Rāo Pātil. Jhingoji Rāo was the brother of Dāmāji Rāo Gāikwād. Dāmāji and Khanderāo Dābhāde both died in 1720 A.C. within a few days of each other. The Gāikwād family is said to have come originally from the village of Dhāvdi, near Poona in the Khed *taluka*.

For 'Safdar Khān Bāni' (l. 6) read 'Safdar Khān *Bābi*'. He was the ancestor of the ruling Nawābs of Junāgadh, Rādhanpur and Bālāsinor (or Wādāsinor).

VII. 528, *l.* **9 from foot.** *He [Hamīd Khān] was joined by a Mahratta chief named Khantha.*

This was Kantāji Kadam Bānday. (Grant Duff, H. M. 216). The surname is also written *Bhānde*.

VII. 528, *l.* **8 from foot.** *On reaching the banks of the Mahi, a great battle was fought.*

The site of the battle is not mentioned by Khwāfi Khān. It was at the village of Arās or Adās in the plain between Ānand and the Mahi. (Rās Mālā, Reprint, 1920, II. 5; B. G. I. i. 305).

VII. 529, *l.* **7 from foot.** *Bīr-nagar was a flourishing town full of merchants of the famous Nāgar class.*

Recte, 'Vadnagar,' [Vriddhanagar], now in the territories of the Gaikwād of Baroda. Abu-l-Fazl speaks of it as "a large and ancient city containing 3000 [?] pagodas, near each of which is a tank, and chiefly inhabited by Brāhmans". (*Āīn*, Tr. II. 232).

VII. 530, *l.* **2.** *Muhammad Shāh ..... appointed Rājā Dūngar Singh [as Ṣūbadār of Ahmadābād].*

'Dūngar' is an error for *Dhankal* or *Dhokal* (Sinha). He was one of the sons of Mahārāja Ajīt Sīnha of Jodhpur. His real name was Abhaya Sinha. 'Dhankal' or 'Dhokal' was only a nickname given to him by the Mughals, *q. v.* my note on Vol. VIII. 44 *post*.

VII. 531, *l.* **16.** *Haidar Kuli Khān ..... was sleeping ..... in his Khas-khāna, when it caught fire.*

"Khas" is the name of a grass, *Andropogon Muricatus*, which is "used to make screens, which are kept constantly wet in the window openings, the evaporation of which greatly cools the house". Abu-l-Faẓl, in his wonted adulatory manner, ascribes to Akbar the invention of these *Khaskhanas*. He describes them as "trellised chambers of a root called *Khas*, upon which, if water be sprinkled, winter arises among the summer heats". (*Āīn*, Tr. III. 9). But the assertion is without warrant, as they appear to have been used long before Akbar.

VII. 534, *l.* **2.** *Tārīkh-i-Irādat Khān.*

Irādat Khān was a poet also and his *nom de plume* was 'Wāẓiḥ', which signifies 'evident, lucid, clear, manifest.' Dowson says that he was appointed Faujdār of *Jāgna* by Aurangzeb in the XXXIIIrd year, but the real name of the place is *Chākan, alias* Islāmābad, about 20 miles north of Poona. (M. 'Ā. 330, last line; M.U., I. 205). He was afterwards Faujdār of Aurangābād, and Qil'adār of Gulbargā. (M. 'Ā. 383, l. 1 and 472, l. 12). "We learn from Mirzā Muḥammad Bakhsh (Āshob) that his work was unfavourably received on account of the overweening conceit displayed by the author, who has been sharply satirised by the contemporary Ni'amatkhān 'Alī". (Rieu, III. 938). There are several passages even in these extracts, which fully bear out this indictment and they must have furnished rich material for the mordacious wit and irony of the Hāji. Speaking of his relations with Prince Bīdār Bakht, for instance, Irādat Khān blows his own trumpet thus: "In a short time, such a friendship grew up between us that a greater between a prince and a subject cannot be conceived. He would not be an instant without me; he would not eat of anything but he sent me part of it" etc. (537, l. 1). Similarly ridiculous boasts may be found on 538, l. 8 f. f., 549, l. 13, etc.

On line 12, the name of his grandfather should be read as 'Aẓam اعظم Khān, not عظیم 'Aẓīm Khān.

VII. 544, *l.* **4 from foot.** *'Azam Shāh.....exclaimed, "Do men think that I will use cannon against a breeder of cattle!"*

This contemptuous epithet is evidently intended for his antagonist, Bahādurshāh, but the *raison d'être* must be matter of conjecture. Manucci states that 'Aẓam Shāh's "favourite nickname for his elder brother was the '*Baniya*,' that is, one who is the very incarnation of timidity." (Storia, II. 396 and *note*). He informs us that Aurangzeb always spoke of Bahādur as a poltroon, who would never rebel against him and illustrates it further by a story of Mu'aẓẓam having been terribly frightened in boyhood on seeing a rat pass before him. (*Ibid*, II. 395).

VII. 553, *l.* **10.** *His [Kām Bakhsh's] flatterers having told him that his eldest son would also at some time become Emperor, he became jealous of the innocent child.*

Like many another prophecy recorded in histories, this prediction was partially fulfilled, though not exactly in the manner indicated by the

seer. The eldest son referred to, Muḥiu-s-sunnat, really died by poison in 1160 H., but *his son*, Muḥiu-l-millat, *did become Emperor* for a few days as Shāh Jahān III, in 1173 H. 1759 A. C. (E. D. VIII. 243, 278).

VII. 556, *l.* **17.** [*Mun'im Khān*] *resigned his soul to the angel of death* (*1124 A. H. 1712 A. D.*).

The year is wrongly given. Mun'im Khān died about the begining of 1123 A.H., February 1711. (L. M., I. 124; 425 *ante* and M. U., III. 672-674). Bahādur Shāh died in 1124 H.

VII. 561, *l.* **17 from foot.** *Intelligence was received that the Saiyids .... had gained the ford of Gao-ghāt.*

This ford lay about fourteen miles above Āgra. (*Chihār Gulshan* in I. A. xcvii). Khwāfi Khān says that the Saiyids crossed near the Sarāi-i-Rūzbihāni, about four *kos* from Āgra on the Dehli side. (Text, 720, l. 7).

VII. 565, *l.* **2.** *Tārīkh-i-Bahādur Shāhi.*

Dr. Rieu denies that this is an independent work. He states that it is only a portion of the concluding Part of the first *Maṭl'a* (Section) of the third *Maqāla* (Book) of Khūshḥāl Chand's *Tārīkh-i-Muḥammad Shāhi*, entitled *Nādiru-z-zāmānī*, which is noticed at E. D. VIII. 70-1. (Persiān Catalogue, III. 894). He states that Sir Henry Elliot must have seen only imperfect copies of Khushḥāl Chand's work and that his notice relates only to the earlier and useless part.

VOL. VIII. MUHAMMAD SHĀH TO SHĀH 'ĀLAM II.

VIII. 5, *l.* 5. [*The* Khulāsatu-t-tawārīkh] *was composed by Munshi Subhān Rāi Khattri, an inhabitant of Pattiyāla.*

Subḥān Rāi [سبحان رای] is an incongruous combination and an almost impossible name for a Hindu. Dr. Rieu has shown that the correct form is *Sujān Rāi*, and that the ح has been wrongly read as ح on account of the perplexing resemblance of the two letters in Persian writing. The author was a native of *Batāla*, not of *Patiāla*, though Raverty (Mihrān, 319 *note* and 392) and even Dr. Rieu (Catalogue, I. 230) had repeated the error committed here by Elliot. Batāla is a town in Gurdāspur and Sujān Rāi gives a lengthy and loving description of its gardens, tombs and tanks in the Introduction to this History. (Sarkār, I. A. 83-88). Patiāla is not so much as mentioned anywhere in it. Batāla is now a station on the North-Western Railway, nineteen miles north-east of Amritsar.

VIII. 8, *l.* 1. *Tārīkh-i-Firūzshāhi by 'Izzu-d-dīn Khālidkhāni.*

The Ṭ.A. (117, l. 6), F. (I. 141, ll. 1-3) and B. (I. 249, Tr. 332), all state that this 'Izzu-d-dīn Khālid Khāni translated from the Sanskrit into Persian, a quasi-scientific treatise on the import of the risings and settings of the planets and auguries and omens, to which he gave the name of *Dalāil-i-Firūzshāhi*. But it was not a History of the reign of the Sultān. Sujān Rāi is evidently speaking without book and we may be sure that he had never seen, much less read, any such History. He has lifted the names and titles of many of the other chronicles which he cites, from the Ṭ. A. or F. He does not appear to have ever seen them and he has certainly made no use of them in his compilation.

VIII. 8, *l.* 3. *History of Akbar by 'Atā Beg Kazvini.*

'Aṭābeg Qazvīni never wrote a regular "*Tārīkh-i-Akbari.*" Sujān Rāi must mean the historical introduction to the *Nafāisu-l-Maāṣir*, which is really a 'Taẕkira' or Biographical and Critical Account of Persian Poets and not a History. The *Nafāis* is cited by Mu'atamad Khān along with the *Akbarnāma* of Abu-l-Faẓl among his authorities for the Second volume of the *Iqbālnāma*. There are copies of it in the British Museum (Rieu, III. 1022) and the Bānkipur Library. (Catalogue, VII. 61). Another copy which was in the Moti Maḥal Library, Lucknow, is noticed at length in Sprenger's Catalogue (45-55). The real name of the author was '*Alāu-d-daula* (not 'Aṭā Beg', as in the *Khulāṣat*), and he was the brother of Mīr 'Abdul-l-Laṭīf Qazvīni (Akbar's tutor) and the son of Mīr Yaḥyā, the Compiler of the *Labbu-t-Tawārīkh*. (*q. v.* E. D. IV. 293). The Introduction contains an account of the reigns of Bābur, Humāyūn and Akbar which goes down to 975 A. H. (1567 A. C.) and is interesting, if not valuable, as it is the earliest of all the extant Lives of Akbar. See Mr. Beveridge's art. in J.A.S.B. (1905), p. 236 sq. Budāuni also mentions 'Alāu-d-daula Qazvīni as the author of a *Taẕkira* or 'Lives of the Poets' and cites the chronogram composed by him for the sack of Chitor. (II. 105; Tr. II. 108 and *Note*).

VIII. 11, *l.* 6. *Sultān Ghiyāsu-d-dīn Balban built another fortress, which he called Shahr-zaghan.*

Abu-l-Faẓl states that Balban erected a fortress in Dehli, without mentioning its name. Sir Sayyid Aḥmad Khān copies the statement (Āṣār, Pt. iv. 4), and adds that it was called *Shahr-i-Zaghan*. [Sir] J. Sarkār thinks (I. A. 2 note) that 'Shahr-Zaghan' signifies 'City-kite,' but this has no meaning in such a context. There was at Herāt a garden called *Bāgh-ī-Zāghān*, which had been laid out by Mirzā Shāhrukh, the son of Taimūr. (T. R. Tr. 83). *Zaghan* means 'kite,' *Zāghān* 'crows.' Amīr Khusrav ('Ashīqa, 47) and Badr-i-Chāch (E.D. III. 546 note) speak of the Hindus as "cawing crows" زاغان گ٠گیر and Ḥasan Niẓāmi derides them as 'crow-like Hindus' and "crow-faced Hindus.' شہر زغن or شہر زاغان may therefore mean "City *of* Kites" (not "City-kite") or 'City *of* Crows,' *i. e.* the 'City of the crow-like Hindus.'

But another and better explanation seems to me to be that it is a parody of the old Hindu name of Dehli, which was *Jogṇipur* "City of the Jogṇis [Yoginis]." It is said in the *Prithvi Rāj Rāsā*, that Shihābu-d-dīn Ghori invaded Hindustān and proceeded with a howl towards *Juggini* जुग्गिनी (Canto XLIV. 14. See J.A.S.B. LV. 1886, p. 10). The assonance between 'Zaghan' and 'Jogṇi' is close enough to suggest the word-play. Dehli is often called 'Jogṇipur' in the extracts cited from the Rājput chronicles in Tod's Annals. It is called 'Yoginīpura' in the second verse of an inscription dated V. S. 1272 (1216 A. C.) which is edited in Ind. Ant. XLI (1912), pp. 85-86, and also in the *Hammīra Mahākāvya*, IV. 101 (*Ibid*). An old temple dedicated to Yogamāyā also exists in the city. This *Shahr-i-Zaghan* was most probably identical with Barani's 'Ghiyāṣ-pur,' another name by which the new quarter founded by Ghīyaṣu-d-dīn Balban was known. *q. v.* E. D. III. 148 and my note. The *Kūshk-i-L'al* palace built by Balban was situated in Ghiyāṣpur.

VIII. 14, *l.* 10 from foot. *He is the same Muḥammad Hādi, who wrote the Introduction and Conclusion of the Autobiographical Memoirs of Jahāngīr.*

The identity of Muḥammad Hādi, the Continuator of the *Tūzuk-i-Jahāngīri* (*q. v.* E. D. VI. 392) and Muḥammad Hādi, Kāmwar Khān, who wrote the *Haft Gulshan-i-Muḥammad Shāhi* and the *Taẕkira-i-Chaghtāi* is extremely doubtful. Dr. Rieu who had followed Elliot in assuming it in the First volume of his monumental Catalogue [p. 208], retracts the opinion in the Third. He states that Kāmwar Khān was really a Hindu convert to Islam, whose original name was Chanḍīdās and that Muḥammad Hādi obtained the title of Kāmwar Khān, according to his own statement, in the 2nd year of the reign of Bahādur Shāh. (Catalogue, p. 1084). See also the Bānkīpur Catalogue, VII. 15.

VIII. 16, *l.* 8 from foot. *Sultān Muḥammad Tughlaq.....put the Amīrs of Sind, Dakhan and Gujarāt to death.*

امیرانِ سند is a blunder of transcription for امیرانِ صده 'Centurions or Commanders of One Hundred,' who were 'New Musalmans,' *i. e.* Converted Mongols. (E.D. III. 252). Firishta, from whom Muḥammad Hādi copied this passage, has the right reading امیرانِ صده (I. 274, l. 9). They were, in fact, the commanders of "the Mughal mercenaries" of whom the writer speaks only five lines higher up.

VIII. 16, *l.* 6 from foot. *The Sultān conferred on him [Ḥasan Gāngū] Bhakkar, which was one of the dependencies of Bhakhri, in jāgīr.*

These place-names also are wrong. F., from whom the passage is borrowed, states that Ḥasan was given "the title of Ẓafar Khān and the 'Iqṭā'a (fiefs) of Rāibāgh, Mīraj, Hūkeri, Kalhar and Gulbarga." (I, 275, l. 9). 'Bhakri' looks like a misreading of 'Hukeri' and 'Bhakkar' of 'Kalhar.' Hukeri is in Belgaum and Kalhar is 'Kolhar' in Bijāpur.

VIII. 19, *l.* 9. *Bahādur Shāh died on .....10th Muharram, 1024 A. H. 9th February 1615).*

Both dates are manifestly wrong. The correct Hijri year was 1124, not 1024, and the Julian correspondence was 28th February 1712. See E. D. VII. 556; Irvine, L. M., I. 135, and my H. S. M. N. 279).

VIII. 23, *l.* 9 from foot. *The mosque of Rasadu-d-daula which is situated near the Court of the Superintendent of the Police.*

"Rasadu-d-daula" would be nonsensical as a title. Read "Raushanu-d-daula". The founder was Bakhshi under Muḥammad Shāh and his 'Golden Masjid' is near the Kotwāli. (Fanshawe, D.P.P. 50; *Āṣār*, Pt. III, 18, Pl. 5). He is mentioned again at p. 48 and this mosque is called by its right name on p. 64 *infra*. Elphinstone says that "Nādir sat all the time in gloomy silence in the little mosque of *Ruknu*-d-daula in the great Bazar," (H.I. 718 *note*), but he also has fallen into error. "The Court of the Superintendent of the Police" is the *Kotwāli* of Fanshawe.

VIII. 26, *l.* 7. *Muhammad 'Ali, son of Muhammad Sādik-al-Hasani al-Naishāpuri al Hanafi.*

Dr. Rieu reads the second *nisba* as 'Najafi' (Catalogue, III. 893) and it may be correct, as the author was a Shī'a and a Sayyid, connected with Najaf, near Kerbela. But he may have called himself *Ḥanafi*, when he subsequently dedicated it to a Sunni.

VIII. 29, *l.* 10. *Sultāns of Jūiza.*

This toponym is a perversion of خوزه *Khūwīza*, in Khūzistan. (Barbier de Meynard, *Dictionnaire Geographique de la Perse*, 216). The name is also written هوزه Ḥūwīza. It is the old Susiana and Shustār is still one of its towns. (Houtsma, E. I. II., 985). It is the land of the 'Ḥūz,' or 'Khūz' and Aḥwāz, the name of the chief city, is the plural of 'Ḥūz,' while Ḥūwīza is its diminutive. It is described by Mustaufi in the 8th century of the Hejīra as one of the most flourishing cities of Khūzistān and lies to the west of Aḥwāz. The name 'Khūzistān' is now obsolete and

'Arabistān' has taken its place. (Lestrange, L. E. C. 232, 241; Houtsma, E. I., II. 224). Aḥwāz is in Lat. 31° N., Long. 49° E.

VIII. 30, *l.* 9 from foot. *Tārābai, wife of Sambhā, son of Sivā.*

A slip of the author's. She was really the wife of Rām Rājā, Shambhuji's younger brother.

VIII. 44, *l.* 6. *Rājā Ajīt Singh.. .....took refuge in the fort of Garhpatti.*

The specific name of the citadel of Ajmer is Garh-*Bītlī* or 'Gārh-Bithli'. The latter form is said to be derived from Bīṭhhal, Vīṭhhal or Visaldeva Chauhān, who reigned *circa* 1153 A.C. and is said to have built it. (Tod, A.A.R. Ed. Crooke, II. 900; Hunter, I.G., I. 119; *Khulāṣat*, I.A. 57; *Chihār Gulshan*, *Ib.* 138). But there is a range of hills called 'Bithli' very near Ajmer town and the name may be derived from it. 'Patti' must be a miswriting of 'Bītlī.'

VIII. 42, *l.* 12. [*Ajīt Sinhā's son*] *Dhankal Singh..... obtained the investiture of the chiefship* [*of Jodhpur*].

The reader will search in vain for any such name in the dynastic list of the Rāṭhor Rājās of Jodhpur. 'Dhonkal Singh' was the nickname of Abhaya Sinha. When the Mughals invaded Mārwār in V. S. 1788 (1732 A. C.), Abhaya Sinha was sent by his father Ajit to oppose them. The Mughal commander declined to give battle and Abhaya then ravaged the imperial territories so ruthlessly, that he earned from his adversaries the surname of 'Dhonkal' or 'exterminator.' "He sacked," writes the Bardic chronicler, "Narnol.....and gave the villages to the flames, spreading consternation and conflagration even to Allahwardi's Sārāi. Dehli and Āgra trembled with affright and the Asurs [Mughals] fled without their shoes at the deeds of Abhay, whom they styled Dhonkal, the Exterminator". (Tod, A. A. R. II. 1027, 1039-41).

VIII. 45, *l.* 14. *The hills at Kāsipūr and Rudarpūr.*

Kāshipur is now in the Tarāi district of the U. P., on the route from Morādābād to Almorā, thirty-one miles north of the former, Constable, 25 C c. Rudarpur also is in the Tarāi on the route from Bareilly to Almorā and 53 miles north of the former. Constable, 28 A a.

VIII. 45, *l.* 1 from foot. *Mir Jumla Yār Khān was appointed..... to decide it* [*the dispute*].

Mīr Jumla is styled '*Tarkhān*' at 49 *infra* and this must be correct, as he is said to have received the addition of 'Tarkhān' to his former titles on the 7th of Ẕī-l-Ḥijja, 1130 H. (Irvine, L.M., I. 356. See also *Ibid.* 268). According to the M. U., one of his titles was *A'atabār* Khān (III. 711), but I cannot find it anywhere in the list given by Mr. Irvine in L.M., I. 268. *Yār* Khān may be a decapitated form of اعتبار خان.

VIII. 46, *l.* 9. *Muzaffar Khān..... ....pitched his tents near Patharganj.*

Patharganj lies about 8 miles south-east of Dehli, near the left bank of the Jumna. The battle in which General Lake defeated the Mahrāṭhās

commanded by Bourquin in 1803 A. C. was fought near this place (Th.). Muẓaffar Khān was marching from Dehli to Oude, as he had been appointed Ṣūba of the province.

VIII. 46, *l.* 20. *The fort of Jītgarh, where he [Rājā Chhatarsāl] resided, was taken.*

Jītgarh is also called 'Jaitpur' and is now in Pannā State, Bundelkhand. It lies twenty miles west of Mahoba and about six miles south of Kulpahār, which is in Hamīrpur district. (L. M., II. 232; J. A. S. B. (1878), pp. 294-5; I.G. XIX. 242, 402). It is shown as Jaitpur in Constable, 28 A c.

'Chāchandi near Shāhabād Kanauj' (l. 24) is the 'Chychendee' of Seely's Roadbook of India, where it is placed fourteen miles north of Cawnpore, on the route from Cawnpore to Etāwa (p. 28). Qanauj is about 52 miles from Cawnpore.

VIII. 47, *l.* 9. *Antrat Singh.*

"Amrat Singh" at 53 and 66 *infra*, but the correct form is Aniruddha Sinha. Elliot (Races, I. 30) says of his father, Gopāl Sinha, that Burhānu-l-Mulk, S'ādat Khān, the Nawāb of Oude, had such a regard for him that he used to call him 'Son'. Mr. Irvine calls him 'Anuradh' (L.M., II. 286), but it must be a slip or some sort of error for "Aniruddh".

VIII. 48, *l.* 22. *Kaīra Khān.*

Recte, Qāim Khān as at 116, 213 *infra*. 'Sher Afghān Khān' (l. 3 f.f.) is an error for 'Sher Afgan Khān' which is repeated on p. 46, l. 8. Similarly, 'Udū Afghān Khān' (p. 51, l. 23) is a misreading of 'Udū Afgan Khān' (Enemy-routing Khān عدو افگن خان).

VIII. 50, *l.* 13. *Udāru the Zamīndār of Kora Jahānābād, who had killed Jān Nisār Khān.*

But on pp. 52 and 341 *infra*, Jān Niṣār is said to have been killed by Bhagwant, the son of this Udāru [Udārām], and that is correct. Udārām was the Khīchar Zamīndār of Enchhi (otherwise called Ghāzīpur), a *pargana* in Kora Jahānābād. Elliot himself states elsewhere that it was Bhagwant and not Udārū, who was responsible for the death of Jān Niṣār. (Races, II. 107-8. See also Irvine, A.I.M., 257). The name is given as 'Arārū Singh' in the C. H. I., IV. 355, but this must be a slip or misprint.

VIII. 52, *l.* 3. *The Mahratta chiefs .... advanced from [Ajmer] to the fort of Rūpnagar.*

Rūpnagar lies 26 miles north-east by north from Ajmer and 61 miles west by south from Jaipur. It is now in the State of Kishengaḍh. (I. G. XV. 312-3). Constable, 27 B b. There is another place of the same name in Godwār, Constable, 27 A c, with which this should not be confounded.

VIII. 52, *l.* 9. *Yādgār Khān Rāo, Saiyid Kirpārān and Najābat 'Ali Khān.*

The names have been dislocated by the copyist or the printer. Read 'Yādgār Khān, Rāo Kirpārām and Saiyid Nijābat 'Ali Khān.'

VIII. 53, *l.* 19. [*The enemy*] *sent the other half through the towns of Gohad and Barhad to the town of Ater.*

Gohaḍ lies 28 miles north-east of Gwālior, and Barhaḍ is at 31 miles' distance from it in the same direction. Ater is situated among quicksands and jungly ravines on the right bank of the Chambal, 46 miles north-east of Gwālior. Lat. 26°-44′ N., Long. 78°-43′ E. Constable, 27 D d. Bhadaura or Bhadāwar is in the *pargana* of Haṭkānt or Bah Panāhat and is in the neighbourhood of Ater. (Elliot, Races, I. 25).

Firozābād is the old name of Chandwār, about 24 miles east of Āgra. 'Itimādpur lies about 14 miles from Āgra on the road from Āgra to Allahābād and Benares. (I. A. cxi). It was founded by and named after the eunuch, Phul Malik, entitled 'Itimād Khān, who was murdered in 986 A. H. by a man named Maqṣūd 'Ali. (M. U. I. 90).

VIII. 55, *l.* 3. *'Itimādu-d-daula . . . . . who was encamped near Kāmān Pahāri, also returned to Delhi.*

Kāmān Pahāri, now in Bharatpur State, lies 39 miles north-west of Mathura. Kāmah and Pahāri, were two of the seven *maḥāls* or *parganas* in *Sarkār* Sahār, *Ṣūba* Āgra. (*Āīn*, Tr. II. 195). Constable, 27 C b. Nimrāna (l. 8) lies 76 miles south-west of Dehli. It was in Akbar's days, one of the *maḥāls* of *Sarkār* Rewāri. (*Āīn*, Tr. II. 293). Mitrol (l. 2 f.f.), is, correctly, 'Mit*naul*', which lies 10 miles north-west of Hodal, (not *K*odal as in Dowson), and 11 miles south of Palwal. Hodal is shown in Constable, 27 C b. It is about sixty miles south of Dehli and sixty-six miles north of Āgra on the route from Āgra to Dehli. (I. A. xcvii).

VIII. 58, *l.* 4. *The invaders [Mahrāṭhās] went towards Āhirwāra, the country of the tribe of Ahirs . . . . . and besieged the fort of Korwāi.*

There is a place called Ahraura in Mirzāpur district, 12 miles south-east of Chunār, (Constable, 28 C c), but there is another place of the same name south of Jhānsi and the later seems to be the town intended. Korwai (l. 6) in Sāgar district, lies on the right or east bank of the Betwa, about 60 miles south-west of Tehri in Orcha. Lat. 24°-6′ N., Long. 78°-5′ E. Constable, 27 C c. 'Izzat Khān, son of Diler Khān, (l. 7), was an ancestor of the ruling Nawāb of Kūrwāi.

VIII. 64, *l.* 3. *Nādir Shāh . . . . . chose . . . . . the Garden of Hayāt Bakhsh for his own accommodation.*

'Bāgh-i-Ḥayāt Bakhsh' signifies 'Life-giving Garden', and is not so called after any man named Ḥayāt Bakhsh. It was a private garden of the Emperor and was situated near the north-western corner of the Lāl Qil'a or Palace. (*Āṣār*, II. 18-19; Fanshawe, D.P.P. 30-40; Carr Stephens, Archaeology of Delhi, 6, 216). As it is mentioned in the *Maāṣir-i-Ālamgīri* in 1080 H. (Text, 84, l. 11), it must have been laid out before that date. For the name, compare 'Bagh-i-Dilāmez' (near Lāhor), 'Bagh-i-Shahrārā,' 'Bāgh-i-Gulafshān,' (Āgra), 'Bagh-i-Dahrārā,' which are all mentioned by Jahāngīr in the T. J., Tr. I. 90, 131, 111, 4-5, etc.

VIII. 65, *l.* 18. *The chief [of Sind], who was of the tribe of Bhatti.*

There must be some confusion or blundering here. The chief referred to was Nūr Muḥammad Kalhorā, also called 'Abbāsi. See 97-8 *infra*, where he is spoken of by his title of Khudāyār Khān 'Abbāsi. At page 24 *ante*, Wārid, the author of the *Tārīkh-i-Chaghtāi*, is made to say that "on the way to *Latti*, the ruler of Sind was defeated by Nādir Shāh." There is some error there also, but the confusion is cleared up by the author of the *Maāṣiru-l-Umarā* who says: "At present, (*i. e.* when he wrote the work about 1159 A.H.), the whole of Sindh is under Khudāyār Khān *Latti* (لتی). From a long time, he had *farmed* the *Ṣūbā* of Tatta and the *Sarkār* of Siwistān and Bhakkar. Subsequently, when the districts on the other side of the Indus were ceded to Nādir Shāh, Khudāyār administered them for Nādir Shāh." (III. 312; see also *Āīn*, Tr. I. 363, Note). Elsewhere, the same well-informed author writes thus: "Khudāyār Khān is the Marzbān [Governor] of Sind and known as *Lātti* (مشہور بہ لاتی) and is of the 'Abbāsi lineage. His tribe is called Kalhorā and his family is designated Sirāiyān, because they came from Sarā, a district between Bhakkar and Multān. They are followers of Saiyid Muḥammad Mahdavi of Jaunpur." (I. 825). Khwāfi Khān also states that an ancestor of Khudāyār Khān, whose turbulence and lawless proceedings had compelled the Prince-governor of Multān, the Shāhzāda Jahāndār, to despatch in 1110 H., a punitive expedition against him, belonged to a tribe called *Lappi* (or *Latti*)." (Text, II. 444, l. 2; 463, l. 3). 'Latti' was not the name of a place, but that of the tribe to which Khudāyār Khān, the ruler of Sind, belonged. Mr. H. A. Rose tells us that the Kalhorās, are, originally, a Jat tribe, also known as Dodai *Laṭi*, which gave a dynasty to Sind and is still represented in Dera Ghāzi Khān ..... *Laṭi* is said to be derived from the Hindi *Lat*, tangled or knotted hair, and 'Kalhora,' in Sindhi, is said to mean the same thing. A derivation from *Laṭ*, a club, in Sindhi, has also been suggested, and in front of the Kalhorā Chiefs' tombs at Khudābād, a number of clubs are suspended." (Tribes and Castes of the Punjab, II, 440 and Note). Dowson is mistaken in registering 'Latti' in the Geographical Index.

VIII. 69, *l.* 10. *He sat at the gate of the shrine of Saint Zainu-l-Mulk, where also . . . . 'Ālamgīr is interred.*

This is the *Rauẓa* or Khuldābād, near Aurangābād. The saint is Zainu-d-dīn Dāūd, who is said to have been born at Shirāz in 701 and died in 771 H. Aurangzeb's grave lies to the west of Zainu-d-dīn's tomb, while those of 'Aẓam Shāh (his son) and 'Aẓam's wife are to the east. Facing the entrance, is the shrine of Shaikh Burhānu-d-dīn, the saint after whom Burhānpur is named and a little to the right is the last resting-place of Āṣaf Jāh Niẓāmu-l-Mulk. Zainābād on the left bank of the Tapti opposite to Burhānpur is named after this Zainu-l-Mulk or Zainu-d-dīn. (Aurangābād Gazetteer, pp. 396-7).

VIII. 70, *l.* 8 from foot. *He calls his work Tārīkh-i-Muhammad-shāhi, to which he gives the honorific title*

of Nādiru-z-zamāni,.....*as it contains, in combination with another word, the date of composition, 1152 A.H.*

Dr. Rieu enables us to understand this obscure statement and set it right. According to him, what the author really says is that the date of composition, (1154 H.), is conveyed in the following distich, which is found at the end of the first book (Folio 189 a):

تاریخ از این مقاله جستم ـ شد دفتر عشق سر نوشتم

"I sought for the date of this disquisition. It was 'Daftar-i-Ishq.' I wrote it down." The letters of دفتر عشق stand for 4+80+400+200+70+300+100=1154. This is the word or rather phrase, which by itself, contains the date of composition. (Catalogue, I. 121). There is no need to combine it with any other.

VIII. 81, *l.* **11 from foot.** *The author himself, Ānand Rām, accompanied by his beloved sons, Rāi Kripārām and Sālāh Fath Singh, left the capital.*

The author, Ānand Rām, is using the vernacular word 'Sālā' in the sense of 'brother-in-law' or wife's brother. The sign of the plural which is affixed to 'son' should be deleted. Kripārām was the son, and Fatḥ Singh, the (*Sālā*) 'brother-in-law' of Ānand Rām.

VIII. 82, *l.* **4.** *Near Karnāl, flows ..... a canal which issues from the Jumna river, near Mukhlispur.*

Mukhlispur is not to be traced on our maps, as it is now called 'Bādshāh Maḥal'. It lies near the town of Sirmūr, where the Jumna leaves the hills and descends into the plains. Shāh Jahān ordered a palace to be built here in 1065 A. H. It is a few miles below the heads of the present Eastern and Western Jumna Canals. (*Khulāṣatu-l-Tāwārīkh* in I. A. 17; M. U. II. 867; L. M., I. 108). Lat. 30°-20′ N., Long. 77°-39′ E. Th. 742.

VIII. 87, *l.* **9.** Nasakchis *were ordered to be in attendance on them.*

Morier speaks of the *Nasakchi-bāshi* as the Chief Executioner, but also states that he was the officer employed to seize state-prisoners. (First Journey through Persia, 19). Jonas Hanway also describes the "Nassackhchi Bashi" as 'the officer who makes seizures'. (Revolutions of Persia, II. 372). 'Nasaq' means order, arrangement. The *Nasaqchis* were armed men employed to enforce orders. Military punishments were inflicted through them and one of their duties was to stand in the rear of the army and cut down every one who dared to flee. (A. M. I., 227).

VIII. 88, *l.* **15.** *The* Chāndni Chauk, *the fruit-market, the* Darība-bāzār ... ... *were set fire to.*

Darība or *Zarība* is synonymous with the Hindi 'Mandavi', 'Toll-house, Tolls or octroi duties.' The *Darība-i-Barg-i-Tambūl*, the octroi of the *Pān* Market, is mentioned in the *Mirāt-i-Aḥmadi*, II. 122. (l. 17). The *Mandavi-i-Barg*—a tax levied on the sale of greens, betel leaves and vegetables—was one of the unlawful cesses abolished by Firūz Tughlaq. (E. D. III. 377, *q. v.* my note). The *Darība* of gum-lac, gold and opium also is speci-

fically referred to in the account of the municipal revenue of the city of Aḥmadābād. (*Mirāt-i-Aḥmadi*, I. i. 20 l. 15; Trans. in Bayley, *op. cit.* 8 and Notes; Bird, History of Gujarat, 113). The *Darība Bāzār* still exists in Dehli. Fanshawe states that it " leads from the Jām'a Masjid to the Chāndni Chawk, upon which it formerly opened through the *Khūni Darwāzā*, which was so called from the massacre, which took place there under the orders of Nādir Shāh.....West of the *Darība*, is the *Phul ki Mandi* or Flower market". (D. P. P. 49). There is even now a branch post-office in the *Darība* quarter of Dehli and the town of Morādābād also possessed one in the quarter which is known as *Darībah-i-Pān, i. e.* Betel-leaf Market. (Post Office Guide).

VIII. 89, *l.* **16.** *The Peacock throne alone ..... which had cost one Kror of rupees.*

The Peacock Throne is here said to have cost one Kror of rupees. The *Tārīkh-i-Jahān Kushāi Nādiri* (360, l. 11) puts its value down at two Krors. Bernier says it was worth *four* Krors. (Travels, Ed. Constable, 268). Tavernier valued it at *ten* Krors and seventy lakhs of rupees. (Travels, Tr. Ball, I. 381, 385 and note). The remains of the throne which were in the Treasury at Teherān about 1890 were appraised then at £2,600,000 or thirteen millions of dollars by Mr. S. W. Benjamin. (Persia and the Persians, p. 73). 'Abdul Ḥamīd Lāhori, the contemporary historian of Shāh Jahān states that one Kror of rupees were spent upon it (E. D. VII. 45; Text, II. 62) but additions may have been made afterwards.

VIII. 89, last line. *The marriage of Nāsir Mirzā, son of the Persian Emperor, to a daughter of Murād Bakhsh, third son of .... Shāh Jahān.*

There must be some error here. Murād Bakhsh was born in or about 1037 H., 1627 A.C., and was put to death in 1072 H. (E.D. VII. 132). The lady was really his great-grand-daughter, the daughter of Dāwar Bakhsh, the son of Izad Bakhsh, the son of Murād Bakhsh. Dāwar Bakhsh's mother was a daughter of Aurangzeb. She was married to Izad Bakhsh in 1083 H. (M. 'Ā. 120, l. 4 f.f.; E. D. VII. 197; Irvine, L. M., II. 370). Moreover, Murād Bakhsh was not the third, but the fourth son of Shāh Jahān. Aurangzeb was the third. In the C. H. I. (IV. 332), she is described as a grand-daughter of Kām Bakhsh.

VIII. 92, *l.* **10.** *All the countries about Sind, westward of the rivers Attock and Sind, and of the Sanjar stream, which flows from the latter, namely, Peshāwar, Bangashāt, the country of Kābul, Ghazni etc.*

There are three other versions of this Treaty, *viz.*, one given by Raverty from an author called Ni'amat Khān, (Mihrān, 466), Fraser, (History of Nadir Shah, Edit. 1742, pp. 223-226) and Hanway, (Revolutions of Persia, Edit. 1754, II. 386-7), but the names of most of the places are written so discrepantly that it is far from easy to restore them. The "Sanjar stream" is, probably, the *Nālā* [or Nārā?] Sānkrā, an old branch of the Indus or the Indus itself. Raverty thinks that it must be the Haḳra

(Mihrān, 461). Khudābād is the place of that name which lay seventeen miles north of Sehwān and was the capital of Nūr Muḥammad Kalhora. (Haig, I. D. C. 114; I. G. XV. 284). 'Layāgāon' is Lādkāna or Lārkāna, 'The fortress of Rāhīma' is Raḥam-kā or Raḥīm-kā-Bāzār (Constable, 26 B c). It is called 'Rām' by Fraser and Hanway. 'Badīn' appears there as 'Terbin.' It lies 56 miles south-east of Ḥaidarābād (Constable, 26 B c). The *pargana* of 'Chūn' is the *pargana* of '*Jūn*,' *q. v.* my note on I. 250, l. 5. 'Samwāl' is 'Samāwāti' or 'Samāwāni' (*q. v.* my note on VII. 183, l. 6 f.f.). 'Bakarnāchāk' cannot be identified. The 'Singarh rivulet' (l. 21) must be the same as the 'Sanjar stream' (l. 11), *i.e.* the Nālā Sānkra. 'Tūhari' توهری is called the 'castle and town of Lohry Bundar,' by Fraser and Hanway, and this must be correct. 'Bindrāwach' must be due to some copyist's misreading of the phrase *Bandar-wa-shahr*, which is prefixed to the name of 'Lohri'. See Raverty Mihrān, 466 Note.

VIII. 96, *l.* **7**. *Having made Hūt and Ghāzi Khān Dūdahi obedient, he remained some time in the government of Bhakkar.*

This is Bhakkar in the Cis-Indus *taḥṣīl* of Miānwali district, not Bhakkar in Sind. Constable, D b 24. It lies about twenty-five miles south of Dera Ismʻaīl Khān. Mirzā Mahdī Khān explicitly states that the name of the 'Hūt' (Hot) chief was Ismʻaīl Khān. (T. J. K. N. Text, 370, l. 2). "Malik Sohrāb, a chief of the Dūdai clan of the Hots, left Kach-Makrān with his two sons, Ismʻaīl Khān and Fath Khān, and reached Multān, where he took service with Sultān Husain Langah about 876 A. H. Dera Ismʻaīl Khān and Dera Fath Khān were founded and named after his sons. After Malik Sohrāb, another adventurer, and from the same country, named Hāji Khān (Mirāni), with his son Ghāzi Khān, founded Dera Ghāzi Khān. A strange custom existed in both these families, of alternating between two names or titles, from generation to generation. Thus Ismʻaīl Khān's son was Brāham Khān. His successor was another Ismʻaīl Khān and he was followed by another Brāham Khān and so on. In the same way, the line of succession of Dera Ghāzi Khān alternated between Ghāzi Khāns and Hāji Khāns upto a recent date, though each chief bore an independent name of his own besides". (T. H. Tolbort, Art. on the District of Dera Ghāzi Khān, J. A. S. B. XL. (1871), pp. 10-11).

VIII. 97, last line. *The Shāh.....pushed forward from Lādgāon, distant from Amarkot, thirty farsakhs.*

The place meant is Lādkāna, Lārkāna or Lārkhāna, which lies on the route to Southern Sindh from Qandahār and Baluchistān, through the Bolān Pāss. The name is clearly written لاڑکانہ in the T.J.K.N. 369, l. 2 f.f. It is spelt wrongly as 'Layāgaon' at page 92 *ante* also. The sandy country to which Khudāyār Khān sent away his women must be the Thar Pārkar district. This author must be mistaken in saying that Lārkhāna is only thirty *farsakhs* distant from Amarkot. The real distance must, by road, be about two hundred miles, as Lārkhāna is in Lat. 27°-30′ N., Long. 68°-10′ E. and Amarkot or Umarkot is in Lat. 25°-22′ N., Long. 69°-47′ E. What the

T. J. K. N. says is that *Amarkot* is in a desert and thirty *farsakhs* distant from water and habitations سی فرسخ از آب و آبادانی دور است (370, l. 9), and this is no doubt the right way of putting it.

VIII. 115, *l.* 16. *Siālkot, Imānābād, Parsarūr and Aurangābād.*

'Imānābād' is 'Emīnābad' in Gujranwāla *taḥṣīl*, Punjab. It is said to have been formerly called 'Sayyīdpur.' Shīr Shāh destroyed it and built Shergarh, which was itself demolished by Akbar's general, Muḥammad Amīn Khān, who built another town, and called it *Amīnābād*. It is now a railway station, 34 miles north-west of Lāhor. Parsarūr or Pasrūr lies about sixty miles north of Lāhor. Constable, 25 A a. Aurangābād is in Siālkot district, near Narowāl. (See the Post Office Guide).

VIII. 116, *l.* 14. *The Emperor made war upon S'adu-llāh, son of the Zamīndār of Alola and Bangash, in the district of Sambhal.*

Both the toponyms are wrongly spelt. Here, as on page 119, l. 1 *infra*, Alola الولہ is an error for انولہ *Āonla*. See 78 *supra*, where the correct form occurs. The place-name is derived from *Āmla, Myrabolan Emblica*. 'Bangash' is an error for 'Bangarh', which is again miswritten at 350 *infra*, *q. v.* my note. See also Irvine, (A. I. M., 561, 291), where the siege is described at some length.

VIII. 118, *l.* 1. *The wazīr sent Rājā Rām Husain, his dīwān.*

This must be another error of transcription. The name must be Rām *Jīban* and جیبن has been wrongly read or written as حسین. 'Rāmjīvan' is a common name and there are others also like it, *e. g. Har*jīvan, *Prāṇ*-jīvan, *Jag*jīvan, *Sukh*jīvan, etc. Rāmjībanpur is a well-known place in Midnāpur, Bengal. Constable, 29 B d. 'Aṭāipur (l. 23) is in Farrukhābād near Fathgarh. (Post Office Guide).

VIII. 119, *l.* 4. *The Jumna ..... has a ford at Būrya.*

Būriya is now in Ambāla district. Constable, 25 B b. It lies on the right bank of Firūz Shāh's Canal and there is a ferry on the Jumnā in the neighbourhood. Lat. 30°-9′ N., Long. 77°-25′ E. It is mentioned at E. D. IV. 519 and in the *Tūzuk-i-Jahāngīrī* also. Constable, 25 B b.

VIII. 121, *l.* 7. *'Itimādu-d-daulā obtained.....the titles of* Imāmu-l-mulk, Khān Khānān.

'Imāmu-l-Mulk' sounds strange and looks like an error. His titles are given as, 'A'atamādu-d-daulā, Intiẓāmu-d-daulā, Khān-i-Khānān' in the M. U. (I. 361, 367). Ẕulfiqār Jang's real title was not S'ādat Khān سعادت خان, as it is spelt on lines 2 and 6, but *Sādāt* Khān سادات خان (M. U. II. 526). The two words are etymologically quite distinct. سادات is the plural of سید. Ẕulfiqār Jang was a nobly-born Sayyid. His father had borne the same title. *S'ādat* Khān conveys no such implication.

VIII. 134, *l.* 19. *The Nawāb Wazīr halted for some days.....near..... Tālkatorā and Khizrābād.*

This Khiẓrābād is about five miles south of the Dehli Gate of Shāh-'ahānābād. It is said to have been built by and named after the Saiyid

ruler, Khiẓr Khān, in 816 H. 1413 A. C. (*Āṣār*, Pt. III. 25). The Tālkaṭora Garden still exists in Dehli and is a well-known place of public resort.

VIII. 135, *l.* 19. *Zūlfikār Jang,...on pretence of going to pay a visit to the tomb of the Saint Shāh Mardān, went and joined the Wazīr's army.*

The tomb of Shāh-i-Mardān in Dehli is near the mausoleum of Ṣafdar Khān. The Shāh-i-Mardān, "Prince of Men", is 'Ali, the cousin and son-in-law of the Arabian Prophet, an impression of whose foot (*qadam*) is said to be stamped on a stone there. For that reason, it is also called *'Alīji*. (*Āṣār*, Pt. i. 87). Zamāna Beg, Mahābat Khān I, who had become a staunch Shī'a in later life is said to have left instructions that he should be buried below the 'qadamgāh' of the Shāh-i-Mardān. (M. U. III. 407-8).

VIII. 140, *l.* 2 from foot. *After the defeat at Sikandra, Ahmad Shāh fled into the citadel of Shāhjahānābad.*

This Sikandra or Sikandarābād is the place of that name near Bulandshahr, about 36 miles south-east of Dehli (Th.). Constable, 27 C a. At 272 *infra*, it is said to be twenty *kos* east of Dehli. The 'defeat' is described at 321-2 *infra*.

VIII. 141, *l.* 17. *Ākibat Mahmud,..... ..bringing forth 'Azīzu-d-daula, ...conducted him towards the royal palace.*

The *laqab* of 'Ālamgīr II is printed here again as 'Azīzu-d-daula,' but it should be 'Azīzu-d-*dīn*, as at 140 *supra* and on l. 11 f.f. *infra*. It is inscribed as *'Azīzu-d-dīn* also on his coins. Jahāndār Shāh had three sons, named A'azu-d-dīn, 'Izzu-d-dīn and 'Azīzu-d-dīn. (M. 'Ā. 345, l. 7; 516, l. 11). A'azu-d-dīn was blinded in 1126 H. and died in 1157 H. 'Izzu-d-dīn died in 1151 H. 'Azīzu-d-dīn was born in 1099 H. at Multān. (Irvine, L.M., I. 242. See also Beale, *Miftāḥ*, 340-1; H. S. M. N. 326-7).

VIII. 144, *l.* 5. *This work was composed at the instance of His Majesty, Abu-l-Fath Sultān Muhammad Shāh Bahādur.*

Dowson remarks in the footnote that "this is an error, as the Mughal Emperor Muhammad Shāh died in 1161 A.H. thirteen years before the battle, which is the subject of this work". But the animadversion is founded on a misconception or error of his own. The ruler referred to is the *Ṣafavi Prince Muḥammad Shāh of Persia*, who was living in exile at Lucknow as a pensioner of the East India Company. He fled from Persia to Sind in 1205 H., and finally settled at Lucknow in 1210 A.H. As the author says that he was in the service "of the *late* Nawāb Najaf Khān" (156 *infra*), the work could not have been written before 1196 H., the year of Najaf Khān's death. (Beale, *Miftāḥ*, 359).

The date of composition is said by Dr. Rieu to be not earlier than 1208 H. (Catalogue, II. 839-40 and I. 133). It could not possibly have been before 1204 H. *q.v.* note on 157, l. 13 *post*).

VIII. 147, *l.* 8. *He [Aḥmad Shāh Abdāli] crossed the Jumna, and took*

up his quarters at Sābit-Kasra for the hot weather.

'Sābit-*Kasra*' is an error for 'Ṣābit*garh*,' one of the many names of Koil, now known generally as 'Alīgarh. The name is derived from Ṣābit Khān, who was governor of the district about 1717 A.C. (I. G., V. 218; Tieffenthaler, I. 200). Other names by which Koil has been called are Muḥammadgarh and Rāmgarh. 'Alīgarh was given to it by Najaf Khān, who was a Shī'a, after its capture. (I. G. *s. n.*).

VIII. 148, *l.* **9.** *Bhāo and Wiswās Rāi .....moved towards Kunjpūra.*

Kunjpūra, *lit.* 'the Heron's Nest', is in Karnāl *taḥṣīl*. It was founded by the Ghurgasht Paṭhān, Nijābat Khān, in the marshes of the Jumna about the middle of the 18th century. (I. G. XVI. 27). Lat. 29°-43′ N., Long. 77°-8′ E. Thornton notes that "in the battle between Nādir Shāh and Muḥamma dShāh, a division of Persian matchlockmen concealed among the houses and orchards of Kunjpur fell upon the flank of the enemy during the height of the engagement and routed them with dreadful carnage."

VIII. 149, *l.* **6.** *The Mahratta chiefs then sent Kākā Pandit.....towards Ghāziu-d-dīn Nagar.*

Ghāziu-d-dīn Nagar is on the route from Dehli to Murādābād, at about eighteen miles' distance from the former. It lies on the left bank of the Hindan. (*Chihār Gulshan* in I. A. cix), Constable, 27 C a. It is now called Ghāziābād. Kākā Pandit's name was Govind Rāo Bundelā.

VIII. 149, *l.* **16.** *Hāji Nawāb Alkūzai.*

'Halkozāi' or 'Alikozaī' is the name of one of the eight clans or divisions of the Durrāni tribe, the others being Sadozai, Populzai, Achakzai, Barakzai, Nūrzāi, Isḥāqzai and Khagwāni. (Bellew, Races of Afghanistan, 20; Crooke, T. and C. IV. 161; Sir R. C. Temple in J.A.S.B. 1879, XLVIII. p. 181).

The chief eunuch of Shāh Quli Khān, the Vazīr, must have been called 'Ākā Ṣandal' (150, l. 9), because صندل is a man who has been emasculated in a particular manner, which is described in detail by Abu-l-Faẓl in the *Āīn*. Two other types or classes of such persons are called *Bādāmi* and *Kāfūri*. See Richardson's Dictionary, *s. v.* صندل.

VIII. 151, *l.* **6 from foot.** *Shāh Pasand Khān who was both a great noble and Charkhi-bāshi.*

The spelling is 'Charkhchībāshi' in the T. J. K. N. (347, l. 2). Sir William Jones renders it as '*Maitre d'Artillerie*', but Mr. Irvine thinks it means "Head of the Crossbow-men" and not 'Commander of the artillery.' (A.I.M., 92). 'Charkh' has many meanings, wheel, cart, cross-bow, etc. Abu-l-Faẓl describes the 'Charkhi' as a firework like our Catherine which, which was used to frighten *mast* or unruly elephants. (*Āīn*, Tr. I. 127). The *Bahār-i-'Ajam* says 'Charkhchi' means 'advanced guard.'

VIII. 151, footnote.

The date of the third battle of Pānipat is given here as 6th Jumādi II. 1174 H. on the authority of the *Tārīkh-i-Ibrāhīm Khān*. This was 13th

January 1761, according to Gladwin's Tables. According to the Mahrāṭhā chronicles, this fateful event took place on the *Makar Sankrānti* and the Hindu date is given as *Paush Shudi* 8th (13th January, 1761) in the letter written by Anupgir Gosāin to the Peshwā Bālāji Bāji Rāo (Kincaid and Parasnīs, III. 69 note). See also Sardesāi, *Marāṭhāchi Riyāsat, Madhya Vibhāg*, III. 200 and C. H. I. IV. 421. Grant Duff (H. M. 317), Elphinstone (H.I. 750) and Vincent Smith (O.H.I. 462) give 7th January, but there can be little doubt that it is wrong.

VIII. 156, *l.* **12.** *The Durrāni warriors pursued the fugitives as far as the villages of Ballamgarh and Farīdābād.*

Ballamgarh or Ballabhgarh is five miles south of Farīdābad and 29 miles south of Dehli on the road from Dehli to Mathura. Lat. 28°-20′ N., Long. 77°-23′ E. It is said to have been founded by a Jat named Balu or Bilrām, a relative of Sūrajmal of Bharatpur. (Elliot, Races, II. 125). Faridābād (Constable, 27 C a) is named after Shaikh Farīd, Mu'azzam Khān, one of the great nobles of Akbar and Jahāngīr.

VIII. 157, *l.* **13 from foot.** *Thirty years ago, the author of this work ..... beheld the horse's skeleton fixed in the battlements.*

Dowson does not state when this work, the *Manāzilu-l-Futūḥ*, was written, but this incidental reference proves that it must have been after 1204 H., as the battle was fought in 1174. See my note on 144, l. 7 *ante*.

VIII. 159, *l.* **4 from foot.** *He was a scholar of Hakīm-l-Mulk Takri Khān.*

'Takri Khān' must be an error for *Taqarrub* (تقرب) Khān. His originalna me was Muḥammad Dāūd. He was the physician who was employed to treat Jahānārā Begam, when she was severely burnt all over the body by accident. He died in 1073 A.H. (*Bādshāhnāma*, II. 367, 369, 399, 766; M. 'Ā., 42, l. 12; M. U., I. 190; E. D. VII. 118). He is said to have treated Shāh Jahān's great minister S'adulla Khān also in his last illness. He is frequently mentioned by Manucci.

VIII. 161, *l.* **2.** *Muḥammad Shāh left the city of Dehli to go on a hunting excursion to the village of Sioli.*

This was in Jumādi II. 1135, January-February, 1723 A.C., and the chronicles record that the stages on the route were Agharābād, Nārela, Siyūbi [*Recte*, Siyūli], Ganaur and Pānipat. (Irvine, L. M. II. 125 and the authorities cited there). Farrukh-Siyar also is said to have hunted in or around Siūli in 1130 A.H. (*Ibid*, I. 344 and *Note*).

VIII. 166, *l.* **14.** *In the third year of Ahmad Shāh's reign, corresponding with A. H. 1160.*

There is some error here. The third year of Aḥmad Shāh's reign began on 28th Rab'ī II. 1163 H., as his father Muḥammad Shāh had died on 27th Rab'ī II. 1161. (*Vide* 111 *supra*).

VIII. 169, *l.* **18.** *Jahān Khān... ..pitched his tents at Kachchi-Serāi.*

Kachchi Sarāi or Kachchā Serāi is about ten *kos* north of Lāhor and is mentioned by Finch in his Itinerary as 'Coojes Serāi.' (E. T. I. 167). See also De Laet, Tr. Hoyland, 55. Tieffenthaler makes it 24 miles from Lāhor and six miles north of Emīnābād. (I. A. cii).

VIII. 170, *l.* **1.** *Najību-d-daula . . . . . departed to Sakartāl on the banks of the Ganges.*

Sakartāl is in Muẓaffarnagar district and contains a fort erected by Ẓābiṭa Khān. Lat. 29°-29′ N., Long. 78°-3′ E. (Th.). See also my note on Ghauṣgaḍh, VIII. 253 *post.*

VIII. 170, *l.* **7 from foot.** *The Abdāli sacked Dehli and encamped at Anūpnagar.*

Anūpnagar, more generally known as Anūpshahr, was founded by Anūpsingh Badgujar, a favourite courtier of the Emperor Jahāngīr, who gave him the title of Anīrāi Singhdalan. (T. J. Tr. I. 185-8, 263, 336, 373). "The town was of great importance in the 18th century, as it commanded an important crossing on the Ganges on the road from Dehli to Rohilkhand." (I. G. V., 383).

VIII. 175, *l.* **18.** *The affair of Lāl Dong.*

Recte, "Lāl Dhāng." It is the name of a strong fort in the forest on the borders of Bijnor district, which often proved a safe refuge in the struggles between the Rohillās and the Nawābs of Oude. Lat. 29°-52 N., Long. 78°-23′ E. (I.G. VIII. 194). The 'Affair of Lāl Dong' was the treaty signed in 1174 A. C., by which Shujā'u-d-daula agreed to give a *jāgīr* of 15 laks to Faiẓulla Khān. (*Gulistān-i-Raḥmat,* Tr. C.A. Elliot, 125-7). The title, *Tārīkh-i-Faiẓbakhsh,* was chosen as a compliment to Faiẓullā Khān Rohillā, by whom the author, Shiv Prasād, was employed as his agent in negotiations with the Colonel of the British forces at Bilgrām. (Rieu, I. 306). A translation of the *Tārīkh-i-Faiẓbakhsh* was published by Dr. W. Hoey, at Allāhābād, in 1888.

Jalkanā (176, l. 8 f.f.) is, most probably, Chilkia (چلکیہ), in Morādābād district, "on the northern frontier towards Kumāon, in the pass or gorge through which the river Kasila flows towards the plains." (Th.). Lat. 29°-21′ N., Long. 79°-10′ E.

VIII. 190, *l.* **7 from foot.** *When Rājā Uchaina made a treaty and agreement with Mu'azzam Khān Fathpuri at Allāhābād.*

Recte, 'Rājā Ujainiya.' The reference is to the Rājās of Jagdishpur and Bhojpur in Shāhābīd, Bengal, who claimed to be descended from the Pramāra Rājās of Dhār and Ujjain. Their capital Bhojpur is supposed to have been named after the celebrated Rājā Bhoja of Dhār. (Blochmann, *Āīn,* Tr. I. 513). See also my note on VI. 321, l. 9. *ante.* "The Rājā who made the treaty," *i. e.* who was assured of forgiveness and safety on behalf of the Prince Salīm, was named Dalpat. Mu'azzam Khān Fatḥpuri was Jahāngīr's foster-brother, Shaikh Bāyazīd, *q.v.* M.U. III. 365.

VIII. 196, *l.* 14 from foot. *Dīwān-i-Tan or overseer of the household.*

He was Dīwān of the *Tankhwāh* or salaries of the troops.

VIII. 200, *l.* **5**. *This is a compilation by Ghulām Bāsīt, undertaken on the suggestion of an English Officer.*

The name of Ghulām Bāsīṭ's patron has been read here as 'Charles Burt,' but Dr. Rieu has shown that it was Giles Stibbett. He was Commander of the Bengal Army from 1777 to 1779 and again from 1783 to 1785. (Catalogue. I. 237 and *Note*). There is a copy of the work in the Mullā Fīrūz Library in Bombay and Mr. Rehatsek also has read the name as 'Jayles Estbet'. (Catalogue Raisonné, Section IV. No. 15, p. 76).

VIII. 202, *l.* **20**. *Their [of the people of Malabār] chief is called Ghaiār (Ghamyār?).*

'Ghaiār' is a copyist's blunder for نَيار Nayār, *i. e.* Nāirs. All the four paragraphs translated here have been copied by Ghulām Bāsiṭ from the Account of the Kings of Malabār in the history of Firishta, who states on the authority of the *Tuḥfatu-l-Mujāhidīn*, that the "عشایر [tribes, families] of the country are called *Niyār*." (II. 373, l. 15).

VIII. 215, *l.* **13**. *Afterwards, they crossed the Ganges, and proceeded to Mahdīghāt.*

This appears to be the same as Mahdīpur of 276 *infra*, which is said to have been in Etāwa and on this side of the Ganges. Bībīpur (l. 22) may be the place of that name on the route from Fatḥgarh to Cawnpore, thirty-two miles north-west of the latter. (Th.). Lat. 26°-49′ N., Long. 80°-8′ E.

VIII. 217, *l.* **1**. [*The English left the city of Patna and*] *assembled at Bach Pahāri, six* kos *from that city.*

Recte, "*Panj* Pahāri." They are five old Buddhist or Jaina stupas, half a mile south of Paṭna. (Smith, Akbar, 127 note). Niẓāmu-d-dīn Aḥmad states that it was a monastery near Patna. "This Panj Pahāri or Five Domes is a place built in old times by the infidels with burnt bricks in five stages." (T. A. 319, l. 1=E. D. V. 378; B. II. 179= Tr. 182).

VIII. 221, *l.* **11**. *On leaving Lucknow, the Nawāb encamped at a* bāoli, *(well), near Rustam-nagar.*

Rustamnagar was one of the older names of Murādābād, which was also called Chaupla. See my note on Vol. III. 538. It is called 'Chaubāla' by Budāuni at E. D. V. 507. "Simru Gārdi" is 'Sombre,' the husband of the 'Begum Sumroo.'

VIII. 232, *l.* **2**. *Tārīkh-i-Shahādat-i-Farrukh Siyar.*

Another valuable history of the reign of Farrukhsiyar, which does not appear to have been known to Elliot, is the *Farrukhsiyarnāma* of Muḥammad Aḥsan Ijād, which was written about 1131 A. H. (L. M., I. XII). A Muḥammad Mun'im Jāfarābādi also wrote a *Farrukhnāma* about 1128 A. H. (*Ibid*, A. I. M., 302).

VIII. 238, *l.* **19**. *'Imādu-l-Mulk ..... set about a reformation of the cavalry and* Sīn dāgh *system.*

This obscure phrase is thus explained by Mr. Irvine. "It is obvious that in addition to the Imperial brand (*dāgh*), a second brand was required by each noble for the recognition of the horses ridden by his own men.....Towards the end of the Mughal period, the great nobles often had the first or last letter of their name as their special brand (*Seir*, I. 481, Note 27), as for instance, the *Sīn-dāgh* [س] of S'ādat 'Ali Khān 'Nāẓim of Oudh. The brand of Sayyad 'Abdulla Khān was عبد...Muḥammad Isḥāq Khān, about 1153 A.H., used the last letter of his name, a *qāf* ق as his brand." (A. I. M., 50).

VIII. 243, *l.* **6.** *This tragedy* [*murder of 'Ālamgīr II*] *occurred on Thursday, the 20th of Rab'iu-s-sāni, 1173 A. H.*

The correct date was the 8th. Copyists often mistake هشتم for بیستم and *vice versa*. 8th is given in the *Shāh 'Ālam Nāma* (B.I. text, 93) and *Mirāt i-Aḥmadi*, (I. i. 111, l. 1). See also my H.S.M.N. 287. The Julian correspondence of 8th Rab'ī II. was 29th November, 1759. It *was* a Thursday. The 20th of Rab'ī II. 1173 H., *i.e.* 11th December, was a Tuesday.

VIII. 247, *l.* **17.** [*Bīdār Bakht*] *then ascended the throne on the 27th Shawwāl 1204 A.H.* (*22nd June, 1790*).

Recte, 1202 A. H. See *ante* 244, 245, 246, where the year is repeatedly given as 1202 H. The Julian correspondence is also wrong. It was the 31st of July, 1788. Mr. H. G. Keene, following the *Tārīkh-i-Muẓaffari*, makes it 29th July 1788, while Mr. Seton-Karr gives 2nd August 1788. (Selections from the Calcutta Gazetteers, I. 263).

VIII. 250, *l.* **19.** *Tārāji Bhāo.*

'Tārāji' is not a part of the name but an opprobrious epithet, signifying "plunderer, ravager, looter." The *raison d'ètre* of the by-name is provided by the author of the *Tārīkh-i-Ibrāhīm Khān*, who bitterly complains that this Mahrāṭhā vandal broke to pieces the silver ceiling of the *Dīwān-i-Khāṣ* and coined seventeen lakhs of rupees out of the metal. (276, *infra*). The Mahrāṭhā chroniclers themselves boast that he stripped the tomb of Niẓāmu-d-dīn Awliyā of its treasure and silver ornaments, rifled the mausolea of the Emperors and seized the golden throne and canopy. (Kincaid and Pārasnis, III. 63).

VIII. 253, *l.* **7.** *Ghūlām Kādir ..... started off for Ghaus-kadā, his home.*

Recte, Ghauṣ*gaḍh*, "Heavenly-help Fort." It was "one of the three forts in the Bāwani Mahāl (now included in the Muzaffarnagar and Sahāranpur districts). They were Pathargarh on the left, Sakartāl (or Sukhartāl) on the right bank of the Ganges and Ghauṣ*gadh*, about eleven miles north-west of Muzaffarnagar. The first two had been built by Najīb Khān to protect the ford, which led to his fief in the north-western corner of Rohilkhand, for the Ganges is almost always fordable here except in the high floods. The last was the work of Zābita Khān." (Keene, Fall of the Mughal Empire, 96; see also M.U III. 867, l. 4 f.f.; I. G. XVIII. 87).

VIII. 263, *l.* **6.** *The freebooters who form the vanguard of the Mahratta forces and ..... ravage the enemy's country are called* pūikārahs; *the troops who are stationed ..... as picquets .....for the purpose of keeping a vigilant watch are styled* Mātī.

As *Pūikārah* and *Mātī* are both unintelligible and manifestly corrupt, it may be worth while to note that in a Manuscript of the *Tārīkh-i-Ibrāhīm Khān*, which is in the Cama Oriental Institute, Bombay, the first word is written لونکارہ *Lūnkāra*, which may be meant for لوٹکارہ *Lūṭkāra*, Plunderers. *Lūṭmār* is a common word in the vernaculars. See also 'Looty' and 'Lootiewalla' in H.J. 520. 'Māti' is spelt there as باطنی Baṭni. It may be really *Bātmi*, which means 'news, intelligence, secret information, espionage' in Gujarati as well as Marāṭhi.

VIII. 264, *l.* **2.** *At length, in the year 1163 (1750 A. D.), Sāhū Rāo, the successor of Sambhāji, passed away.*

The date is wrong. Elphinstone (H. I., p. 727) gives June 1748, which corresponds to Jumādīu-s-ṣāni, 1161 H., and this is followed by Mr. Vincent Smith in the O.H.I. 457. But the event really occurred on Friday, Mārgashirsha 1671 *Shaka* or 15th December 1749. (Sardesāi, *Riyāsat*, III. 119; Kincaid, II. 300).

VIII. 265, *l.* **16.** *'Ālamgīr (II) had an interview with him [Aḥmad Shāh] on the margin of the Maksūdābād lake.*

This must be *Mas'ūdābād*, which lies about fifteen miles south-west of Dehli. Ibn Baṭūṭā states that he halted at Mas'ūdābād, on his way from Hānsi to Dehli. (Tr. Lee, 110). Najaf Khān built a fort here called Najafgarh, which is said by Thornton, to have been situated on the west shore of an extensive *jhil* or lake, formed by the overflow of the Hansouti torrent during the rainy reason. Constable, 27 C a.

VIII. 267, *l.* **7 from foot.** *Jankūji entrusted the government of Lāhor to a Mahrātta, called Sāmā.*

Here, ب has been wrongly read or written as ہ. His name was Sābāji or Shābāji and he was a relation of Dattāji Sindhia. (Grant Duff, 310).

VIII. 269, *l.* **6.** *Govind Pandit.....allowed no portion of Chāndpūr .. .. to escape conflagration and plunder.*

This must be Chāndpur in Bījnor, 42 miles north-west of Murādābād. Lat. 29°-8′ N., Long. 78°-20′ E. (Th.). Constable, 25 C c.

VIII. 271, *l.* **17.** [*Dattā*] *took up a position in the plain of Bāwali, which lies in the vicinity of Shāhjahānābād.*

Here the د has been confused with ر. Read Bādli. It lies about seven miles north-west of Dehli and is now a railway station. It is correctly mentioned as 'Bādli' at 320 *infra*. See also my note on Vol. V. 407, l. 5 f. f.

Jankūji is represented here as the uncle and Dattā as the nephew, while on line 24 of the same page, the position of the two men is reversed and Dattā is said to be the uncle. At 268, Dattā Sindhia is called Jan-

kūji's uncle, and this is correct. Jankoji was the son of Jayāppā Sindhia, the brother of Dattāji. (Grant Duff, 310, 312).

VIII. 271, *l.* 3 from foot. *Malhār Rāo Holkar, who at that time was staying at Makandara.*

This is the Mokundra [Mukundwāra] Pass in Koṭah, Rājputānā, 90 miles north-east of Nīmach and 32 south-west of Kotāh town. Its strategical importance is due to its being "the only practicable pass for carriages, for a considerable distance over the range extending from the Chambal to the Kali Sind." Lat. 24°-50′ N., Long. 75°-59′ E. (Th.). Constable, 27 C c. The name is said by Tod to be derived from Mukunda, Rājā of Kotah, who fortified it about 1630 A. C.

VIII. 273, *l.* 4 from foot. *Jaswantrāo Bewār.*

"Bewār" بواڑ is an error for "*Pa*wār" پواڑ (Grant Duff, 213; Kincaid III. 60). See also 400 *infra*, where he is correctly styled "Panwār" (Pramār). The name of Jaswant Rāo's tribe is again wrongly printed as 'Balwār' on 282 *infra*. He was a descendant of Shivāji Pawār or *Puār*, Patel of the village of Maltān, 30 miles north-east of Poona.

Jān Rāo's surname was *Dhamdhere*, not 'Dhamadsari.' A village called Tālegāon-Dhamdhere near Poona is shown in Constable, 31 C b.

VIII. 278, *l.* 2. *Sarāi Badarpur, which is situated at a distance of six* kos *from Dehli.*

"Less than three miles east of the Surajkund, the road reaches that from Dehli to Mutrā at Badarpur, built inside the enclosure of an old Sarāi. This place lies about eight miles distant from Nizamu-d-dīn and the Mausoleum of Humayun." (Fanshawe, D. P. P. 292). Keene states that Badarpur is ten miles south of Dehli. It is mentioned as 'Badelpour,' by Tavernier. (Travels, I. 104).

VIII. 283, *l.* 1. *Āppāji Gāikawār and Bīthal Sudeo.*

Here, the personal name and not the sobriquet is wrong. Āppāji is an error for 'Dāmāji' and the mistake recurs at 400 *infra*.

"Bīthal Sūdeo" was Vīṭṭhal Shivdeva Vinchūrkar. (Grant Duff, 313; Kincaid, III. 73, 75).

VIII. 284, *l.* 17. *Karāza.....twelve* kos *from Jhānsi, towards the west.*

This is 'Kurā*ra*' of Thornton, 'about 28 miles west of Jhānsi and on the right bank of the Mohwar river.' Lat. 25°-28′ N., Long. 78°-13′ E. (Gaz. 543). It is the 'Karehra' of Constable, 27 D c, and is now in Gwālior State. (See also Silberrad, J.A.S.B., 1902, p. 105 *note*). Kurāra in Hamīrpur (Constable, 28 B b) is a different place.

VIII. 286, *l.* 3. *Bīthal, Dīwān of Nawāb Nizām 'Ali Khān Bahādur.*

This "Bīthal" is not Vīṭṭhal Shivdeva Vinchūrkar, but Vīṭṭhal Sundar Rāje, who was given the title of Rājā Pertābwunt [Pratāpvant] by his master. (Grant Duff, 327; Kincaid, III. 85, 87, 88). Gopāl Rāo (l. 7) was Gopāl Rāo Govind Patwardhan, Jāgīrdār of Mīraj. (*Ibid*).

The battle which is said on l. 9 f. f. to have been fought on the bank of the Godāvari, was that of "Rākisbone" or 'Rakshasbone' [Rākhshas-

bhuvan] or Tandulja. (Grant Duff, 329; Kincaid, III. 87-8). It lies 37 miles south-west of Jālna. Constable, 31 C b.

VIII. 289, *l.* **22.** *Kankūmā Tāntiā.*

Here as well as on l. 1, 290 *infra*, read '*Gangūbā*' Tāntiā, *i.e.* Gangādhar Yashvant, the Diwān of Holkar. (Grant Duff, 340; Kincaid, III. 79, 94). His surname appears to have been Chandrachūḍ. (Sardesāi, *Riyāsat*, 42, 131, 228).

VIII. 292, *l.* **18.** *Shamsher Singh.*

Recte, *Sumer* Singh. (Grant Duff, 360; Kincaid, III. 104).

VIII. 293, *l.* **11.** *Sakhārām Bāpu ..... in unison with Trimbak Rāo, commonly called Matāmādhari Ballah and others deemed it advisable.*

'Matāmādhari Ballah' is obviously bungled. The correct reading must be ماما و هری بلال "Trimbak Rāo, commonly called *Māmā* and *Hari Ballāl* and others." Trimbakrāo Vishvanāth Peṭhe was generally called 'Māmā', because he was the maternal uncle of Sadāshiv Chimnāji Bhāu. (Grant Duff, 325). "When the Peshwā Mādhav Rāo assumed the supreme control of the government and Sakhāram Bāpu resigned the office of Diwān, Trimbakrāo Māmā was appointed to the post and Hari Ballāl Phadke and Bālāji Janārdan Bhānu (*i. e.* Nānā Phaḍnavīs) were nominated as the Peshwā's private secretaries." (Kincaid, III. 82. See also *Ibid*, 85, 97; Grant Duff, 326).

VIII. 295, *l.* 11 from foot. *Nūrghāt ....., twenty* kos *from Pūna.*

A mistake for '*Bor*ghāṭ' or Bhore Ghāṭ, a pass in the Ghāts on the road from Bombay to Poona, "which was considered to be the key of the Dekkan in the early wars of the East India Company with the Maharattas." (Thornton, 111). It is about 40 miles south-east of Bombay and the same distance north-west of Poona.

VIII. 300, *l.* **7 from foot.** *Tārīkh of Jugal Kishwar.*

Recte, 'Jugal Ki*shore*.' The "wāv" is a vowel and not a consonant here. The Hindi 'Kishore' has nothing to do with the Persian *Kishwar*, 'Continent.' It is really a form of "Keshavrāi," one of the many names of Krishna. Dr. Rieu (Cat. 1027, 1051), reads the name as 'Kishor'.

VIII. 303, *l.* 12 from foot. *Hāfiz Rahmat was returning from Farrukhābād to Tilhar.*

Tilhar lies on the road from Shāhjahānpur to Bareilly, 12 miles W. N. W. of the former. Constable, 28 A b.

VIII. 304, *l.* 4. *He proceeded to Nānakmath in the skirt of the hills.*

Nānakmath lies 22 miles north-west of Pīlībhīt town and on the right bank of the Garra. Constable, 28 A a.

The Shāhābād which is mentioned here (l. 12) is now in Rāmpur State and is the old Lakhnor, the seat of the Katheriya Rājās. (Elliot, Races, II. 138). Constable, 28 A a.

VIII. 306, *l.* 12 from foot. *Hāfiz Rahmat.....sent Ahmad Khān..... from Anwala to secure the ford of Rām-ghāt.*

Rāmghāt in Bulandshahr is situated on the right bank of the Ganges on the route from 'Alīgarh to Bareilly, thirty miles north-east of the former. The river is here crossed by a ferry (Th.). Constable, 27 D a.

Asadpur (l. 2 f. f.) lies on the route from Bulandshahr to Budāun, forty-two miles west by north of the latter. The town of Gannaur was at one time in this *pargana* of Asadpur, which was formed from parts of Gannaur and Jadwar. (Elliot, Races, II. 138-9).

VIII. 310, *l.* 5 from foot. *The Nawāb ..... prepared to pass the Ganges by way of Koriyāganj.*

Koriyāganj lies sixteen miles south-east of 'Alīgarh on the route from that town to Bareilly (Th.).

VIII. 311, *l.* 9 from foot. *Hāfiz Rahmat ..... entered Farīdpur, seven kos to the east of Bareilly.*

Farīdpur is twelve miles south-east of Bareilly and was originally called 'Tappa Khalīlpur'. (Elliot, Races, II. 145). Constable, 28 A a.

VIII. 311, *l.* 4 from foot. *Hāfiz Rahmat then ..... encamped in the groves around Karra.*

Recte, 'Katra', which is said to have been seven *kos* distant from Tilhar in Shāhjahānpur. (*Gulistān-i-Raḥmat*, Tr. [Sir] C. A. Elliot, 114). Thornton states that Katra is also called Miranpur-Katra and is "situated at the spot where the road to Fathgarh passes off to the right from the direct line to Shāhjahanpur." The origin of the double name is that Katra was founded on the ruins of the old town of Mīranpur by Kamālzāi Khān in the days of Aurangzeb. (Elliot, Races, II. 145). Constable, 28 A a.

VIII. 316, *l.* 2. *Tārīkh-i-Muzaffari.*

The *Tārīkh-i-Muẓaffari* is really the third volume of the *Baḥru-l-Mawwāj*, of the same author, which has been noticed on p. 235, but under a new title. In Elliot's Manuscript, the history was brought down only to the death of Āṣafu-d-daula in 1797 A. C., but the British Museum possesses a copy going upto 1810 A. C. or 1225 A. H. (Rieu, Catalogue, I. 263).

VIII. 322, *l.* 8. *He went off to the town of Khoraja.*

This is 'Khurja' in Bulandshahr. The name is said to be derived from the Pers. *Khārija*, 'revenue-free,' as the town is said to have been built by Bhale Sultān Rājputs on a revenue-free grant made by Sultān Fīrūz Tughlaq. (I. G. XV. 297).

VIII. 330, *l.* 12. *Bhagwāngola.*

Bhagwāngola is in Murshidābād, on the right bank of the Ganges and about 120 miles north of Calcutta. Constable, 29 C c. It was the river-port of Murshidābād town. Constable, 29 C c.

VIII. 332, *l.* 3 from foot. *The name appears to be derived from the poetical name of Āftāb, which the author assumed by direction of Shāh 'Ālam.*

The *Mirat-i-Āftābnūma* is said here to have been so called, because 'Āftāb' was the poetical title, which the author assumed by direction of Shāh 'Ālam II, but this seems to be an error. *Āftāb* was the *nom de*

plume of Shāh 'Ālam II. himself. The history is the *Mirror* in which, so to say, the exploits and character of this *Āftāb*, *i. e.* Shāh 'Ālam, are clearly reflected. Another reason for incorporating the word 'Āftāb' in the title of the work is that مراتِ آفتاب نما is a chronogram. 40 + 200 + 1 +1 + 400 + 1 + 1 + 80+ 400+1 + 2 + 50 + 40 + 1=1218 H. (Rieu, I. 132; Muqtadir, VI. 71). The work was composed in that year (1803 A. C.).

VIII. 334, *l.* **8.** *'Aliwardi Khān Turkomān ..... was the inventor of a mode of hunting styled Tūrkalāni.*

This *Tūrkalāni* is a misreading of بوركلاني *Bawar-i-Kalāni*, 'the big net.' The statement made in the footnote on the authority of the *Maāṣir-u-l-Umarā* is really copied by its author from the detailed description of the net in Mu'atamad Khān's *Iqbālnāma-i-Jahāngīri* (Text, 272, l. 6 =E. D. VI.). Mu'atamad Khān says that the net was called *Bāwar* in Hindi. This reading, *Bāwar*, seems to be correct, as 'Bāwariya' is the designation of a hunting tribe found even now in Muẓaffarnagar and Mirzāpur. The name of the tribe is derived by Mr. Crooke, from 'Banwar,' a creeper, (Sans. Bhramara), "in the sense of a noose, made originally from some fibrous plant and used for trapping animals, which is one of the primary occupations of the tribe." (Tribes and Castes, I. 228). 'Kalāni' means 'large.' But the Hindi word *may be* 'Nawār,' which is used for the rope or tape made of hemp or cocoanut or cotton fibre which is used for stringing cots. The net may have been made of this 'Nawār.'

VIII. 340, *l.* **2.** *Nawāb Mumtāzu-l-Mulk Sarbuland Khān.*

Sarbuland Khān's real title seems to have been Mu*barizu*-l-Mulk. (Kh. Kh. Text, II. 1106; M. U. III. 801. See also 44 *ante*).

The name of his birth-place also is wrongly given on l. 3. He was not born at 'Lūni' near Dehli but at *Tūn* in Persia, from which he came to India, with his father Mirzā Afẓal, entitled Muqtadawi Khān, in the reign of Aurangzeb. (M.U. III. 801, 805). 'Alāu-l-Mulk *Tūni*, entitled Fāẓil Khān, who was one of the Vazīrs of Shāh Jahān and Aurangzeb, was also a native of *Tūn*. (M. U. III. 524, l. 12).

VIII. 347, *l.* **16 from foot.** *His eldest son .... was superintendent of the bath and the private chapel.*

Here 'Ghuslkhāna' is again wrongly rendered as the 'Bath.' It was also called *Khilvat Khāna* and was the Private Hall of Audience or Privy Council Chamber. The Dārogha of the Ghusl Khāna was usually an official of very high rank and one of the principal ministers. Thus Ṣādiq Khān, who obtained the post in the 20th year of Shāh Jahān's reign, was a commander of Six Thousand at the time. The importance of the office seems to have varied at different times. The 'Private Chapel' was the *Tasbīḥ Khāna* or *Jā-nimāz Khāna*, the room where the Emperor used to tell his beads in privacy and say his prayers on a *Jānimāz* or carpet.

VIII. 350, *l.* **10.** *At the time when Muhammād Shāh Bādshāh went against 'Ali Muhammad Khān, and besieged the fort of Bangash.*

Here as well as at 116 *ante*, 'Bangash' is an error for 'Bangar*h*.' (A.I.M., 261, 291). See the *Gulistān-i-Raḥmat* (Tr. [Sir] Charles A. Elliot, p. 20), where the fort is called 'Bungurh' and said to lie "five *kos* distant south of Aonla and surrounded for a distance of two *kos* by jungle." 'Ali Muḥammad Khān's correct *nisba* was 'Rohillā'. *Bangāsh* was the sobriquet of the Nawābs of *Farrukhābād*.

VIII. 358, *l.* **12.** *The four Imāms, founders of the Sunni doctrines, and the ten persons who are said to have gone to Paradise.*

The phrase عشرهٔ مبشره literally signifies 'The ten receivers or harbingers of good tidings' and is used for "the Ten Evangelists", so to say, of Islam. These ten persons were assured of Paradise by Muḥammad and are thus enumerated in the *Tārīkh-i-Guzīda* of Ḥamdulla Mustaufi. The four Khalifs, Ṭalḥa, Zubair, S'ad bin Abi Waqqāṣ, Sa'īd bin Zaid, Abu 'Ubaida and 'Abdu-r-Raḥmān bin 'Auf. (Text, I. 209-11. Tr. 51). They are referred to by Ḥasan Niẓāmi and Minhāj also. (E. D. II. 206 and 261).

VIII. 360, *l.* **16.** *He was a zamīndār of mauza Sansani.*

Sansani is a *mauza* or village situated eight miles south of Dīg. 'Waira' or 'Wer' lies about thirty-five miles south of Bharatpur. Constable, 27 C b. 'Thūn' lies between Dīg and Gobardhan, west of Mathura, about twelve miles west of Sansani. (I. G. VIII. 95; A. I. M., 285). Kumher, Kumbher or Kumbhergarh is six miles to the south-east of Sansani. It is said to have been founded by and named after a Jāt named Kumbha. (I. G. XVI. 22). Constable, 27 C b. Barsāna (p. 366, l. 22) is fourteen miles north of Dīg.

VIII. 365, *l.* **19.** *He at last glutted his vengeance by wresting the territory of Kāmūn from Rājā Madhu Singh (of Jaipur).*

This is not Kumāon, but an error for Kāmān (Pahāri), *q. v.* my note on VIII. 55 *ante*.

VIII. 367, *l.* **13 from foot.** *When the British, after reducing ..... the strong forts of Dīg and Kishengarh, ... determined to take the fort of Bhartpur [in 1218 A. H. 1203 A. C.].*

Here as well as on 268, l. 10, and 270, l. 16, 'Kishengarh' appears to be an error for 'Kumhergarh.' See 360 and 362 *ante*, where Dīg and Kumbher are mentioned in juxtaposition. The mistake *may* have been due to the resemblance between کنبهر 'Kumbhar' and کنهر 'Kanhar' or 'Kanhaḍ,' which is one of the dialectic forms of Kishan (Krishna).

Dīg and Kumbher are associated together eleven lines higher up on this very page.

VIII. 376, *l.* **2.** *Akhbār-i-Muhabbat.*

Elliot says nothing about the author of this work, except that his name was Muḥabbat Khān. Dr. Rieu tells us that he was the son of a Rohillā chief named Faiẓ 'Atā Khān Dāudzai, who was fifth in descent

from Diler Khān Rohillā, who played a conspicuous part in the wars of Aurangzeb and died in 1094 A. H. (Catalogue, III. 911).

VIII. 379, *l.* **3.** *Gholghāt and Mughalpura near Hūghli.*

This is the 'Golgot' of Orme, in whose 'Historical Fragments of the Mogul Empire', Job Charnock is described as "the governor of the Factory at Golgot near Hughley." (Edit. 1805, pp. 281, 283). Yule says that Golghāt appears to have been the name of the particular locality where the English factory at Hūgli was situated. (H. J. 146).

VIII. 380, *l.* **4.** *The police station at Makhūā.*

The 're' has been wrongly read as a "wāv". 'Makhūā' must be Magra, Mugra or Moghra, (مگرا), which is now a station on the East Indian Railway, about five miles from Hūgli. (Blochmann, Inscriptions in Hūgli District, J. A. S. B. XXXIX (1870), Pt. i. 280). The place where Job Charnock anchored and which is known by the name of Chānak (l. 3 f.f.) is 'Achanock.' Sir H. Yule says that it is the "designation by which Barrackpore near Calcutta is still known to Sepoys and other natives. Some have connected the name with that of Job Charnock, the founder of Calcutta. But this is rendered improbable by the fact that 'Tajannok' is entered as the name of a village opposite 'Ogly' in the map of Bengal in Valentijn, which appears to have been compiled in 1662, though Valentyn's book was published only in 1726." (Hobson Jobson, *s. v.* Achānock). Charnock appears to have come to Sutānuti—a village north of modern Calcutta in 1686, after his skirmish with the Mughals at Hūgli and formulated certain demands, the rejection of which by the Nawāb led to hostilities and his seizure of Hijili. He returned to Sutānati in 1690 at the invitation of the Nawāb and laid the foundations of Calcutta. (I. G. IX. 263).

VIII. 383, *l.* **21.** *Chochra (Chinsura).*

"Chinsura" is still called 'Chuchura' by the inhabitants and 'Chichira' is the form found in the Translation of the *Siyaru-l-Mutaākhirīn.* (Reprint, 1902, II. 225). The name is said to be derived from 'Chirchira,' a weed, *Achyanthes Aspera,* with which the place abounded. (N. Dey, History of Hūgli, in J. A. S. B. 1910, N. S. VI. p. 601).

VIII. 385, *l.* **20.** *Goa, Dābul and Chand.*

As 'Dābul' is certainly meant for Dābhol in Ratnāgiri, 'Chand' must be an error for چول Chenwal or Chīval, the Chaul of the Portuguese and Saimūr of the old Arab writers. The great naval battle, which is said at 387 *infra* to have been fought at 'Chand' between the allied Sultāns of Gujarāt and Egypt and the Portuguese was really waged near Chaul in 913 A. H. 1508 A. C. (*Mirāt-i-Sikandari,* Text. 126, l. 9=Tr. Bayley, 222; Ṭ. A. 479, l. 4 f. f.; Firishta, II. 371, l. 2 f. f.; Elphinstone, H. I. 765).

VIII. 386, *l.* **2.** *Ports of Kandāria and Kālikot.*

'Kandāria' or 'Qandāria' is an error for '*Fa*ndaraina,' the Arab form of Pandarāni, which lies near the Sacrifice Rock of modern maps, about thirty miles north of Calicut. It has been now supplanted by Quilandi,

('Koilad' of footnote), which is shown in Constable, 35 A a.

VIII. 388, *l.* 5 from foot. *The Firingis founded a fort at Jāliāt, six* kos *from Kālikot.*

Also written Chalia, Chale, Chaliyan, Chalayom. This is the 'Shāliyāt of Ibn Baṭuṭa (Defrémery, IV. 109) and 'Chalyani' of Barbosa. (Tr. Stanley, 153). Chālyan was an old Malabār port, formed by the Beypore and Kodalundi rivers and lay opposite to Beypore. Beypore is marked in Constable, 35 A a. (See Yule H. J. *s. v.* Chalia).

VIII. 389, *l.* 6. *Sultān Sālīm of Rūm ..... despatched his minister Sulaimān Bādshāh in command of one hundred vessels.*

The author must have meant to write 'Pāshā' (پاشا). He is spoken of as 'Solyman *Bāshāw*, Governor of Cairo, in Danvers' History of the Portuguese in India (I. 425) and as the commander of the fleet. See also Whiteway, Rise of the Portuguese Power in India, 256, 265. He was by birth a Greek converted to Islam.

VIII. 392, *l.* 2 from foot. *Shikākul, Rājbandar and other possessions of the French.*

The place meant is Rājmandri, now in Godāvary district. The *mim* has been wrongly written as a *be*. It is the 'Rājā Mahendra' of Jahāngīr's Memoirs in E. D. VI. 355, *q. v.* my note. The name is derived from Mahendragiri, a mountain range in Ganjam, which is frequently mentioned in Sanskrit literature. It has nothing to do with 'Bandar' 'port.'

VIII. 393, *l.* 10. *Tārīkh-i-Shāh 'Ālam.*

Sir Henry Elliot's copy of Manu Lāl's History of Shāh 'Ālam was, like most other copies, defective or imperfect and extended only to the 24th year of that Emperor's reign. A Manuscript in the Bānkīpur Library brings down the narrative upto the 48th year. It contains a regular and detailed chronicle of all important transactions upto the 30th year. But the author states that as he had grown old and his eyesight was failing, he had been obliged to rest content with a bare summary of the events of the remaining eighteen years. (Muqtadir, Catalogue, VII. 95).

VIII. 399, footnote. Sherbachas (*pistols*) *of Kābul and two thousand small guns carried by camels.*

This 'Sherbacha' was a musketoon or blunderbuss. "In the last quarter of the 18th century, there was," writes Mr. Irvine, "a regiment of Persian horse in the Lakhnow service, known as the *Sherbacha*. They may have taken the name from the weapon with which they were armed, or the name may have been due to their supposed ferocity." (A.I.M., 112).

VIII. 400, *l.* 12. *Appāji Mangesiah.*

The real name of the man was *Antaji* Mān*keshwar*. (Grant Duff, 313; Sardesāi, *Riyāsat*, III. 204).

VIII. 407, *l.* 2 from foot. *Nawābganj, which is six* kos *from Allahābād.*

Five places called Nawābganj are entered in Thornton's Gazetteer. This must be that which lies eleven miles north-west of Allahābād on the

route to Lucknow.

VIII. 420, *l.* 5. *There is only one copy of the* Yādgār-i-Bahāduri *in existence, the autograph of the author, in my possession.*

Dr. Rieu denies this claim and states that Sir Henry Elliot's copy of the *Yādgār-i-Bahāduri* could not possibly be the author's autograph, as it contains several clerical errors which can only be ascribed to a copyist. (Catalogue, III. 897).

SOME MINOR EMENDATIONS.

[There are several other misprints, misreadings and minor mistakes of transcription or transliteration in these eight volumes. They were not included, at first, in the body of this work, for fear of distracting the reader's attention. They have been thrown together in an Appendix and dealt with briefly, as it has been impressed upon the writer that they should not be overlooked, on account of their liability to mislead Hindu and European scholars unacquainted with Persian. The correct forms are printed in Italic type. All corrections indicated by Dowson himself in his *Errata* have been excluded.]

I. 117, l. 3. 'In the reign of Mu'āwiya, son of Abū Sufain.' Read *Ṣufiān.*

I. 156, l. 3. 'Allāfi.....killed 'Abdu-r-Rahmān, son of Ash'ab.' Correctly, *Ash'as*, as at E.D. I. 428.

I. 197, l. 11. 'A report was also sent to 'Abdu-l-Malik, the Khalīfa of the time.' The Khalīfa of the time was *Walīd, the son of 'Abdu-l-Malik*, who reigned from 86 to 96 A. H. See E.D. I. 428.

I. 215, l. 13. 'Jānī Beg.....was succeeded ..... by Mirzā 'Āsi.' Read *Ghāzi.*

I. 221, l. 18. 'He came to a place Daryācha Nāri Sang'. Is it not Daryācha, *i.e.* river, of *Nāra Sānkra* or Sankrā? See E.D. I. 294.

I. 252, l. 5. 'Conquest of Ahmadnagar and the fort of Kāsim.' Read *Āsīr* [garh].

I. 292, l. 18. 'Tribes of Bīna, Tāk and Nabūmiya.' The last name must be the same as *Nahmrūi* of E.D. I. 286, *q. v.* my Note.

I. 293 footnote, 3. 'She was his sister's son.' Read *daughter.*

I. 301, Footnote, l. 2. 'Rāi Khanhār of Kach.' Read *Khengār.*

I. 302, l. 18. 'Sharīru-l-Mulk.' Read *Sharīfu-l-Mulk* as at E.D. VI. 432, 444.

I. 304, l. 3. 'Sultān Husain bī-l Karār.' Read *Bāiqarā* or *Bāiqrā.*

I. 312, l. 2. 'Bhara and Khūshāb.' Read *Bhera* [on the Jhelum].

I. 314, l. 11 f. f. 'Bulūch, Jat, Rind, Dādi and other tribes.' Read the last name as *Dodai.*

I. 316, l. 26. 'He sent ..... Mirzā Kāsim Tafāi to the Emperor.' *Recte, Taghāi, i. e.* maternal uncle or mother's relative. (B.N. Tr. 27 Note).

I. 323, l. 19. 'Hulākū Khān, son of Changīz Khān,' Correctly, *grandson.*

I. 337, l. 11 f. f. The name of Dashrath's father was not Ajīpār, but *Aja* or *Ajapāla.* 'Dera' is an error for *Dirghabāhu.* (Vishṇu Purāṇa. Tr. Wilson. III. 313-4). 'Kasila, Kailiyā, Simiyā,' should be *Kaushalyā, Kaikeyi* and *Sumitrā.* For 'Chatargun,' (l. 7 f. f.) read *Shatrughna.* 'Parihār' should be *Pushkara* and for 'Atat' read *Atithi.* 'Tawākas' (l. 2 f.f.) is a blunder for *Lava* and *Kusha.*

I. 338, l. 2. 'Sambūt Rājā,' must be meant for *Sambrat, i.e. Samprati.*

I. 338, l. 3. 'Hanrat, also called Dakan.' Read *Mahrat.*

I. 338, l. 6. 'Haibat' must be *Haspat, i. e. Ashvapati.* Note that *Gajpat* and *Bhūpat* are said to have been his brothers.

I. 338, l. 25. 'Fahal, the father of the celebrated Lākha Faslāni.' Read *Phulā*, the father of the celebrated Lākhā *Phūlani*.

I. 339, ll. 4, 8 and 26. 'Hankūr.' Read *Hingorā*.

I. 339, l. 7 f. f. 'Pāmbiya, [variant, Pāmbaniya].' Correctly, *Bābīniya*, *i.e.* Bāmanīyo. See my Note on Vol. I. 226, l. 9 f. f.

I. 444, Footnote 1, l. 10. 'Ghumte,' Read *Ghūmli*. See B.G. VIII. (Kāthiāwār), 440.

II. 112, l. 9. 'Bū Nasr Mustaufi, commander of a detachment'. Correctly, 'Accountant, Auditor, Controller of expenditure.'

II. 175, ll. 3 and 2 f.f. For 'Sanjaris' read *Sijizis*, and so also at I. 176, l. 4. (See J. H. 167 and 11 Note).

II. 181, l. 2. 'The chief of Ghazni, Abū 'Ali Kūbak.' Recte, *Lawīk*.

II. 201, l. 9. 'Wasa Abhir's property worth ten lacs of Rupees.' Delete 'Rupees'. 'Awfi could not have used the word.

II. 201, l. 16 from foot. 'The most generous king, the staff of the world and supporter of religion.' This is only a literal and uncalled-for translation of *Quṭbu-d-dunyā wa'd Dīn*.

II. 205, l. 4. 'Sābī, the historian of Kābas', Read *Qābūs*.

II. 212, l. 7 f. f. 'Qiwāmu-l-mulk, Rūhu-d-dīn Hamza.' Read *Ruknu-d-dīn*. (F. I. 58, l. 3). The mistake is committed again at 219, l. 7 f. f.

II. 297, l. 11 f.f. For 'Bhangar', read *Thankar* [Tahangarh], as at 300, l. 20 of this Volume. See my Note on II. 226, l. 24.

II. 303, l. 4. Read 'Khwāja Mūiadu-l-Mulk Sanjari's *nisba* as *Sijizi* or *Sajazi*, *i. e.* of Sijistān (سجز ی not سنجر ی).' He is called *Sīstāni* by Minhaj himself in the Ṭ. N., Text, 98, l. 13.

II. 324, l. 15. 'In A. H. 615, Jalālu-d-dīn king of Khwārizm fled ..... towards Hindustān'. Correctly, *618 H.* as in the Ṭ. N. Text, 171, l. 11; Ṭ. A., 28, l. 6 f.f.; F. I. 65, l. 3 f. f.

II. 325, l. 21. 'Kubācha's minister, 'Ainu-l-Mulk Husain Ashghari,' Read *Ash'ari* as in Ṭ. N. Text, 173, l. 1; E.D. I. 133 and II. 330.

II. 336, l. 18. 'The other ..... entered the gate of the Mu'izzi.' Correctly, *by the Gate of the Madrasa-i-Mu'izzi*, or the Mu'izzi College [which had been named after Mu'izzu-d-dīn Sām]. Ṭ. N. Text, 189, l. 15.

II. 348, last line. 'On Thursday, the 11th Zī-l. K'ada 645,' Read, Thursday *the 15th*. Monday the 12th has been already mentioned on l. 12.

II. 350, l. 19. For 'Lashkar Khān,' read *Kashlū* Khān, as in Ṭ. N. Text, 222, l. 2 f.f.; 268.

II. 351, l. 17. 'Gwālior, Chanderi, Bazawāl (?) and Mālwa'. Recte, *Narawāl*, *Narwar*. نروال is a mistranscription of نلوار-نروال (Nalapura).

III. 19, ll. 4 and 9. 'Abu-l-Hasan, son of Simhūr,' Recte, *Sīmjūr*.

III. 33, l. 8. 'The Rukhs of Rustam,' Correctly, *Rakhsh*. The Arabic and Persian form of Arachosia, the Greek name of Zābul, which was Rustam's country, is 'Rukhaj'. E.D. I. 23; II. 284.

III. 64, l. 6. 'In ..... the year 293, he [Maḥmūd] made war upon

Jaipāl,' Read *393* [H.].

III. 102, l. 8. ''Ādil Khān, Tabar Khān and others,' Read *Tamar* Khān, as in E.D. III. 109, 114.

III. 133, l. 11. 'Jalālu-d-dīn [Khalji] ..... received the title of Siyāsāt Khān,' Properly, *Shāyasta* Khān.

III. 146, l. 16. ' Khān Jahān, his [Jalālu-d-dīn's] eldest son was then dead.' Correctly, *Khān-i-Khānān.*

III. 146, l. 9 f. f. ' He ordered ..... tunnels (sābāt) to be sunk.' *Sābāt* are covered approaches for the conduct of sieges, constructed above ground, not underground 'tunnels.'

III. 150, l. 6. 'Alāu-d-dīn arrived at Ghāti *Lajaura.*' The place intended must be Lāsūra. Constable, Pl. 31 C b. It is about 10 miles west of Daulatābād.

III. 168, l. 8. 'In the third year of his reign'. در سه سال جلوس T. F. Text, 261, l. 9 f. f. Correctly, *during the* [first] *three years of his reign.*

III. 198, l. 23. ' A battle was fought in Khīkar,' Correctly, on the *Ghaggar* river.

III. 244, l. 2. ' He there ..... made [Shihāb Sultāni] governor of Bīdar and the neighbourhood, with a fief of a lac of tankas,' Read *one hundred laks* of tangas. T. F. Text, 481, l. 10.

III. 293, l. 6. 'Sultān Firūz Shāh issued twenty-one edicts (*sikka*) and thirty-one instructions (*'Alāmat*) upon matters of royalty.' These 'Sikkas' were really the insignia reserved for the sovereign, *e. g.* Khuṭba, Throne, Tughra, Ghāshiya, Crown, etc. T. F. (Shams), Text, 108.

III. 400, l. 4. 'In ..... Rajab, A.H. 800 (March, 1408).' Read *1398.*

III. 444, l. 15. For 'Āzurbāijān.' *Arzanjān* in the Ẓ. N. Text, II. 118, l. 7.

III. 521, l. 15. 'The princes, the nūniāns, the amīrs of tumāns,' Read '*nūināu*' نویناں grandees.

III. 563, l. 9. ' Whatever other stories and fables they [the Hindus] have, is contained in Kabits, parwānas and nāmahs,' Read *Purāṇas.*

IV. 3, l. 6 f. f. For 'Shalghāzis of Fārs,' read '*Salgharīs*' or '*Salghuris.*' See Baiẓāwi, in E.D. II. 254; *Tārīkh-i-Guzīda,* I. 503; Tr. II. 118.

IV. 34, l. 17. 'Amīr Tīmūr ..... had attacked Talīna.' *Tulamba* must be the place meant.

IV. 38, l. 12. For ' Taghi Khān Turkchi,' Read 'Taghī Khān *Turkbacha*' as in T. M. 170, l. 9; B. I. 273=Tr. I. 360; E. D. IV. 40, 43, 48.

IV. 44, l. 18. 'He [Khiẓr Khān] proceeded by Pānipat to Firozpur,' Correctly, *Fatḥpur*, as in the T.M. Text, 179, last line.

IV. 62, l. 22. 'The Rāis of Gwālior .... Bhangar and Chandawār.' Read the second name as *Tahangar, q. v.* Note on II. 226, l. 24.

IV. 124, l. 14. 'I took my flight on the wings of travel for the city of Bījānagar.' Read '*from* the city of Bījānagar.' He was returning.

IV. 163, l. 1. '[Subuktigīn] ..... subdued Afghān and other places,' Recte, *Lamghān* as in 'Utbi, E.D. II. 22; Reynolds' Tr. 39.

IV. 186, l. 21. For 'Mamichihr,' read '*Manūchihr*' and for 'Washmichihr,' *Washmagīr*.

IV. 205, Footnote 2, l. 11. For 'Abū-l-Farah Ruwaini,' read Abu-l-*Faraj Rūni*.

IV. 239, Footnote 2, l. 4. For '*Kalatūr*,' read *Kalānaur* [in Gurdāspur].

IV. 262, Footnote 1, 13 f. f. l. For 'Sirohi,' read *Sarwār* [Sarjūpār, Gorakhpur] as in B.N. Tr. 521.

IV. 262, Footnote, l. 10 f. f. 'Rājā Muttana and Rājā Rup Barīn (Narāin?).' 'Muttana' may be *Mithila* [Tirhūt]. His name was Rāmabhadra or Rūpa Nārāyan. Duff, C. I. 266, 305; B. N. Tr. 521 and lvii.

IV. 262, Footnote 1, l. 4 f.f. For 'Rājā Gulanjari,' read 'Rājā of *Kālanjar*.' He was, probably, Rudra Pratāp Bundela.

IV. 262, Footnote 1, l. 3 f. f. For 'Rājā Sing Deo' read 'Rājā *Bīr* Sing Deva' [of Bhaṭa]. See my Note on IV. 407, Footnote.

IV. 262, Footnote 1, last line. 'Rājā Bīkram Chand' must be Rājā *Bhīkham* [Bhīshma] Chand of Almorā. Duff, C. I. 281.

IV. 266, Footnote 1, l. 2. 'Humāyūn proceeded from Ghāzīpur to *Khairābād*.' Read *Kharīd* [in Balliā district]. B. N. Tr. 544.

IV. 283, l. 12. 'A messenger from Dūdū and his son Jalāl Khān..... arrived in my camp.' Read 'her.' Dūdū was the *mother* of Jalāl Khān.

IV. 294, l. 3 f. f. 'The Mīr [Yaḥyā Qazvīni] died ..... in A. H. 971.' The correct year was, most probably, 981. (B. Text, III. 98).

IV. 304, l. 16. 'Humāyūn [marched] eastward against Ben and Bāyazīd,' Correctly, *Biban*.

IV. 304, l. 3 f. f. 'Sher Shāh dies, *Rajab* 1st, at Kālinjar.' Correctly, *Rab'ī* the 1st. See E. D. IV. 409.

IV. 396, l. 14. 'Mubārak Khān Shīrīni killed the third.' The sobriquet must be *Sarbani* or *Sharbati*.

IV. 408, l. 20. For 'Shaikh Halil' read 'Shaikh *Khalīl*.'

IV. 440, l. 23. For 'Saif Jān' read 'Saif *Khān*.'

IV. 475, Footnote 1, l. 2. For 'Khān Jahān Tokhāni,' read *Nohāni* or *Lohāni*. *q. v.* E.D. V. 9 note.

IV. 497, l. 8 f. f. For 'Idi Ratna,' read *Raina* and for '*Lali* Chak,' read *Kaji* or *Kachi* Chak. (*Tār. Rash.* Tr. 485).

V. 12, l. 4 f. f. For 'Garha-Kantak,' read 'Garha-*Katanka*.'

V. 86, l. 18 and 88, l. 5 f.f. For 'Rāi Karan Sing, Rājā of Gwālior,' read *Kīrat* Singh. See my Note on IV. 39, l. 4.

V. 133, l. 8. 'On the 10th Muharram, 948 H., we mounted.' Correctly, *947 H.* H. B. H. II. 187; F. I. 218, l. 4 f. f.

V. 147, l. 5 f.f. For 'Abdu-l-*M'aāli*' read *Abu-l-M'aāli*.

V. 173, l. 17. For '5th Sh'abān, 955 [Riḥlat],' read *25th* Sha'bān *965* [Riḥlat] or 975 A. H. Ṭ. A. 283, l. 3 f. f.

V. 189, l. 10. For 'Baban Bāyazīd' read 'Bibān *and* Bāyazīd,' though the conjunction is left out in the Lith. Ṭ.A. also, 194, l. 15. See E.D. IV. 347.

V. 189, l. 20. For 'Sultān Husain Mirzā Babakrā' read *Bāiqarā*.

V. 199, l. 4. For 'Sain Mirzā' read '*Sām* Mirzā.'

V. 203, l. 11. For 'Shaikh Jalīl' read 'Shaikh *Khalīl*.'

V. 206, l. 5 f. f. 'Mirzā 'Askari then crossed the Sind and went to the town of Pātar.' Read Mirzā *Hindāl*, as in the Ṭ.A. Text. 203, l. 12 f. f.

V. 230, l. 7 f.f. For 'Muhammad Kāsim Khān Fauji,' read *Mauji*, as in A. N., I. 223; Tr. 450. See also Budāuni, II. 314, l. 6; Tr. 324; A. N. Text, II. 59; Tr. II. 91; III. 87; Tr. 123.

V. 233, l. 1. Read Khwāja 'Abdu-s Ṣamad's sobriquet as *Muṣawwar* [*i.e.* Painter] not Masūr.

V. 235, l. 10. 'Sayyid Muhammad Bikna.' Read *Pakna*, *i.e.* stout, fat, corpulent, as in A.N.I. 223; Tr. 451.

V. 237, l. 17. For 'Nasīr Khān,' read '*Naṣīb* Khān,' as at V. 243 *infra*.

V. 255, l. 17. 'Sikandar sent his son along with Ghāzi Khān Sūr.' Read '*Tanūr*' [Tonwar], تنور not سور.

V. 265, Footnote 2, l. 1. 'Pisar-khwāndah' is not a 'reputed son,' but an informally adopted son, a person affectionately called or addressed as *Pisar* or '*Farzand*.'

V. 273, Footnote 3. For 'Sanjari,' read '*Sijizi*,' *i.e.* native of Sīstān. See A. N. Tr. II. 238 and Note.

V. 283, l. 10. For 'Tughbāni' read *Tuqbāi*, as in A.N. II. 134; Tr. 208; 372; Tr. 540; Budāuni, II. 192; Tr. 195 and Note.

V. 291, l. 1. For 'Rustam Khān' read *Dastam* Khān. A. N. II. 218; Tr. 336.

V. 304, l. 2. For 'Beg Mūrin Khān,' read 'Beg *Nūrin* Khān'. *Nūrin* is a short form of Nūru-d-dīn.

V. 315, l. 3. 'When the Imperial court arrived at Lucknow.' Read *Lāhor*, as in the Ṭ.A. 277, l. 7.

V. 315, ll. 9 and 8 f.f. For 'Mankarā Mirzā,' read *Bāiqarā*.

V. 324, l. 11 f.f. For 'Udi Singh, Rājā of Mārwār,' read *Mewār*.

V. 335, l. 13. For 'Mu'inu-l-hakk wau-d-dīn Hasan Sanjari,' read *Sijizi*.

V. 337, l. 16. For 'Hasan Kuli Khān,' read *Husain* Quli Khān.

V. 340, l. 5 f.f. For 'Mīrath' read *Merta* [in Jodhpur], as in the Lith. Ṭ. A. 293, l. 4 and B. II. 140, Tr. 144.

V. 342, l. 2 f.f. For 'Saiyid Ahmad Bukhāri,' read *Hāmid* Bukhāri.

V. 363, l. 12. For 'Mūhammad Kuli Khān Tūghbāni,' read '*Tuqbāi*.'

V. 364, Footnote 2. For 'Roliyā,' read *Rawaliya* or *Rāwaliya*. See A.N. III. 65, l. 3; Tr. 90.

V. 369, l. 9 f.f. For 'Wednesday, 3rd Jumāda-l-awwal, 981,' read 3rd *Jumādiu-s-Ṣāni*, as Sunday, 16th Jumāda-l-awwal occurs on l. 13 *ante*.

V. 411, l. 5 f. f. For 'twenty-four tankas' read 'twenty-four *thousand* tangas' as in the Lith. Ṭ.A. 342, l. 15. See my paper on the 'Murādi Tanga' in Num. Supp. XXVIII to the J.A.S.B. (1917), p. 83.

V. 413, l. 4. For 'Sultān Khwāja Kalij Khān,' read 'Sultan Khwāja *and* Qulij Khān,' as in B. II. 269; Tr. 277. See also *Ā'in*, Tr. I. 354 and 423.

V. 420, l. 14 f.f. For 'Garha' read 'Karra,' as on l. 6 f.f. of the same page. B. II. 289; Tr. 297.
V. 427, l. 12. For 'Shāham Khān Jalesar,' read 'Shāham Khān *Jalāīr*.' A. N. III. 528; Tr. 806; B. II. 310, Tr. 320.
V. 430, l. 6, and 431, l. 7. For 'Ishang Ākā' read *Ishīk* Āqā.
V. 434, l. 6 f. f. For 'Friday, 16th Muharram 991,' read *13th* Muharram. A.N. Tr. III. 633 Note; *Mirāt-i-Sikandari*. 443; Tr. 319.
V. 440, l. 4. For 'Amartali,' read *Amreli*. (Constable, 31 A a).
V. 440, ll. 9 and 7 f.f. For 'Ghazīn Khān,' read *Ghazni* or *Ghaznīn* Khān.
V. 449, l. 5 f. f. For 'river Behut (Beyah),' read 'Behut (*Jhelam*).' The same mistake occurs on 453, l. 12 f. f.
V. 452, l. 8. For 'Mīr Kuraish', read Mīr *Wais*.
V. 460, l. 15. For 'Mīr Mīrzā,' read Mīr *Munir*, as at 467 of the same Volume; B. II. 377; Tr. 390.
V. 468, l. 3 f. f. 'He [Ḥusain Khān Tukriya] was nephew and son-in-law of Imām Mahdi Kāsim Khān,' Delete *Imām*.
V. 476, l. 9. For 'Pābal,' read *Pāīl* [in Patiālā State].
V. 483, l. 12. For 'Death of Sultān Muzaffar Gujarati,' read *Defeat*.
V. 484, l. 20. 'Commencement of the second Karan.' Correctly, *Qarn* (period of thirty years).
V. 488, l. 21. 'These low persons used to beat their drums and claim the dignity of the dogs of the heavens.' Read *residents*, or *dwellers*, for 'dogs.' The word is *Sukkān*, not *Sagān*. See my Note on V. 358, l. 2 f.f.
V. 492, l. 14. 'When the enemy passed the river Karwi,' Read *Godi* گودی *i.e.* Gomti.
V. 496, l. 4 f. f. 'Ḥusain Khān Kashmīrī.' Delete '*Kashmīri*.' It is not in the Text, II. 125 or Lowe's Tr. II. 128.
VI. 46, last line. 'He drove Adham Khān Mutanabbi out of Ibrāhīmpur,' *Ādam* Khān *Batani* in A.N. III. 133; Tr. III. 189.
VI. 52, l. 10 f. f. 'Jalāl Khān Ghazni.' *Ghilzai* in A. N. III. 140; Tr. 198.
VI. 98, last line. For 'Bālpūr,' read *Mālpur*, as in A. N. III. 773; Tr. 1155. Constable, 27 B b.
VI. 119, l. 18. 'Abu-l-Fatḥ and Dāmaghānī were sent.' Delete *and*; read *was* for 'were.'
VI. 124, l. 6. For 'Maghrib Khān Dakhini,' read *Muqarrab* Khān as in A.N. II. 280; Tr. 415.
VI. 124, l. 4. For 'In this same year 947 H.' read *974 H.*
VI. 141, l. 6. For 'Takhati,' read *Talahti* [bottom, lowest part, foot of the hill].
VI. 156, l. 9. For 'Nar Singh Deo,' read *Bīr* Singh Deo. The error recurs on 157, l. 8.
VI. 156, l. 11. For 'Abu-l Khān', read *Abu-l-khair* Khān. (E.D. VI. 112).
VI. 185, l. 19. 'Khurram Arslān Shāh' is called *Sālār* Shāh, in the T. M. ; T. A. 121, l. 4; F. I. 15, l. l. 6 f. f.
VI. 186, l. 8. For 'Hundreds of the nobles of Samāna,' read 'Centurions

or the *Commanders of hundreds* in Samāna' (امیران صدۂ سامانه), as in T.M. E.D. IV. 21.

VI. 205, l. 4. 'Dahapur.' The place meant may be *Dholpur* (دهلپور).

VI. 224, l. 18. 'The king [Firūz Tughlaq] penetrated as far as Bundwa.' The place meant is *Pandua*, Constable, 29 C c.

VI. 292, last line. 'I questioned him, but he denied the intention.' Read 'He did *not* deny it.' (T. J. 25, l. 13; Tr. I. 54).

VI. 300, l. 7 f. f.; 301, l. 3. For 'Abdu-l-'Azīz,' read 'Abdu-r-*Raḥīm*.

VI. 330, l. 19. For 'Abdu-l-Islām,' read 'Abdu-s-*Salām*. (T. J. 104, l. 5; I. N. 64, l. 3).

VI. 374, l. 10. For 'Rājā Sang Rām,' read '*Sangrām*.'

VI. 383, l. 2 f. f. 'Ashrafu-l-Mulk' should be *Sharīfu-l-Mulk*, as at 432, 444 of this Volume; T. J. 346, l. 17; I. N. 193, l. 1 f. f.

VI. 396, l. 10. 'And then to come with Sultān Murād Bakhshi.' Read Sultān Murād *Bakhsh*, as in the Text.

VI. 401, l. 4 f. f. 'On the 9th Safar, the Emperor [Jahāngīr] reached Lāhor,' Correctly, 9th *Muḥarram*. Cf. E.D. VI. 300-1; T. J. Text, 32.

VI. 424, l. 7. 'Jahjū, [grandson of Shujā'at Khān].' Recte, *Chhajju*.

VI. 440, l. 9. 'Peshāwar, where all the north-eastern tribes were at that time in arms,' Read 'north-*western*.'

VII. 6, l. 18. 'Jajhār Singh was the son of Nar Singh Deo Bundela.' He was the son of *Bīr* Sinha Deva Bundelā.

VII. 21, l. 15. 'Some [of Khān Jahān Lody's] elephants were caught by Rājā Amar Singh of Bāndher.' Read *Bāndhū*. Amar Singh was the Rājā of Bāndhū or Bhaṭa. Dowson is wrong in contending in the foot-note that the place meant must be 'Bhānder. N. E. of Jhānsi', because Kh. Kh. (I. p. 40) calls it *Bhāndūr*. The *Bādshāhnāma* (I. i. 349, l. 11), states that the village of Nemi was in *Bāndhu* and Amar Sinha was the Rājā of *Bāndḥū*. See also M.U. II. 134-138. He is mentioned as the Rājā of Bāndhu in the 21st year of Jahāngīr's reign by Muḥammad Hādi also. (T. J. Text. 418, l. 4).

VII. 32, l. 6 f. f. For '1240 H.' read *1041* H.

VII. 89, l. 10. 'Aurangzeb had been ordered to overtake the royal forces at Bhimbar.' Recte, *Bhīra*. 'A. Ṣ. Text. III. 72, l. 7.

VII. 111, l. 15. For 'Husain Sājar lake,' read Ḥusain *Sāgar* lake,' as on 117 of the Volume.

VII. 185, l. 14. For 'Nawāb Rāi, the Prince's [Muḥammad Mu'azzam's] mother,' read Nawāb *Bāi*.

VII. 189, l. 17. 'An interview took place at the Rāj Sambar tank,' Correctly, Rāj *Samandar* [Samudra] tank.

VII. 213, l. 7. f. f. 'Aurangzeb was born in *1028* A. H. (1619 A. D.), at Dhūd,' *Sic* in the B. I. Text, but properly, *1027* A.H. and *Dāhod*. T. J. 249, last line, Tr. II. 47; Kh. Kh. I. 296, l. 15.

VII. 263, l. 18. 'Kunwar *Rāi* Singh, son of Rājā Jai Singh,' Recte, *Rām* Singh. See 279, 281 of this Volume.

VII. 373, l. 18. 'Haināji, the commander of Rājgarh.' Read *Hāmānji.*

VII. 401, l. 12. 'Zebu-n-nissā Begam, eldest sister of 'Azam Shāh.' Recte, *Zīnatu-n-nisā* Begam. See M. 'Ā. in E. D. VII. 196-7 and Kh. Kh. *Ibid*, 363, 385. Zebu-n-nisā died in 1113 A. H. when Aurangzeb was alive. M. 'Ā. 539.

VII. 402, l. 10. 'Samsāmu-d-daula Amīru-l-Bahādur Nusrat Jang.' Read Amīru-l-*Umarā* Bahādur Nusrat Jang, as in Kh. Kh. Text, II. 601, l. 3.

VII. 428, l. 4 f. f. For 'The treasure of thirteen lacs of rupees,' read 'The treasure of thirteen *Krors*', as in Kh. Kh. Text, II. 684, l. 3.

VII. 570, l. 4. For 'Hājū,' read *Jājū.*

VII. 570, l. 3 f. f. For 'Hamla Bahadur' read [Mīr] *Jumla* Bahādur.

VIII. 31, l. 9 f. f. "Abdu-llah, son of Zahīr." Read *Zubeir.*

VIII. 75, l. 12. 'The chosen of the Adored writhed in the depths of anguish.' The literal translation of the name of the man, which was '*Abdu-l-M'abūd*, can only bewilder the reader.

VIII. 106, l. 16. 'Sadar Zilla Khān Kāsur Pathān' is called '*Jumla* Khān' in Sarkār, Fall of the Mughal Empire, 210 note.

VIII. 138, l. 13 f. f. '[They] got possession of the little fort of Firūz Shāh and another called the Old fort.' The places meant are the *Kotla-i-Firūz Shāh* and the *Purānā Qil'a.* See p. 143 *infra*, where 'the *Kotila* of Firoz Shāh' is mentioned.

VIII. 146, l. 14. 'Ahmad Sultān.....pursued them as far as Būryā and Sārangpur.' Read the second name as *Sahāranpur.*

VIII. 178, l. 9. 'Account of Sankar Gangāpūr.' Properly, *Sarkār* Gangāpūr.

VIII. 236, l. 14. For 'Pūranjar Khān,' read *Būzanjar* Khān.

VIII. 236, l. 16. For 'Chanbānians,' read *Chaubāniāns* or *Chūpāniāns.*

VIII. 236, l. 17. For 'Sarībārans,' read *Sarbadāriāns.*

VIII. 255, l. 4. For 'Rām Chatar Mān,' read *Rāi* Chatar Mān.

VIII. 276, l. 20. 'Nārad Shankar Brahmin was then.....appointed governor of the fort.' Read *Nārū* Shankar.

VIII. 279, l. 13. For 'Pākpat,' read *Bāgpat* (or *Bāghpat*).

VIII. 281, l. 3 f. f. For 'Shīsha Dhar Pandit,' read *Sheshādhar* Pandit.

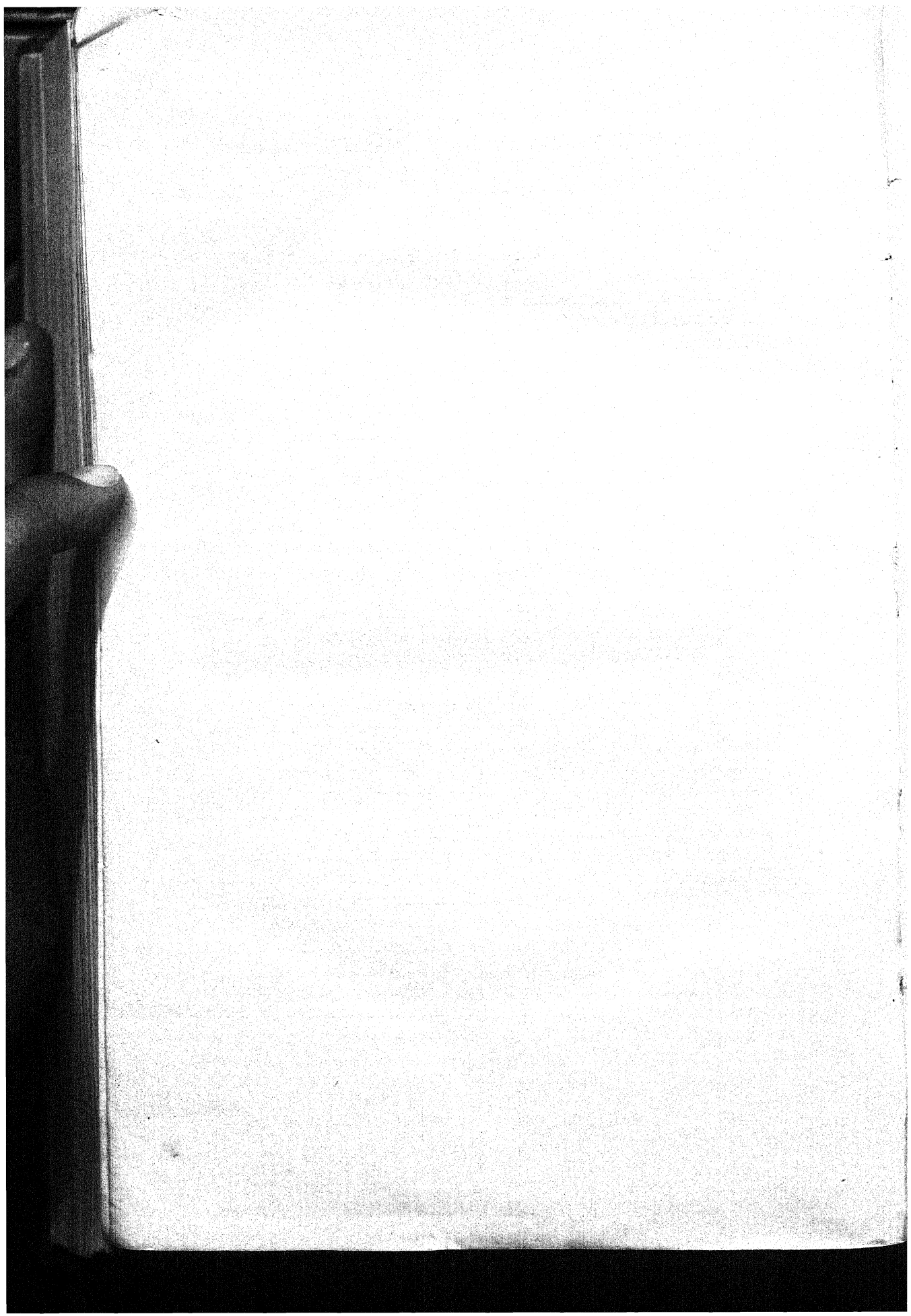
VIII. 310, l. 20. For 'forty thousand' read 'forty *lacs*.' Shuj'āu-d-daula had given his bond to the Mahrāṭhās for forty *lacs* of Rupees.

VIII. 336, l. 6. 'He..... ...resided at Malāwanūr near Lucknow.' Dr. Rieu (III. 913) reads *Malānwa*, ملانوا (*q.v.* *Āīn*, II. Tr. 179).

VIII. 370, l. 4. For 'Raghūji Ghoslā,' read Rāghūji *Bhosla.*

VIII. 372, l. 5. 'This Revealer of Secrets [Kāshifu-l-Akhbār] was composed by 'Ināyat Husain of Mahrard.' *Māraharavī* in Rieu (II. 1059), *i.e.* of Mārahra in Etah, U.P. *q.v.* Constable, 27 D b.

VIII. 400, l. 5 f. f. For 'Nārad Shankar,' read *Nārū* Shankar. The variant 'Tāru' mentioned in the footnote must be also wrong.



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ERRATA

P. 3, *l.* 9. Read 'Rāshṭrakūṭas.'
P. 3, *l.* 6 f. f. Read '*Sh*ankarvarman.'
P. 7, *l.* 13 f. f. Read '*lies*' for 'his.'
P. 8, *l.* 21. Read 'étonné' and 'détruit.'
P. 10, *l.* 8. Correctly, 'Sinhaldvīpa.'
P. 13, *l.* 8 f. f. Delete the *iẓāfat* after ت.
P. 15, *l.* 16. Read 'Quatremère's.'
P. 17, *l.* 11. Read 'bamboo' for 'bomboo.'
P. 21, *l.* 5. Read 'Shilahāra.'
P. 23, *l.* 8. Read 'appear' for 'appers.'
P. 40, *ll.* 20 and 18 f. f. Correctly, '*Ṭīkā*.'
P. 42, *l.* 13. Read 'The *Darra* (valley) of Nūr is shown' for 'they are shown.'
P. 42, *l.* 13. Read 'north-*east*' for 'north-west.'
P. 44, *l.* 18. Read 'Seely' here and elsewhere.
P. 45, *l.* 2 f. f. Read 'XI. 145' for 'XI. 175.'
P. 47, *l.* 14. Read '*5000* yards' for '500 yards.'
P. 47, *l.* 16 f. f. Read 'Long. 90°-30′ E.'
P. 47, *l.* 15 f. f. Add 'the' after 'of.'
P. 52, *l.* 2. Read 'fraquently' for 'frequenty.'
P. 52, *l.* 9 f. f. Read 'district' for 'dirtrict.'
P. 55, *l.* 28. Read 'Bod-land' for 'Bod=land.'
P. 59, *l.* 5 f. f. Read 'geographical.'
P. 60, *l.* 13. Read 'E.I. *II.* 451' for 'E. I., III. 451.'
P. 62, *l.* 22. Read '281.'
P. 67, *l.* 19 f. f. Correctly, 'Kapaḍvanj.'
P. 67, *l.* 17 f. f. Read '*Kuṇḍ*.'
P. 68, *l.* 10. Read 'Gildemeister.'
P. 73, *l.* 11. Read 'Sāẓaj-al-Hindi.'
P. 75, *l.* 10 f. f. Properly, 'Shukranīti.'
P. 86, *l.* 24. Read 'untwis*t*ed.'
P. 90, *l.* 3. Read 'Thaku*r*s' for 'Thāku.'
P. 90, *l.* 20. Delete 'of.'
P. 93, *l.* 5 f. f. Read دشمن را امان مده.
P. 101, *l.* 7. Read 'Ibn Khalli*k*ān.'
P. 101, *l.* 12. Read 'Zakarīya' or 'Zakariyya' for 'Zakarrīya.'
P. 117, *l.* 10. Properly, 'Taẓkira.'
P. 123, *l.* 20. Read 'Bāhaḍmer.'
P. 124, *l.* 24. Insert 'up' between 'setting' and 'a.'
P. 129, *l.* 8 f. f. Read '*Al Muḥīṭ*.'
P. 129, last line. Read 'Dākin.'
P. 136, *l.* 22 f. f. Insert 'us' between 'assures' and 'that.'
P. 143, *l.* 15. Properly, 'Sapāda*l*aksha.'
P. 144, *ll.* 4 and 6. Correctly, 'Jāẓib.'
P. 144, *l.* 7. Correctly, 'Jaẓabi.'
P. 161, *l.* 18. Read 'II. *123*, l. 6 from foot.'
P. 164, *l.* 19. Read '*Pahlev*' for 'Pahlevi.'
P. 175, *l.* 34. Read '*Iran*ischen *Namenbuch*.'
P. 181, last line. Read 'Seely' for 'Seeley.'
P. 181, *l.* 9 f. f. Read 'p. 238' for 'p. 236.'
P. 185, *l.* 16 f. f. Read '*Iltutmish*.'
P. 188, *l.* 8 f. f. Add 'of' after 'south.'
P. 192, *l.* 11 f. f. Read 'fourteenth.'
P. 196, *l.* 5. Read شهادت.
P. 196, *l.* 13. Read 'had' for 'has.'
P. 196, *l.* 12 f. f. Read 'makes' for 'make.'
P. 198, *l.* 20. Insert '*page*' between '558 and 171.'
P. 209, *l.* 1 f. f. Read 'Aṭāulla.'
P. 210, *l.* 12 f. f. Read رهبان.
P. 212, *l.* 25. Read 'Lakarkunda.'
P. 215, *l.* 4. Add '*but*' before 'is.'
P. 226, *l.* 7 f. f. Read '*I.G. Atlas*, 31 B 1.'
P. 230, *l.* 6 f. f. Read '*neuter*.'
P. 235, *l.* 4 f. f. Read 'Tornberg.'
P. 236, *l.* 13 f. f. Read '*Qaṣīda*' for '*Qaṣīdas*.'
P. 240, *l.* 3 f. f. Read 'Iltutmish.'
P. 241, *l.* 10. Read '*pahluvān*' or '*pahlawān*.'
P. 247, *l.* 25. Read 'Rab'iu-l Ākhir.'
P. 250, *l.* 20. Read '1305 A.C. and 705 A.H.'
P. 254, *l.* 2 f. f. Read '*détour*.'
P. 256, *l.* 12 f. f. Read 'Muhammadan.'
P. 257, *l.* 5. Read 'S.I.M.I.' for 'S.M.M.I.'
P. 258, *l.* 22. Read '593 infra.'
P. 259 *l.* 9 f. f. Read 'Badāūn.'
P. 264, *l.* 7 f. f. Read 'E. D. *II.* 382.'
P. 269, *l.* 12. Read خشو for جشو.
P. 272, last line. Add '*south*' before 'of.'
P. 283, *l.* 21. Read زنند.
P. 299, *l.* 25. Read '1596 A.C.' for '1576.'
P. 301, *l.* 8. Read 'Defrémery.'
P. 310, *l.* 19. Read 'Khusrav Khān.
P. 310, *l.* 12 f. f. Read خطبای.
P. 314, *l.* 13. Read 'Maqṣūda-wā*h*.'
P. 323, *l.* 27. Correctly, 'Zakarīya.'
P. 334, *l.* 13. Read 'on' for 'in.'
P. 335, *l.* 2. Read 'Baqīya Naqīya.'
P. 335, *l.* 18 f. f. Read روز not وزر.
P. 335, *l.* 20. Delete 'then.'
P. 347, *l.* 5 f. f. Read '1879' for '1876.'
P. 357, *l.* 1. Read 'Narmadā' for 'Tāpti.'
P. 366, *l.* 2. Read 'Dabū' for 'Dābū.'
P. 372, *l.* 11. Read 'paronomasia.'
P. 382, *l.* 17 f. f. Read 'toponyms.'
P. 386, *l.* 18 f. f. Add 'by' after 'upon.'

P. 391, *l.* 19. Read 'Ṭ. A. p. 6, l. 6.'
P. 395, *l.* 11. Read 'Balārām.'
P. 396, *l.* 6 f. f. Read 'Sārang Khān.'
P. 398, *ll.* 9 and 14 f. f. Correctly, 'Kīrti Sinha.'
P. 404, *l.* 2. Read 'Ranking.'
P. 404, *l.* 8 f. f. Read 'of' for 'or.'
P. 409, *l.* 24. Insert 'as' after 'misread.'
P. 412. *l.* 19. Read 'port' for 'part.'
P. 439, *l.* 9. Read 'Chanderi' for 'Chauderi.'
P. 439, *l.* 12 f. f. Read 'brother' for 'uncle.'
P. 444, *l.* 17. Read 'Ṭ. A. *371*, l. 9.'
P. 459, *l.* 25. Read 'Qāẓi-'āli' for 'Qāẓi-'ali.'
P. 464, *l.* 22. Read 'Ṣūba' for 'Ṣūbā.'
P. 469, *l.* 6 f. f. Read 'Khawāṣṣ Khān.'
P. 475, *l.* 20. Read 'identical.'
P. 494, *l.* 23. Read 'Ṣalāḥu-d-dīn's.'
P. 500, *ll.* 8-9. Read 'S'ādat' for 'S'adat.'
P. 504, *l.* 1 f. f. Read 'in' for 'on.'
P. 506, *l.* 6 f. f. Delete the *iẓāfat* after ت.
P. 508, *l.* 1. Read 'Vol. V. 139, l. 14 *ante*.'
P. 508, *l.* 17. Read 'Humāyūn' for 'he.'
P. 512, *l.* 1 f. f. Read 'Gulbadan.'
P. 513, *l.* 6 f. f. Read مردمی for مردی.
P. 514, *l.* 1. Read '*andak marḍumi*' for 'andak mardi.'
P. 527, *l.* 14 f. f. Read 'attached.'
P. 551, *l.* 13 f. f. Read 'Kāṭhis.'
P. 560, *l.* 6 f. f. Read 'XXIIIrd' for 'XXVIth.'
P. 575, *l.* 9. Read 'Khūnza Sultan.'
P. 580, *l.* 9. Read 'Shaikhūpūr.'
P. 585, *l.* 5. Read 'III. 1234 Note.'
P. 590, *l.* 16 f. f. Read 'Gāwīl.'
P. 606, *l.* 10 f. f. Read '535, Tr. 818.'
P. 628, *l.* 19 Read 'Daryā.'
P. 637, *l.* 4. Read 'Tughlaq.'
P. 637, *l.* 25. Read 'Banīhāl.'
P. 637, *l.* 3 f. f. Read 'Isfandārmuẓ.'
P. 644, *l.* 6 f. f. Read 'Sachau.'
P. 645, *l.* 22 f. f. Read 'Raghunandandās.'
P. 646, *l.* 11. Read 'A. N. III.'
P. 650, *l.* 20. Read 'Kachh Gandāwa.'
P. 669, *l.* 12. Read 'north of Karnāl.'
P. 680, *l.* 18 f. f. Read '*Nafāisu-l-Maāṯir*.'
P. 683, *l.* 4 f. f. Read 'Patparganj.'
P. 685, *l.* 17 f. f. Read 'latter' for 'later.'
P. 690, *l.* 17. Read 'Myrobalan.'
P. 695, *l.* 3 f. f. Delete '*Ibid.*'
P. 701, *l.* 2. Read 'Lūn' for 'Lūni' and delete 'near Dehli.'
P. 701, *l.* 12. Read 'Ghusalkhāna.'
P. 704, *l.* 9. Read 'Sultān Salīm' for 'Sultān Sālīm.'

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